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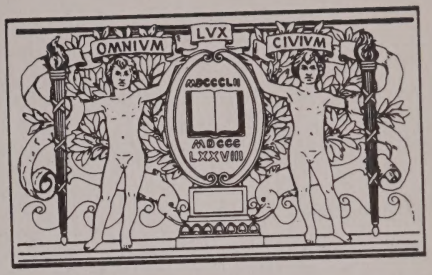

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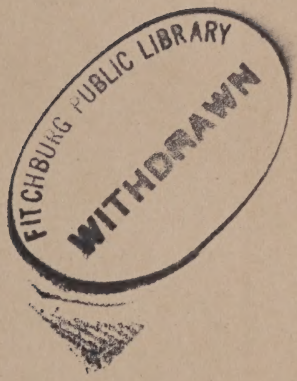
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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. XCIV.

JANUARY, 1837.

ART. I. — *Catalogue of One Hundred Drawings by Michael Angelo, composing the Tenth Exhibition of the Lawrence Gallery, at 112 St. Martin's Lane.* London. July, 1836.

THERE are few lives of eminent men that are harmonious; few that furnish, in all the facts, an image corresponding with their fame. But all things recorded of Michael Angelo Buonaroti agree together. He lived one life; he pursued one career. He accomplished extraordinary works; he uttered extraordinary words; and in this greatness was so little eccentricity, so true was he to the laws of the human mind, that his character and his works, like Sir Isaac Newton's, seem rather a part of nature than arbitrary productions of the human will. Especially we venerate his moral fame. Whilst his name belongs to the highest class of genius, his life contains in it no injurious influence. Every line in his biography might be read to the human race with wholesome effect. The means, the materials of his activity, were coarse enough to be appreciated, being addressed for the most part to the eye; the results, sublime and all innocent. A purity severe and even terrible goes out from the lofty productions of his pencil and his chisel, and still more from the more perfect sculpture of his own life, which heals and exalts. "He nothing common did, or mean," and dying at the end of near ninety years, had

not yet become old, but was engaged in executing his grand conceptions in the ineffaceable architecture of St. Peter's.

Above all men whose history we know, Michael Angelo presents us with the perfect image of the artist. He is an eminent master in the four fine arts, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Poetry. In three of them by visible means, and in poetry by words, he strove to express the Idea of Beauty. This idea possessed him, and determined all his activity. Beauty in the largest sense, beauty inward and outward, comprehending grandeur as a part, and reaching to goodness as its soul, — this to receive and this to impart, was his genius.

It is not without pleasure that we see, amid the falsehood and griefs of the human race, a soul at intervals born to behold and create only beauty. So shall not the indescribable charm of the natural world, the great spectacle of morn and evening which shut and open the most disastrous day, want observers. The ancient Greeks called the world κόσμος, *Beauty*; a name which, in our artificial state of society, sounds fanciful and impertinent. Yet, in proportion as the mind of man rises above the servitude to wealth and a pursuit of mean pleasures, he perceives, that what is most real is most beautiful, and that, by the contemplation of such objects, he is taught and exalted. This truth, that perfect beauty and perfect goodness are one, was made known to Michael Angelo; and we shall endeavour by sketches from his life to show the direction and limitations of his search after this element.

In considering a life dedicated to the study of Beauty, it is natural to inquire, what is Beauty? Is this charming element capable of being so abstracted by the human mind, as to become a distinct and permanent object? We answer, Beauty cannot be defined. Like Truth, it is an ultimate aim of the human being. It does not lie within the limits of the understanding. "The nature of the beautiful," — we gladly borrow the language of Moritz, a German critic, — "consists herein, that because the understanding in the presence of the beautiful cannot ask, 'Why is it beautiful?' for that reason is it so. There is no standard whereby the understanding can determine, whether objects are beautiful or otherwise. What other standard of the beautiful exists, than the entire circuit of all harmonious proportions of the great system of nature? All particular beauties scattered up and down in nature are only so far beautiful, as they suggest more or less in themselves this

entire circuit of harmonious proportions." This great Whole, the understanding cannot embrace. Beauty may be felt. It may be produced. But it cannot be defined.

The Italian artists sanction this view of beauty by describing it as *il più nell' uno*, "the many in one," or multitude in unity, intimating that what is truly beautiful seems related to all nature. A beautiful person has a kind of universality, and appears to have truer conformity to all pleasing objects in external nature than another. Every great work of art seems to take up into itself the excellencies of all works, and to present, as it were, a miniature of nature.

In relation to this element of Beauty, the minds of men divide themselves into two classes. In the first place, all men have an organization corresponding more or less to the entire system of nature, and therefore a power of deriving pleasure from Beauty. This is Taste. In the second place, certain minds, more closely harmonized with nature, possess the power of abstracting Beauty from things, and reproducing it in new forms, on any object to which accident may determine their activity; as stone, canvass, song, history. This is Art.

Since Beauty is thus an abstraction of the harmony and proportion that reigns in all nature, it is therefore studied in nature, and not in what does not exist. Hence the celebrated French maxim of Rhetoric, *Rien de beau que le vrai;* "Nothing is beautiful but what is true." It has a much wider application than to Rhetoric; as wide, namely, as the terms of the proposition admit. In art, Michael Angelo is himself but a document or verification of this maxim. He labored to express the beautiful, in the entire conviction that it was only to be attained unto, by knowledge of the true. The common eye is satisfied with the surface on which it rests. The wise eye knows that it is surface, and, if beautiful, only the result of interior harmonies, which, to him who knows them, compose the image of higher beauty. Moreover, he knew well, that only by an understanding of the internal mechanism, can the outside be faithfully delineated. The walls of houses are transparent to the architect. The symptoms disclose the constitution to the physician; and to the artist it belongs by a better knowledge of anatomy, and, within anatomy, of life and thought, to acquire the power of true drawing. "The human form," says Goethe, "cannot be comprehended merely through seeing its surface. It must be stripped of the mus-

cles; its parts separated; its joints observed; its divisions marked; its action and counter action learned; the hidden, the reposing, the foundation of the apparent, must be searched, if one would really see and imitate what moves as a beautiful inseparable whole in living waves before the eye." Michael Angelo dedicated himself, from his childhood to his death, to a toilsome observation of nature. The first anecdote recorded of him shows him to be already on the right road. Granacci, a painter's apprentice, having lent him, when a boy, a print of St. Antony beaten by devils, together with some colors and pencils, he went to the fish-market to observe the form and color of fins and of the eyes of fish. Cardinal Farnese one day found him, when an old man, walking alone in the Coliseum, and expressed his surprise at finding him solitary amidst the ruins; to which he replied, "I go yet to school that I may continue to learn." And one of the last drawings in his port-folio, is a sublime hint of his own feeling; for it is a sketch of an old man with a long beard, in a go-cart, with an hour-glass before him; and the motto, *Ancora imparo.* "I still learn."

In this spirit he devoted himself to the study of anatomy for twelve years; we ought to say rather, as long as he lived. The depth of his knowledge in anatomy has no parallel among the artists of modern times. Most of his designs, his contemporaries inform us, were made with a pen, and in the style of an engraving on copper or wood; a manner more expressive, but not admitting of correction. When Michael Angelo would begin a statue, he made first on paper the *skeleton*; afterwards, upon another paper, the same figure clothed with muscles. The studies of the statue of Christ in the Church of Minerva at Rome, made in this manner, were long preserved.

It strikes those who have never given attention to the arts of design, as surprising that the artist should find so much to study, in a fabric of such limited parts and dimensions as the human body. But it is the effect of reflection to disclose evermore a closer analogy between the finite form and the infinite inhabitant. Man is the highest, and indeed the only proper object of plastic art. There needs no better proof of our instinctive feeling of the immense expression of which the human figure is capable, than the uniform tendency which the religion of every country has betrayed towards Anthropo-

morphism, or attributing to the Deity the human form. And behold the effect of this familiar object every day! No acquaintance with the secrets of its mechanism, no degrading views of human nature, not the most swinish compost of mud and blood that was ever misnamed philosophy, can avail to hinder us from doing involuntary reverence to any exhibition of majesty or surpassing beauty in human clay.

Yet our knowledge of its highest expression we owe to the Fine Arts. Not easily in this age will any man acquire by himself such perceptions of the dignity or grace of the human frame, as the student of art owes to the remains of Phidias, to the Apollo, the Jove, the paintings and statues of Michael Angelo, and the works of Canova. There are now in Italy, both on canvass and in marble, forms and faces which the imagination is enriched by contemplating. Goethe says, that he is but half himself who has never seen the Juno in the Rondanini palace at Rome. Seeing these works true to human nature and yet superhuman, "we feel that we are greater than we know." Seeing these works, we appreciate the taste which led Michael Angelo, against the taste and against the admonition of his patrons, to cover the walls of churches with unclothed figures, "improper" says his biographer, "for the place, but proper for the exhibition of all the pomp of his profound knowledge."

The love of beauty which never passes beyond outline and color, was too slight an object to occupy the powers of his genius. There is a closer relation than is commonly thought between the fine arts and the useful arts; and it is an essential fact in the history of Michael Angelo, that his love of beauty is made solid and perfect by his deep understanding of the mechanic arts. Architecture is the bond that unites the elegant and the economical arts, and his skill in this is a pledge of his capacity in both kinds. His Titanic handwriting in marble and travertine is to be found in every part of Rome and Florence; and even at Venice, on defective evidence, he is said to have given the plan of the bridge of the Rialto. Nor was his a skill in ornament, or confined to the outline and designs of towers and façades, but a thorough acquaintance with all the secrets of the art, with all the details of economy and strength.

When the Florentines united themselves with Venice, England, and France, to oppose the power of the Emperor

Charles V., Michael Angelo was appointed Military Architect and Engineer, to superintend the erection of the necessary works. He visited Bologna to inspect its celebrated fortifications, and, on his return, constructed a fortification on the heights of San Miniato, which commands the city and environs of Florence. On the 24th of October, 1529, the Prince of Orange, general of Charles V., encamped on the hills surrounding the city, and his first operation was to throw up a rampart to storm the bastion of San Miniato. His design was frustrated by the providence of Michael Angelo. Michael made such good resistance, that the Prince directed the artillery to demolish the tower. The artist hung mattresses of wool on the side exposed to the attack, and by means of a bold projecting cornice, from which they were suspended, a considerable space was left between them and the wall. This simple expedient was sufficient, and the Prince was obliged to turn his siege into a blockade.

After an active and successful service to the city for six months, Michael Angelo was informed of a treachery that was ripening within the walls. He communicated it to the government with his advice upon it ; but was mortified by receiving from the government reproaches at his credulity and fear. He replied, " that it was useless for him to take care of the walls, if they were determined not to take care of themselves," and he withdrew privately from the city to Ferrara, and thence to Venice. The news of his departure occasioned a general concern in Florence, and he was instantly followed with apologies and importunities to return. He did so, and resumed his office.

On the 21st of March, 1530, the Prince of Orange assaulted the city by storm. Michael Angelo is represented as having ordered his defence so vigorously, that the Prince was compelled to retire. By the treachery however of the general of the Republic, Malatesta Baglioni, all his skill was rendered unavailing, and the city capitulated on the 9th of August. The excellence of the works constructed by our artist has been approved by Vauban, who visited them and took a plan of them.

In Rome, Michael Angelo was consulted by Pope Paul III. in building the fortifications of San Borgo. He built the stairs of Ara Celi leading to the Church once the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ; he arranged the piazza of the Capitol, and built its porticoes. He was charged with rebuilding the Pons Pal-

atinus over the Tiber. He prepared, accordingly, a large quantity of blocks of travertine, and was proceeding with the work, when, through the intervention of his rivals, this work was taken from him and intrusted to Nanni di Bacio Bigio, who plays but a pitiful part in Michael's history. Nanni sold the travertine, and filled up the piers with gravel at a small expense. Michael Angelo made known his opinion, that the bridge could not resist the force of the current ; and, one day riding over it on horseback, with his friend Vasari, he cried, "George, this bridge trembles under us ; let us ride faster lest it fall, whilst we are upon it." It fell, five years after it was built, in 1557, and is still called the "Broken Bridge."

Versatility of talent in men of undoubted ability always awakens the liveliest interest ; and we observe with delight, that, besides the sublimity and even extravagance of Michael Angelo, he possessed an unexpected dexterity in minute mechanical contrivances. When the Sistine Chapel was prepared for him that he might paint the ceiling, he found the platform on which he was to work, suspended by ropes which passed through the ceiling. Michael demanded of San Gallo, the Pope's architect, how these holes were to be repaired in the picture ? San Gallo replied ; "That was for him to consider, for the platform could be constructed in no other way." Michel removed the whole, and constructed a movable platform to rest and roll upon the floor, which is believed to be the same simple contrivance which is used in Rome, at this day, to repair the walls of churches. He gave this model to a carpenter, who made it so profitable as to furnish a dowry for his two daughters. He was so nice in tools, that he made with his own hand the wimbles, the files, the rasps, the chisels, and all other irons and instruments which he needed in sculpture ; and, in painting, he not only mixed but ground his colors himself, trusting no one.

And not only was this discoverer of Beauty, and its teacher among men, rooted and grounded in those severe laws of practical skill, which genius can never teach, and which must be learned by practice alone, but he was one of the most industrious men that ever lived. His diligence was so great, that it is wonderful how he endured its fatigues. The midnight battles, the forced marches, the winter campaigns of Julius Cæsar or Charles XII. do not indicate greater strength of body or of mind. He finished the gigantic painting of the

ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in twenty months, a fact which enlarges, it has been said, the known powers of man. Indeed he toiled so assiduously at this painful work, that, for a long time after, he was unable to see any picture but by holding it over his head. A little bread and wine was all his nourishment; and he told Vasari, that he often slept in his clothes, both because he was too weary to undress, and because he would rise in the night and go immediately to work. "I have found," says his friend, "some of his designs in Florence, where, whilst may be seen the greatness of his genius, it may also be known, that when he wished to take Minerva from the head of Jove, there needed the hammer of Vulcan." He used to make to a single figure nine, ten, or twelve heads before he could satisfy himself, seeking that there should be in the composition a certain universal grace such as nature makes, saying, that "he needed to have his compasses in his eye, and not in his hand, because the hands work whilst the eye judges." He was accustomed to say, "Those figures alone are good, from which the labor is scraped off, when the scaffolding is taken away."

At near eighty years, he began in marble a group of four figures for a dead Christ; because, he said, to exercise himself with the mallet was good for his health.

And what did he accomplish? It does not fall within our design to give an account of his works, yet for the sake of the completeness of our sketch we will name the principal ones. Sculpture, he called *his* art, and to it he regretted afterwards he had not singly given himself. The style of his paintings is monumental; and even his poetry partakes of that character. In sculpture, his greatest work is the statue of Moses in the Church of Pietro in Vincolo, in Rome. It is a sitting statue of colossal size, and is designed to embody the Hebrew Law. The lawgiver is supposed to gaze upon the worshippers of the golden calf. The majestic wrath of the figure daunts the beholder. In the Piazza del Gran Duca at Florence, stands, in the open air, his David, about to hurl the stone at Goliah. In the Church called the Minerva, at Rome, is his Christ; an object of so much devotion to the people, that the right foot has been shod with a brazen sandal to prevent it from being kissed away. In St. Peter's, is his Pietà, or dead Christ in the arms of his mother. In the Mausoleum of the Medici at Florence, are the tombs of Lorenzo

and Cosmo, with the grand statues of Night and Day, and Aurora and Twilight. Several statues of less fame, and bas-reliefs, are in Rome and Florence and Paris.

His Paintings are in the Sistine Chapel, of which he first covered the ceiling with the story of the creation, in successive compartments, with the great series of the Prophets and Sibyls in alternate tablets, and a series of greater and smaller fancy-pieces in the lunettes. This is his capital work painted in fresco. Every one of these pieces, every figure, every hand, and foot, and finger, is a study of anatomy and design. Slighting the secondary arts of coloring, and all the aids of graceful finish, he aimed exclusively, as a stern designer, to express the vigor and magnificence of his conceptions. Upon the wall, over the altar, is painted the Last Judgment.

Of his designs, the most celebrated is the cartoon representing soldiers coming out of the bath and arming themselves; an incident in the war of Pisa. The wonderful merit of this drawing, which contrasts the extremes of relaxation and vigor, is conspicuous even in the coarsest prints.

Of his genius for Architecture, it is sufficient to say that he built St. Peter's, an ornament of the earth. He said he would hang the Pantheon in the air; and he redeemed his pledge by suspending that vast cupola, without offence to grace or to stability, over the astonished beholder. He did not live to complete the work; but is there not something affecting in the spectacle of an old man, on the verge of ninety years, carrying steadily onward, with the heat and determination of manhood, his poetic conceptions into progressive execution, surmounting by the dignity of his purposes all obstacles and all enmities, and only hindered by the limits of life from fulfilling his designs? Very slowly came he, after months and years, to the dome. At last he began to model it very small in wax. When it was finished, he had it copied larger in wood, and by this model it was built. Long after it was completed, and often since, to this day, rumors are occasionally spread that it is giving way, and it is said to have been injured by unskilful attempts to repair it. Benedict XIV., during one of these panics, sent for the architect Marchese Polini, to come to Rome and examine it. Polini put an end to all the various projects of repairs, by the satisfying sentence; "The cupola does not start, and if it should start, nothing can be done but to pull it down."

The best commendation of his works is in their influence. The impulse of his grand style was instantaneous upon his contemporaries. Every stroke of his pencil moved the pencil in Raphael's hand. Raphael said, "I bless God I live in the times of Michael Angelo." Sir Joshua Reynolds, two centuries later, declared to the British Institution, "I feel a self-congratulation in knowing myself capable of such sensations as he intended to excite."

It will be readily conceded, that a man of such habits and such deeds, made good his pretensions to a clear perception and to accurate delineation of external beauty. But inimitable as his works are, in all three arts, his whole life confessed that his hand was all inadequate to express his thought. "He alone," he said, "was an artist whose hands can perfectly execute what his mind has conceived;" and such was his own mastery, that they said, "the marble was flexible in his hands." Yet, contemplating ever with love the idea of absolute beauty, he was still dissatisfied with his own work. The things proposed to him in his imagination were such, that, for not being able with his hands to express so grand and terrible conceptions, he often abandoned his work. This is the reason why he so often only blocked his statue. A little before he died, he burned a great number of designs, sketches, and cartoons made by him, being impatient of their defects. Grace in living forms, except in very rare instances, did not satisfy him. He never made but one portrait, (a cartoon of Messer Tommaso di Cavalieri,) because he abhorred to draw a likeness unless it were of infinite beauty.

Such was his devotion to art. But let no man suppose, that the images which his spirit worshipped were mere transcripts of external grace, or that this profound soul was taken or holden in the chains of superficial beauty. To him, of all men, it was transparent. Through it, he beheld the eternal spiritual beauty which ever clothes itself with grand and graceful outlines, as its appropriate form. He spoke of external grace as "the frail and weary weed, in which God dresses the soul which he has called into Time." "As from the fire, heat cannot be divided, no more can beauty from the eternal." He was conscious in his efforts of higher aims than to address the eye. He sought, through the eye, to reach the soul. Therefore, as, in the first place, he sought to approach the Beautiful by the study of the True, so he failed not to

make the next step of progress, and to seek Beauty in its highest form, that of Goodness. The sublimity of his art is in his life. He did not only build a divine temple, and paint and carve saints and prophets. He lived out the same inspiration. There is no spot upon his fame. The fire and sanctity of his pencil breathe in his words. When he was informed that Paul IV. desired he should paint again the side of the chapel where the Last Judgment was painted, because of the indecorous nudity of the figures, he replied, "Tell the Pope that this is easily done. Let him reform the world and he will find the pictures will reform themselves." He saw clearly, that if the corrupt and vulgar eyes, that could see nothing but indecorum in his terrific prophets and angels, could be purified as his own were pure, they would only find occasion for devotion in the same figures. As he refused to undo his own work, Daniel di Volterra was employed to clothe the figures; hence ludicrously called *Il Braghettone*. When the Pope suggested to him, that the chapel would be enriched, if the figures were ornamented with gold, Michael Angelo replied, "In those days, gold was not worn; and the characters I have painted, were neither rich nor desirous of wealth, but holy men, with whom gold was an object of contempt."

It was not until he was in the seventy-third year of his age, that he undertook the building of St. Peter's. On the death of San Gallo, the architect of the church, Paul III. first entreated, then commanded the aged artist, to assume the charge of this great work, which, though commenced forty years before, was only commenced by Bramante, and ill continued by San Gallo. Michael Angelo, who believed in his own ability as a sculptor, but distrusted his capacity as an architect, at first refused and then reluctantly complied. His heroic stipulation with the Pope was worthy of the man and the work. He required that he should be permitted to accept this work without any fee or reward, because he undertook it as a religious act; and, furthermore, that he should be absolute master of the whole design, free to depart from the plans of San Gallo and to alter what had been already done.

This disinterestedness and spirit, — no fee and no interference, — reminds one of the reward named by the ancient Persian. When importuned to claim some compensation of the empire for the important services he had rendered it, he demanded, "that he and his should neither command nor

obey, but should be free." However, as it was undertaken, so was it performed. When the Pope, delighted with one of his chapels, sent him one hundred crowns of gold, as one month's wages, Michael sent them back. The Pope was angry, but the artist was immovable. Amidst endless annoyances, from the envy and interest of the office-holders and agents in the work whom he had displaced, he steadily ripened and executed his vast ideas. The combined desire to fulfil, in everlasting stone, the conceptions of his mind, and to complete his worthy offering to Almighty God, sustained him through numberless vexations with unbroken spirit. In answer to the importunate solicitations of the Duke of Tuscany, that he would come to Florence, he replies, "that to leave St. Peter's in the state in which it now was, would be to ruin the structure, and thereby be guilty of a great sin;" that he hoped he should shortly see the execution of his plans brought to such a point that they could no longer be interfered with, and this was the capital object of his wishes, "if," he adds, "I do not commit a great crime, by disappointing the cormorants who are daily hoping to get rid of me."

A natural fruit of the nobility of his spirit is his admiration of Dante, to whom two of his sonnets are addressed. He shared Dante's "deep contempt of the vulgar, not of the simple inhabitants of lowly streets or humble cottages, but of that sordid and abject crowd of all classes, and all places, who obscure, as much as in them lies, every beam of beauty in the universe." In like manner, he possessed an intense love of solitude. He lived alone, and never, or very rarely, took his meals with any person. As will be supposed, he had a passion for the country, and in old age speaks with extreme pleasure of his residence with the hermits in the mountains of Spoleti; so much so, that he says he is "only half in Rome, since, truly, peace is only to be found in the woods." Traits of an almost savage independence mark all his history. Although he was rich, he lived like a poor man, and never would receive a present from any person; because it seemed to him, that if a man gave him any thing, he was always obligated to that individual. His friend Vasari mentions one occasion on which his scruples were overcome. It seems that Michael was accustomed to work at night, with a pasteboard cap or helmet on his head, into which he stuck a candle, that his work might be lighted and his hands at liberty. Vasari

observed that he did not use wax candles, but a better sort made of the tallow of goats. He therefore sent him four bundles of them, containing forty pounds. His servant brought them after night-fall, and presented them to him. Michael Angelo refused to receive them. "Look you, Messer Michael Angelo," replied the man, "these candles have well nigh broken my arm, and I will not carry them back; but just here, before your door, is a spot of soft mud, and they will stand upright in it very well, and there I will light them all."—"Put them down, then," returned Michael, "since you shall not make a bonfire at my gate." Meantime he was liberal to profusion to his old domestic Urbino, to whom he gave at one time two thousand crowns, and made him rich in his service.

Michael Angelo was of that class of men who are too superior to the multitude around them to command a full and perfect sympathy. They stand in the attitude rather of appeal from their contemporaries to their race. But he did not, therefore, fix his eye upon his own greatness, and avert it from the good works of others. It has been the defect of some great men, that they did not duly appreciate or did not confess the talents and virtues of others, and so lacked one of the richest sources of happiness and one of the best elements of humanity. This apathy perhaps happens as often from preoccupied attention as from jealousy. It has been supposed that artists more than others are liable to this defect. But Michael Angelo's praise on many works is to this day the stamp of fame. Michael Angelo said of Masaccio's pictures, that when they were first painted they must have been alive. He said of his predecessor, the architect Bramante, that he laid the first stone of St. Peter's, clear, insulated, luminous, with fit design for a vast structure. He often expressed his admiration of Cellini's bust of Altoviti. He loved to express admiration of Titian, of Donatelli, of Ghiberti, of Brunelleschi. And it is said, that, when he left Florence to go to Rome, to build St. Peter's, he turned his horse's head on the last hill from which the noble dome of the Cathedral (built by Brunelleschi) is visible, and said, "Like you, I will not build; better than you I cannot." Indeed, as we have said, the reputation of many works of art now in Italy derives a sanction from the tradition of his praise. It is more commendation to say, "This was Michael Angelo's favorite," than to say, "This was

carried to Paris by Napoleon." Michael, however, had the philosophy to say, "Only an inventor can use the inventions of others."

There is yet one more trait in Michael Angelo's history, which humanizes his character without lessening its loftiness; this is his platonic love. He was deeply enamoured of the most accomplished lady of the time, Vittoria Colonna, the widow of the Marquis di Pescara, who, after the death of her husband, devoted herself to letters, and to the writing of religious poetry. She was also an admirer of his genius, and came to Rome repeatedly to see him. To her his sonnets are addressed; and they all breathe a chaste and divine regard, which is not to be paralleled in any amatory poetry except that of Dante and Petrarch. They are founded on the thought, that beauty is the virtue of the body, as virtue is the beauty of the soul; that a beautiful person is sent into the world as an image of the divine beauty, not to provoke but to purify the sensual into an intellectual and divine love. He therefore enthrones his mistress as a benignant angel, who is to refine and perfect his own character. Condivi, his friend, has left this testimony; "I have often heard Michael Angelo reason and discourse upon love, but never heard him speak otherwise than upon platonic love. As for me, I am ignorant what Plato has said upon this subject; but this I know very well, that, in a long intimacy, I never heard from his mouth a single word that was not perfectly decorous and having for its object to extinguish in youth every improper desire, and that his own nature is a stranger to depravity." The poems themselves cannot be read without awakening sentiments of virtue. An eloquent vindication of their philosophy may be found in a paper by Signor Radici, in the London "Retrospective Review," and, by the Italian scholar, in the Discourse of Benedetto Varchi upon one sonnet of Michael Angelo, contained in the volume of his poems published by Biagioli, from which, in substance, the views of Radici are taken.

Towards his end, there seems to have grown in him an invincible appetite of dying, for he knew that his spirit could only enjoy contentment after death. So vehement was this desire that, he says, "his soul can no longer be appeased by the wonted seductions of painting and sculpture." A fine melancholy, not unrelieved by his habitual heroism, pervades his

thoughts on this subject. At the age of eighty years, he wrote to Vasari, sending him various spiritual sonnets he had been composing, and tells him "he is at the end of his life, that he is careful where he bends his thoughts, that he sees it is already 24 o'clock, and no fancy arose in his mind but DEATH was sculptured on it." In conversing upon this subject with one of his friends, that person remarked, that Michael might well grieve that one who was incessant in his creative labors should have no restoration. "No," replied Michael, "it is nothing; for, if life pleases us, death being a work of the same master, ought not to displease us." But a nobler sentiment, uttered by him, is contained in his reply to a letter of Vasari, who had informed him of the rejoicings made at the house of his nephew Lionardo, at Florence, over the birth of another Buonaroti. Michael admonishes him, that "a man ought not to smile, when all those around him weep; and that we ought not to show that joy when a child is born, which should be reserved for the death of one who has lived well."

Amidst all these witnesses to his independence, his generosity, his purity, and his devotion, are we not authorized to say, that this man was penetrated with the love of the highest beauty, that is, goodness; that his was a soul so enamoured of grace, that it could not stoop to meanness or depravity; that art was to him no means of livelihood or road to fame, but the end of living, as it was the organ through which he sought to suggest lessons of an unutterable wisdom; that here was a man who lived to demonstrate, that to the human faculties, on every hand, worlds of grandeur and grace are opened, which no profane eye, and no indolent eye, can behold, but which to see and to enjoy, demands the severest discipline of all the physical, intellectual, and moral faculties of the individual?

The city of Florence, on the river Arno, still treasures the fame of this man. There, his picture hangs in every window; there, the tradition of his opinions meets the traveller in every spot. "Do you see that statue of St. George? Michael Angelo asked it, why it did not speak."—"Do you see this fine church of Santa Maria Novella? It is that which Michael Angelo called 'his bride.'"—"Look at these bronze gates of the Baptistery, with their high reliefs, cast by Ghiberti five hundred years ago. Michael Angelo said, 'they were fit to be the gates

of Paradise.'" — Here is the church, the palace, the Laurentian library, he built. Here is his own house. In the church of Santa Croce are his mortal remains. Whilst he was yet alive, he asked that he might be buried in that church, in such a spot that the dome of the cathedral might be visible from his tomb, when the doors of the church stood open. And there, and so, is he laid. The innumerable pilgrims, whom the genius of Italy draws to the city, duly visit this church, which is to Florence what Westminster Abbey is to England. There, near the tomb of Nicholas Machiavelli, the historian and philosopher; of Galileus Galileo, the great-hearted astronomer; of Boccaccio; and of Alfieri, stands the monument of Michael Angelo Buonaroti. Three significant garlands are sculptured on the tomb; they should be four, but that his countrymen feared their own partiality. The forehead of the bust, esteemed a faithful likeness, is furrowed with eight deep wrinkles one above another. The traveller from a distant continent, who gazes on that marble brow, feels that he is not a stranger in the foreign church; for the great name of Michael Angelo sounds hospitably in his ear. He was not a citizen of any country; he belonged to the human race; he was a brother and a friend to all, who acknowledge the beauty that beams in universal nature, and who seek by labor and self-denial to approach its source in perfect goodness.

ART. II. — *Elements of International Law, with a Sketch of the History of the Science.* By HENRY WHEATON, LL. D., Resident Minister from the United States of America, to the Court of Berlin, &c. Philadelphia. 1836. 8vo. pp. 375.

THIS, so far as we are informed, is the first work upon the principles of the law of nations, that has appeared in the English language. Ward's History, though valuable in its way, is of course upon a different subject. Mr. Wheaton is well fitted by his professional pursuits, and his personal qualities and accomplishments, to supply this deficiency in our literature. As Reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of

the United States, he had opportunity to familiarize himself with the principles of one of the most important branches of the science; and his subsequent employment in the diplomatic service of the Government, has naturally turned his attention to the whole subject, as it is set forth in other elementary treatises. We may add, that he possesses the literary taste and talent, necessary to give the work the requisite finish in point of style. It is founded, as would naturally be expected, upon the basis of the best preceding treatises, particularly those of Martens and Klüber, which enjoy the highest reputation in Europe. In many parts, our author follows them very exactly. In others, however, he makes important additions; and he infuses into the whole mass the liberal spirit that prevails in the institutions and administration of the government of his own country. It is this last circumstance, which renders the work particularly valuable. The preceding writers on the subject, though mostly liberal in their political opinions, are yet more or less tinctured with prejudices, derived from their training in a school entirely different from that which is afforded by the practical politics of this country. In the discussions which are constantly going on with foreign governments upon the principles of international law, it is of considerable importance that we should have some treatises to refer to, which are written entirely in the spirit of our institutions. We may add, that Mr. Wheaton, though liberal in his views, is at the same time judicious and moderate, in his exposition of them; and lays himself open to no well-founded objection, as a supporter of extravagant and impracticable theories.

The subject is introduced by a sketch of the history of international law, occupying sixteen pages. This is necessarily, from its brevity, a somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory account of the science, and perhaps might as well have been omitted; especially as the subject had been so ably treated, in an abridged and accessible form, by Sir James Mackintosh, in the celebrated Introductory Lecture to the course which he delivered on the law of nations.

The treatise itself is divided into four parts, which treat respectively of the *Sources and Objects of International Law*, of the *absolute International Rights of States*, of the *International Rights of States in their pacific relations*, and lastly, of the *International Rights of States in their hostile relations.*

In the first chapter, which treats of the sources of interna-

tional law, Mr. Wheaton, in conformity with preceding writers, finds them in the general principles of the law of nature, regulating the relations of all moral agents, as applied to the intercourse of independent states. Though the principles are the same, whether applied to states or individuals, the difference between the characters of the subjects in the two cases, occasions great differences in the modes of applying these principles ; that is, in the rules of practice. Hence, the law of nations constitutes a distinct and separate chapter of the law of nature. It derives its obligatory character entirely from its being a part of that law. The principal difference between them is, that while the evidence of the law of nature as applied to individuals, is sought for practical purposes in the civil law of each separate country ; the evidence of the same law as applied to nations, is sought for practical purposes in treaties, conventions, decisions of admiralty courts, and in history, which may be regarded as a sort of collection of reports, showing how the law of nations has been understood and practised upon, at different times and places throughout the world. But the civil law in each country is binding, as such, on the individual, while the treaties, decisions of admiralty courts, and examples from history, which form the evidence of the law of nations, have, as such, no obligatory character upon the parties subject to that law. Hence, the law of nations resolves itself, for practical purposes, into the *usage of nations*, which is obligatory only so far as it may be conformable to the law of nature, of which conformity each nation remains for itself the sole and independent judge. It is only, therefore, as Mr. Wheaton rightly observes, in a peculiar and figurative sense, that we apply to the mass of particulars which makes up the evidence of this usage, the name of *Law*.

Upon these preliminary matters there is little dispute, at least among intelligent men, although the principles involved in them are far from being stated with perfect clearness by all the elementary writers. In his second chapter, entitled *Sovereign States*, Mr. Wheaton enters on a topic of a more debatable character. We may remark *en passant*, in reference to the title of this chapter, that the epithet *sovereign*, notwithstanding the contrary usage in this country, cannot perhaps with strict propriety be applied to a *state*. The correlative of *sovereign* is *subject ;* but a state, as such, is entirely independent of every other moral person, and can have neither

master nor subject. In its political sense, the word *sovereign* is properly applied to the highest or supreme power *in* a State; and in this sense it is habitually applied to the kings of Europe. In this country, the supreme or sovereign power is supposed to reside in the body of the people, who may be called with propriety *sovereign*, in contradistinction to the individual citizens, whether in or out of office. But the state, considered in its relation to other states, has no character either of *sovereignty*, that is, superiority, or *subjection*, that is, inferiority. All states stand, as such, on a footing of perfect equality. The idea intended, is properly expressed by the word *independent*. This may, perhaps, be thought a rather minute criticism; but perfect clearness and propriety in the use of language are absolutely indispensable to correct reasoning. The inconvenience of using the word *sovereign* in relation to states, is apparent occasionally in the work before us; as in the following remark.

"Sovereign states may be either single, or may be united together under a common sovereign, or by a federal compact."

States, which are at the same time *sovereign* and *subject*, must have a rather anomalous existence. — The phrase *sovereign states*, as here used, means merely *political societies*, or in one word *states*; and the idea is, that states may be either entirely independent, or united under a common government, or by a federal compact. The use of *single* in connexion with state, instead of *independent*, is an innovation, and we think not a happy one, on the usual forms of language.

In this chapter, Mr. Wheaton gives a succinct account of the nature of the union between Prussia and Poland, of the confederations of Switzerland and Germany, and of the Federal Constitution of this country. In speaking of the latter, he takes the true and only tenable distinction, between a league or confederacy of independent states, and a union of states into one body politic or people, like our own; which is, that in the former case, the acts of the body, representing the confederacy, are in the nature of requisitions on the members, and have no direct application except through the agency of the state governments. Whereas in the latter, the laws enacted by the federal government operate directly upon individuals, without the intervention of the states. This condition of things cannot be reconciled with any correct notion of entire independence, or in the common phrase, sovereignty. Hence,

the epithets independent or sovereign, when applied as they sometimes are, to the States of this Union, must be understood, if they are to be considered as correctly used, in a limited and qualified sense.

Mr. Wheaton also touches, in this chapter, on the interesting questions connected with the acknowledgment of the independence of new states, and on the manner in which the obligations of states are affected, by changes in their internal constitution, or in the person of the sovereign. He decides, that under all such changes they continue bound by their treaties, and responsible for all their acts. This principle formed the basis of the demands made by our government upon those of France, Holland, Spain, and Naples, after the fall of Napoleon and his dynasty, for indemnification for depredations committed upon our commerce during their period of power. The demand was long contested, sometimes on principle, but more frequently by evasive pretences of one kind or another, until at length it was acceded to by France, during the favorable moment immediately following the Revolution of 1830, when Lafayette exercised a strong influence in the public affairs. The other powers followed her example. The precedent thus established is of the most salutary character; and the whole affair furnishes one of the most remarkable examples, recorded in history, of the triumph of justice in international concerns, under very difficult circumstances, without resort to arms, and by the mere effect of perseverance, firmness, and discretion, in the management of the peaceful artillery of reason.

In the second part, which treats of the *absolute International Rights of States*, Mr. Wheaton discusses, at some length, the delicate question of the Right of Intervention by one state in the internal affairs of another; and gives a succinct but interesting sketch of the several instances of such intervention, that have occurred in the recent history of Europe. As respects the character of these proceedings, Mr. Wheaton correctly remarks, that "they cannot be referred to any fixed and definite principle of international law, or considered as furnishing a general rule fit to be observed in other apparently analogous cases." It is obvious, in fact, that intervention by one state in the internal affairs of another, is inconsistent with the relation of independence which exists between them; and is, therefore, contrary to the law of nature. If justifiable at all, it must be

justified, in each case, as an exception to the general law, on the high and paramount ground of absolute self-defence. The right, sometimes asserted, of interfering to prevent the aggrandizement of a state by lawful means, lest its increased power, if abused, should become dangerous, is obviously a mere chimera. It is not only the right, but the duty, of every state to develope its resources to the utmost. The pretence in question, which if honestly put forward would be merely absurd, is in practice uniformly a cover for cupidity and violence. Cases may however be supposed, in which the known and avowed principles of the constitution and administration of a state may be such, as not only to justify other nations in interfering, but to render it their strict and solemn duty. Such, for example, was the little community of the Assassins in the mountains of Syria; and such at the present day are the piratical states of Barbary. The toleration of the existence of these hordes of sea-robbers by the great maritime powers, in order that they might serve as a check upon the trade of the smaller ones, is one of the least honorable features in the history of modern Europe; and it is a fit subject of national pride with us as Americans, that the determination recently evinced by Great Britain and France to break them up, may be traced in no small degree to the influence of our example.

The fourth chapter of this part contains, among other interesting passages, an account of the negotiations carried on by the government of the United States with those of Spain and Great Britain, respecting the navigation of the rivers Mississippi and St. Lawrence.

In the third part, which treats of the *International Rights of States in their pacific relations*, Mr. Wheaton recapitulates succinctly the commonly received rules, respecting the interchange of diplomatic agents, and the conclusion and observance of treaties. In the fourth and last part, which is the longest and most important of all, he discusses the various questions that concern the *International Rights of States in their hostile relations*. These were justly considered by Grotius as constituting the substance of the Law of Nations, and he accordingly gave to his work the title of a Treatise on the Laws of Peace and War.

In considering the rights of war, as between enemies, Mr. Wheaton adverts briefly to the different rules that prevail as to the capture of private property on land and at sea. In the

former case, it is, as is well known, considered as prohibited by the law of nations, and in the latter as admitted. Although no reason, in the least degree satisfactory, ever has been or can be assigned for this difference, no symptom has appeared in the history of modern Europe of a disposition to abandon it, excepting in the single case of the first treaty between the United States and Prussia, negotiated by Dr. Franklin in 1783. In this treaty, it was expressly stipulated (art. 23) in the first place, that private property should not be taken on land without compensation; and then, that *all merchant vessels, employed in the exchange of the produce of different places, and thus supplying their inhabitants with the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life, should pass freely and without molestation; and the two contracting Powers agreed not to grant any commissions to privateers, which should authorize them to capture such vessels or to interrupt their trade.*

This article is commonly spoken of, as if its object were merely to prohibit privateering, leaving the capture of private property by public ships on its former footing. Even Mr. Wheaton appears to put this construction upon it. Our readers will perceive by the language of the text, which we give in a literal translation from the French copy before us, that the intention was to prohibit the capture of private property by ships of any kind, and that *privateering* is not prohibited, excepting in its operation on private property.

This article was omitted in the new treaty with Prussia negotiated by Mr. John Quincy Adams in 1799, probably at the suggestion of the other party. In his Presidential Message to the House of Representatives, announcing the appointment of ministers to the intended Congress at Panama, Mr. Adams mentions the abolition of this distinction between the modes of treating private property in time of war on land and at sea, as one of the objects that would probably engage the attention of that body. "I cannot," he remarks, "exaggerate to myself the unfading glory with which these United States will go forth in the memory of future ages, if by their friendly counsel, by their moral influence, by the power of argument and persuasion alone, they can prevail upon the American Nations at Panama, to stipulate by general agreement among themselves, and so far as any of them may be concerned, the abolition of private war upon the ocean."

The topic of the *Rights of War as respects Neutrals*, or, in the

common phrase, *Neutral Rights*, which occupies the closing portion of Mr. Wheaton's book, has created more discussion than any other, and, from the part taken in these discussions by our own country, will be read with great interest. Mr. Wheaton reviews, in a succinct but lucid and satisfactory manner, the questions of the Rule of 1756, of blockade, of the articles properly denominated *contraband* of war, and of the right of search and impressment. On all these delicate and disputed subjects, his views are liberal without being extravagant. The existing usage of nations, which has been determined in a great measure by the practice of the British Government, is considered, by our author, to be of an illiberal character. His own feeling is throughout in favor of the other construction, which it has been for many years past the effort of this country, and of most of the continental powers of Europe, to introduce and establish.

The fundamental doctrine of what may still be called the existing law of nations on these subjects, is that which recognises a belligerent right of visitation and search. Sir William Scott, in his opinion in the case of the Maria,* remarks on this subject, that "no man can deny this right who admits the right of maritime capture; because, if you are not at liberty to ascertain by sufficient inquiry whether there is property that can legally be captured, it is impossible to capture." And Mr. Wheaton appears to coincide in this view of the subject. "Even if the right of capturing enemy's property be ever so strictly limited, and the rule of *free ships free goods*, be adopted, the right of visitation and search is essential, in order to determine whether the ships themselves are neutral, and documented as such, according to the law of nations and treaties." To this, however, the advocates of the opposite doctrine reply, that the right of capturing at sea private property belonging to enemies, admitting it to exist, is an odious one, condemned by the practice on land of the same powers that claim it, and obviously in contravention of the great interests of humanity, which require the limitation in every possible way of the ravages of war. The right in question being of this character, instead of carrying with it any other rights as incidental, must itself, they say, be construed in the strictest possible manner. Instead of requiring every vessel that sails the ocean, to prove by written documents to the satisfaction of a searching officer, that she is not an enemy, natural

* Rob. Adm. Rep. I. 340.

justice, they urge, throws the burden of proof upon the belligerent, who must have sufficient evidence, before he ventures to molest a vessel in any way, that she is an enemy, and then may proceed, as in the case of attacking an armed vessel or a body of armed men, at his peril. They insist, that the idea that because two nations go to war, the commercial exchanges of all other nations are thereby subjected to their supervision, is so obviously untenable, that nothing but the great power of the nations putting forward the pretension could have given it plausibility; and that it would be much nearer the truth to say, that the other nations have a right to look into the causes of the quarrel between the two belligerents, and compel them by force to bring it to an amicable adjustment. In modern times, when any of the principal nations have remained in a state of neutrality during a war in Europe, they have, in fact, looked upon this pretension with very little favor. The coalition of the continental powers commonly called the *Armed Neutrality*, which was formed in the year 1780, and afterwards revived in 1800, began by refusing to submit to the alleged right of search in regard to vessels under convoy. The British Admiralty Courts insisted, and at both these periods the progress of events pretty soon terminated the question, by involving Russia, and the other great neutral powers, in the war. Had they continued neutral, they would probably have soon taken the higher ground of a complete denial of the right of visitation and search.

On the disappearance of this pretension, the questions respecting the rules of *free ships free goods*, *contraband of war*, and *impressment*, would fall of themselves. The British Government, at the opening of the French revolutionary war, attempted, as is well known, to establish the rule that provisions may, in some cases at least, be regarded as contraband, and seized many of our vessels under this pretence. It is to be regretted, that some countenance was given to this pretension by the eighteenth article of Mr. Jay's treaty with Great Britain, recognising the existence of cases in which provisions may, under the law of nations, be regarded as contraband, and providing for them. Mr. Wheaton appears to think, that this article in Mr. Jay's treaty "was manifestly intended to leave the question where it found it. The two parties," says he, "not being able to agree upon a definition of the cases in which alone provisions and other articles, not generally contraband,

may be regarded as such, concurred in stipulating, that whenever any article, so becoming contraband *according to the existing law of nations*, shall for that reason be seized, the same shall not be confiscated, but the owners shall be completely indemnified in the manner provided for in the article." We cannot agree with our author in this view of the effect of the article, or of the intention of the parties. The parties, though unable to agree upon the precise cases in which provisions may be regarded as contraband, agree that there are some such cases, and provide for their occurrence. The objection to this is, that there are no such cases ; and that the pretence that provisions may *in any case* be regarded as *contraband*, was a mere cover for belligerent cupidity. Mr. Wheaton intimates, that the American commissioner may have had in view the case of provisions bound to a blockaded port. But this construction can hardly be admitted, for two reasons ; first, because in regard to articles bound to a blockaded port there is no distinction between contraband and not contraband, the whole being liable to confiscation on a different ground ; and, secondly, it is apparent that this could not have been the intention of the parties, because the case of a blockaded port is provided for in another part of the same article. In making these remarks, we mean of course no disparagement to the character of Mr. Jay, whose patriotism and ability are generally acknowledged, and whose error is to be attributed to no other motive than an anxious desire to effect the object of his mission, and avert the impending danger of a war with England.

Of all the extravagant pretensions put forward by the belligerent powers during the late war, that of paper blockades was perhaps the most violent and absurd. A blockade is the investment by sea of a place, which the besieging party expects to compel by starvation to surrender. To carry supplies of any kind to a place so situated, would be to take a direct part in the war ; and accordingly, the usage of nations authorizes the seizure and confiscation of neutral vessels bound to a blockaded port. But the rule requires, that the blockading force should be actually present ; and the reason of the rule, which would of course govern its application in every impartial prize court, requires, that the place should be invested at the same time by land. Upon this narrow basis of admitted right, the belligerent powers erected the enormous pretension

of establishing by a simple notification, a permanent blockade of all the ports, in the whole coast of kingdoms and continents. It should be added, that each justified these proceedings, chiefly on the ground that they were in retaliation for similar acts by the other. The condition of the *neutral* in this case, was even worse than that of the *Achivi*, in the Latin poet. Whatever extravagance was committed by either belligerent, the neutral (for there was only one), was sure to be plundered by both; and it can be no great matter of surprise to any one, that he was at last "kicked into war."

While the great powers were playing these fantastic tricks before high Heaven, the smaller ones occasionally tried their hands at the same game. In the years 1809, 1810, the king of Denmark undertook to capture a number of American vessels, on various pretences; one of which was, that some of them had made use of British convoy, — a circumstance, which, according to his Danish Majesty's construction of the law of nations, subjected the offending vessel to capture and condemnation. A long negotiation ensued between the two governments, which was terminated, in 1830, by a convention, concluded on the part of the United States by Mr. Wheaton himself, in which Denmark stipulated to pay a fixed sum, by way of indemnity, to be distributed by our own government among the sufferers. Our author's account of the negotiation on this subject, (pp. 353–364,) may be advantageously consulted, for a specimen of the style and manner of the work.

Before we conclude, we are tempted to add a very few remarks upon another recent work, in which the same subject is treated, though in a different way. We allude to the "Manual of Peace," by Professor Upham, of Bowdoin College. Occupying the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy, in that respectable institution, and known already to the public, in a favorable manner, by several works of great merit, Professor Upham will naturally be heard, with much respect, upon any subject connected with his line of study; and we regret to see the authority of his name lent to opinions, which we consider as decidedly untenable. Without intending to discuss the topics in question, we feel it a duty, to enter our protest against one leading view, in brief but distinct terms.

The doctrine advanced, and maintained throughout the work, is that of the universal *inviolability of human life.* No individual acting in a private or public capacity, is justified in voluntarily taking the life of another, either in the way of punishment for crime, or the strictest self-defence. If defensive war be considered as lawful, says Mr. Upham, there will never be wanting pretences for attributing that character to all wars, however violent and unjustifiable. This may be to a certain extent true ; but the question is not how a certain principle, if true, may be abused, but what the truth is. It may be said in the same way, that, if the use of food, or the intercourse between the sexes, be allowed, the permission will certainly be abused, for purposes of vicious sensual indulgence, and, therefore, that they ought to be entirely prohibited. Though the fact must be admitted, in regard to both, few judicious persons would consider it as authorizing the conclusion. However sophistically the plea of self-defence may be used at times by nations and individuals, there are certainly many cases, in which it may be urged with perfect truth. The laws of nature, and of God, which are the same, authorize in such cases, where necessity requires it, the taking of life ; nor has any nation, of ancient or modern times, ever scrupled to found its legislation upon this basis. Our author relies very much in argument, upon the humane and pacific spirit of our religion, as evinced in various passages of the Scriptures, and particularly the article of the Decalogue, which is emphatically confirmed in the New Testament ; *Thou shalt not kill.* Concurring with him entirely, in his view of the spirit of Christianity, we conceive that his construction of the commandment in question, is contradicted alike by the plain common sense of the world, and by the practice of the people to whom it was originally given ; and who certainly never understood it in the sense now given to it by Mr. Upham. Indeed, the case in which an individual must either lose his own life, or take that of another who is violently attacking him, is obviously one in which the rule admits of no application, because the individual must, in either event, sacrifice life. If, in order to avoid taking the life of his antagonist, he voluntarily gives up his own, he commits suicide ; and this is as clearly within the prohibition of the commandment, as homicide of any other kind. He must necessarily *kill ;* and the only question is, whether he will kill

a sanguinary ruffian, or a quiet and peaceable citizen; — a problem, which, apart from any prejudice founded on the *amour propre* of the individual, can only be solved upon any principle of religion, morals, or common sense, in one way.

We need not, however, go into this minute criticism; nor are we disposed to restrict the right of taking the life of another, in self-defence, to the single case, where it is absolutely indispensable to the preservation of our own. Life is not the greatest of goods; nor is the preservation of it in ourselves, or our neighbours, to be held paramount to all other considerations. Life must be freely and unscrupulously sacrificed, if necessary, in a good cause of any kind. Such is the dictate of the noblest feelings of the heart; and such has been the doctrine and practice of the best and wisest men of every age and country. The voice of God within us confirms it as true, and denounces the opposite sentiment, as cowardly and base. The man who could stand by to see his wife dishonored, and his children slaughtered, and then acquiesce in the loss of his own life, rather than take that of the ruffian, who should undertake to perpetrate these outrages, would not deserve to be classed with his species.

The case is equally clear, of a nation engaged in a *really* defensive war. The question was put to the late Mr. Grimké, of Charleston, S. C., who was an enthusiast upon this subject, what he would do, if a band of pirates should assail a town, of which he should happen to be the responsible magistrate. His answer, which Mr. Upham quotes at length, and with high approbation, was substantially as follows. "If any fellow-citizen insisted upon my taking measures for a forcible defence, I would at once resign. If I could have my own way, I should make proclamation, that all the churches be opened, and that prayer be offered by the clergy, and all the pious, that God would be pleased to change the hearts of our invaders, and to manifest his power and mercy in our deliverance. That done, I should throw open the gate that fronted the enemy. Thence would I issue forth, not with a band of cavalry and infantry, but with all the clergy, and a long succession of Sunday School teachers and scholars, dressed in the white robes of peace, and chanting no battle song of the Bruce, but the hymn of Christian faith and hope. Can it be doubted, that such a spectacle would soften the hearts, and change the purposes, of that band of greedy, lustful, bloodthirsty pirates?"

It is unnecessary, we presume, to comment upon this passage. We are induced to notice it, because we consider such extravagancies in the professed, and, no doubt, sincere advocates of humanity and justice, as exceedingly prejudicial to the cause. We regret to see them countenanced by the authority of Mr. Upham.

ART. III. — *The Works of William Cowper, Esq. With a Life of the Author*, by the Editor, ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL. D., Poet Laureate, &c. London. 1835 – 36. Five Volumes. 16mo.

COWPER'S genius, character, and singular history would alone account for the interest that has been felt in the particulars of his life ; but several circumstances have no doubt aided to strengthen and sustain it. A large part of his Biography being composed of his familiar letters, and even shadowed forth, not ambiguously, in his most popular poetry, an acquaintance next to personal has been established between the author and his readers. Again, the whole of his case was not laid at once before the world by his biographers ; some facts, and not the least striking, were disclosed at distant periods. If attention had drooped, it was sure to be revived by some new form of horror ; and curiosity was no doubt animated by the suspicion, that there was yet more in reserve. And further, the undisputed facts of his life have led to differing opinions, sometimes upon points, which, to say the least, are exceedingly curious, and at others upon those which are always important, if for no other reason than that they are always agitating. There are questions not yet at rest concerning the religious aspects of his case ; new theories are still offered to explain the phenomena of his mental disease ; and, unnatural as it may seem in connexion with Cowper, a portion of the zeal that is now manifested in relation to him bears some marks of party feeling.

Hayley, his friend and earliest biographer, was induced, by tenderness to the living and to the memory of the dead, and no doubt by a reluctance to injure the pleasing idea which the readers of his poetry had formed of the man, to withhold or touch lightly upon, the particulars of his insanity. He

called it by gentle names, or softened it by circumlocutions. The great body of Cowper's correspondence and papers was submitted to his inspection, that he might select what he deemed illustrative of his life, character, and writings, and honorable to his memory. The rule he prescribed for himself in the use of his materials, has a little of the sentimental and fastidious air, which is to be seen in his writings; but it shows tenderness to the good fame of his friend, a profound reverence for his character, and a sense of his own responsibleness in the discharge of a delicate office. "In the whole course of this work," he says, "I have endeavoured to recollect, on every doubtful occasion, the feelings of Cowper; and made it a rule to reject whatever my perfect intimacy with those feelings could lead me to suppose the spirit of the departed poet might wish me to lay aside as unfit for publication."

Hayley could not see that the public had any more concern with what was going on in a madman's cell than ordinarily in a sick man's chamber; or why, because Cowper was a great moral poet, it was therefore important to give a minute history of his life at a time when he was mentally and spiritually sick or dead. A mere medical report of an important case of mental disease cannot be too minute, whether we consider the patient's restoration, or the light that may be thrown on a class of maladies. But in a merely biographical view, he thought it every way advisable to give the least painful representation of the poet which he could give with honesty. Accordingly, he passed over most of the particulars of Cowper's remarkable Narrative of his early years and first attack of madness; his repeated attempts upon his own life; his melancholy communications with the poor schoolmaster at Olney, to know what was the divine will and purpose concerning him: and while he intimated, more or less clearly, the visitations of insanity or depression, he said nothing of the fact, that for nearly thirty years before his death, his friend was rarely, if ever, relieved from the harrowing conviction that God had forsaken him for ever, because he had failed to offer up his life, when he knew that Heaven demanded the sacrifice, and had given him power to accomplish the act of obedience. Hence his ceasing from all "attendance upon public and domestic worship and from every attempt at private prayer," till madness in a different form tempted him to try, and try in vain, what prayer could do for him.

In a series of Letters, published by his kinsman, J. Johnson, about twelve years since, we have Cowper's communications to Newton respecting the horrors of his spiritual condition, and which Hayley had rejected. The "Memoir of his Early Life," written by himself, and before referred to, had been published a few years earlier. These, with still added disclosures of a later date, have probably informed us of all that Hayley omitted, and, it may be hoped, of all the forms of mental agony which this suffering man was called to pass through.

We know not that any general rule of selection and exclusion can be laid down to regulate posthumous publication. Hayley, in following a rule which he made for himself, may have been over-scrupulous; while others, in printing every thing they could lay hands on, may be charged with rudeness or indiscretion. To speak from our own feelings, we must say, that we see reasons to condemn, and none to justify, the publication of a considerable part of what may be called Cowper's secret history, or that of his insane delusions. The most obvious objections are, that it is calculated, with many other stimulating kinds of composition, to create or minister to a false appetite and taste, and to give an imperfect and false idea of the man, even though every thing put down be strict matter of fact. Of these we may speak presently.

There is probably a more hidden objection, which in some minds will operate quite as powerfully as those we have stated, though it may not pass for much with others. It is, that the recent disclosures do violence to a preconceived and cherished impression of Cowper's character; to the impression naturally received from his poetry. When Cowper first met with an extract from Dr. Johnson's Diary, he said to Newton, "It is certain that the publisher of it is neither much a friend to the cause of religion nor to the author's memory; for, by the specimen, it seems to contain only such stuff as has a direct tendency to expose both to ridicule." But Johnson's memory would suffer less from such irreverent exposure than his; for no such delightful idea of him had been received and bound to the heart, as Cowper has breathed from his rural walks, his winter evenings, his green-house, his occupations, and his friendships. It is not pretended, on any hand, that our knowledge of the mental diseases of either has lessened one jot our respect for their general intellectual vigor. But as a mere matter of sentiment, one is loth to have a sweet

remembrance poisoned, and a love almost personal, wounded. Men may call such regrets as mawkish as they are unavailing, and contend that they are selfish and hostile to truth, and that the secluded poet, whose very last thought would have been to call the public eye to his hideous griefs, was no more entitled to forbearance than Byron, who was for ever thrusting his hates and wrongs and contempt, all that he felt or affected, upon the general notice. Still some will feel that irreverence has been offered to a great name, and that our moral delicacy and self-respect are liable to be blunted by the slightest indifference to the fair claims of the living or the dead, and that Cowper has so completely blended himself with his poetry, that the influence of his sentiments, and even of his descriptions, must be lessened, if the spirit we have always associated with them is no longer there in its original beauty.

But without dwelling on this point, let it be asked, whether indeed the cause of truth (that much abused plea for irresponsible violence) is aided, and Cowper more truly understood, and his life a more instructive one, because we now know every particular of his malady. Is his malady a plague that has infected his whole mind, so that we must take it with us in order to interpret and modify all that he says? There is nothing wrong in considering him as having a double existence, — a joyous and sane mood, that was as little disturbed by his insane tendency, as it was able to control or mitigate it. The clear, and the turbid waters, ran side by side without mingling. Nothing can be more distinct, than his mind when brooding over its sufferings and recounting them, and when surrendering itself to its natural humor and sympathies. Near the very time that he was giving to one friend the most heart-rending descriptions of his state, and with the same clearness and energy that marked his correspondence generally, he could write letters to others that were radiant with playfulness and wit, and full of good sense, changing their topics with the most graceful ease, and as sincere as the frolic of a child.

Both these views of Cowper ought undoubtedly to be exhibited. The letters to Newton ought to be placed in their proper connexion with the gayer ones to Unwin, and Lady Hesketh, and Rose. Nobody would mistake for an instant the true state of the case. We are not asking writers of lives to invent pleasing sketches of maniacs, but to see that their facts do not induce false judgments and impressions; to be

prudent and discriminating in selecting their materials and in the position they give to objects. In the present case, the danger is that a minute history of insanity, preying upon a delicate and gifted mind, — the image, too, perpetually, urgently brought before us in fragments of confidential letters, and in the very heart of things most foreign to it, — will give a prevailing hue to our conception of the whole man ; that the haunting remembrance will ever be uppermost. In a life so uniform and inactive as his, the facts of his madness will be most like stirring incident, and of course draw more attention than the ordinary habits and employments which belong to his happier state, and to far the larger portion of his existence, and which accordingly are most indicative of what he really was. It will be well then, if we do not fancy a connexion far more intimate between his sanity and his disease, than actually existed in his own mind. This very Biography before us will probably leave more than the inevitable impression that Cowper was an afflicted man, with whom, however, we can for the most part sympathize in his distress as we do in his cheerfulness. There is so much of wretchedness and degradation to shock and repel, or, at best, to create a morbid interest, that the pleased and the true memory of him we once enjoyed may fade, and those who are yet to become acquainted with him may never obtain it. There will be more curiosity about his case, than perception and love of his character. "I could draw the picture of Despair," says he, "at any time ; I could delineate the country through which he travels, and describe his progress, could trace him from melancholy to rage, from rage to obduracy, and from obduracy to indifference about the event ; and this I could do in prose or verse with the greatest facility ; but to what good purpose ? Like Cibber's mad figures upon Bedlam gate, the representation might be allowed to be just, but if it were admired, would be so only in proportion as it shocked."

Some may doubt the evil effect of such minute details as we have deprecated, because his little circle of friends lost nothing of the beauty of his life by living with him and knowing all, even to the grossest forms of his malady, and themselves his keepers in the sanctuary of his home. If the rudest assaults upon their sympathy and respect harmed not the influence of his delightful qualities, why should we of another generation be thought to lose the spell of his healthy genius and

his happy days by passing within the veil of his terrors and reading the secrets of his prison-house? Let it be considered, however, that personal intimacy with, and care of the sufferer, while it gives a definite character to his calamity, limits its power over the imagination; the reality is viewed and treated by itself, and the return to health and every symptom of health is regarded as his restoration to his true state, to what we love, to what made us watch with trembling through his hours of darkness, waiting for the day. We should not for a moment recall what was past, and connect every thought of our friend with the distresses and humiliation of his disease, while we were with him in his blest seasons of light, of alleviated pain, and of the free, generous exercise of his affections and powers. Knowing and feeling the truth in its precise extent, we cannot deceive ourselves, and we cannot exaggerate. He was dead, and is alive again. But, on the other hand, a mere reader of his Life cannot have, in equal degree, these sources of sympathy or these means of correction. He is to draw a picture for himself, of an entire stranger, by the aid of his imagination, from a history of a whole life crowded into a small space, where the good and the evil are in close connexion, and both present to his mind at once. He obtains his whole idea of him during a brief but strong exercise of this faculty, and not in the more temperate and gradual method by which the senses, however highly excited, conduct him to truth. And this idea once received, is established for ever; for with him there can be no years of intimacy to obliterate or modify it, and there can be no personal affection to give his happy recollections the predominance; and it is scarcely to be expected that a strong first impression will be much impaired by any subsequent reasoning upon the duty of discrimination.

We are not questioning here the general utility of a sound imagination to the right conception of facts, but offering a suggestion as to the kind of influence this faculty may exercise upon a reader of the history of Cowper's insanity.

But whatever were the motives or the imprudence of those who have brought this history to light; whether they sought to impair his authority on theological questions by showing that he was a madman, or to vindicate his particular theology from the reproach of having made him mad, or to set his peculiar religious opinions more fully before the reader; or

whether they acted from a questionable idea of biographical fidelity, or a desire to make his story more captivating, and to exhibit some new view of his power in his calm and vigorous and most searching descriptions of his religious frenzy ; or, idlest of all, to account for a supposed inconsistency between gloomy passages in his poems and his sprightly letters to his friends ; it is too late to enter a complaint now. Mr. Sharp says to Dr. Southey, "The painful facts are so well known, that you must fairly tell the whole story of his derangement;" and our author has addressed himself diligently to his work.

With a number of difficult questions brought before him for judgment, Dr. Southey shows patience, fairness, and sagacity in informing himself of the truth, and making up his decision. He is evidently fond of his undertaking, and aware of the singular advantages not less than of the embarrassments of his subject, and desirous of enabling the reader to form a satisfactory opinion of the whole life of a man, who had been made a frequent topic of controversy, but never, it is believed, on any point connected with his genius, his moral character, his taste, or the popular influence of the books published by his own authority. The Biography is an elaborate, skilful mosaic, and more in this style than the author wished, for reasons stated in the Preface. Detached particulars are collected from Cowper's extensive correspondence, from his private narratives and notes, from the recollections of the living, from the papers of deceased relatives, and from contemporary biographies ; and this variety of materials is wrought into a continuous narrative, requiring, no doubt, greater labor of comparison and selection than many an admiring reader will think of, and a steady activity of imagination to enable the relater of details to see and present something like a consistent whole, or preserve that natural unity which belongs to truth.

While we acknowledge the skill with which the work is put together, we perceive also signs of the care that was necessary to give it shape. Dr. Southey writes with the confidence of one who knows that he has made all safe, and yet not with the perfect ease of one who has gathered his knowledge of a man from intimacy and sympathy. He is seeking for truth in records, and not arranging the results of personal observation. He encounters difficulties which must be explained, and representations and opinions of others which need correction, and hence the work often has marks of a critical examination

instead of unembarrassed narrative. Under the circumstances, all this was inevitable; and it is only surprising that what is strictly of an argumentative or speculative character should be introduced so easily and conducted so rapidly, as rather to fall in with the narrative than appear to be added to it, and that there is so well-connected a story where there was so much to break it in pieces.

We do not allude here to his setting apart certain portions of his work for the consideration of particular topics, connected with the literary history of Cowper's time; for instance, the ample notice of Churchill, and of Cowper's companions of the Nonsense Club. These are understood to be of the nature of episodes, and to have their privilege. But it is observable even of these and other digressions, — where the strict biography is interrupted for the sake of critical dissertations or summaries of literature, or to place before us passages in the literary history of the period that are little known, but important in connexion with the growth of Cowper's mind and the formation of his taste, and with his habits of life before and after he retired from the world, — that the main interest is far from being painfully broken, and the reader returns to the story with increased light thrown upon its progress, and grateful for the author's free use of his almost boundless information. Joined to these and other qualifications of a biographer, which place him in the first rank of this class of writers, is a calm, unaffected, transparent style, the result not merely of his mastery of English, but also of his possession of his subject, and a devotion to it as sincere as if he were preparing an account of himself. It is delightful to have a memoir of Cowper from one who resembles him in purity of diction and in simple elegance.

When the services of an editor and biographer, every way so competent to the business, had been secured, it would have been gratifying to add that we were at last put in possession of a complete edition of Cowper's writings. But the embarrassment of copy-right in different hands is not yet wholly removed. The reader will learn from the Preface that Dr. Southey, while he brings valuable additions to the former collection, is debarred from inserting entire an important series of letters already published.

Such a variety of topics is presented in the Life alone, that it seems advisable to set limits to the range of our remarks;

and perhaps by dwelling chiefly on Cowper's personal character and private habits, we may give a clearer idea of him in every relation, than by any summary we could make of the Biography.

Cowper's natural temper was scarcely less remarkable than his genius, if indeed it can be considered as not making a part of it. A gentle, inoffensive disposition, averse to action, but in perfect harmony with vivacity of mind and gayety of spirits, seemed for a time to promise him a happy life of literary and social leisure. In a beautiful letter to Mrs. Bodham, thanking her for the present of his mother's picture, he says ; "I was thought in the days of my childhood much to resemble my mother ; and in my natural temper, of which at the age of fifty-eight I must be supposed to be a competent judge, can trace both her, and my late uncle, your father. Somewhat of his irritability ; and a little, I would hope, both of his and her ——, I know not what to call it, without seeming to praise myself, which is not my intention, but speaking to *you*, I will even speak out, and say, *good nature.*" Giving our own interpretation to his share of the family irritability, we read in this passage, what indeed is legible in his whole life, that his amiableness was not a weak or indolent passiveness; for he was alive to injuries, neglect, and ingratitude, and could express his resentments ; not indeed querulously, as if he thought of himself more than of the wrong, but feelingly, like a man instinctively tender of the rights of another, and duly mindful of his own. It was not in his nature however to retain ill-will, or support the bearing of a proud man who remembers a wrong for the purpose of keeping up his dignity and vindicating his rights. Thurlow and Colman might neglect him in his retirement and incur his resentment; and his connexions, those whom he loved dearest, might separate themselves from him, because they could not sympathize with him in his religious sentiments. But his heart yearned towards them, and he delighted in the occasion, though at a distant day, of renewing his intimacy with them. Years of separation and silence had not impaired his memory of their looks and manner, or of those trifling incidents of their intercourse, which are generally the most strongly associated with old friendships, and most expressive of the terms on which people live.

To what but the charm of his disposition can we ascribe

the affection he inspired in minds the most various and the most diversely occupied. It was not his sufferings that first bound them to him, nor sympathy with his religious opinions and experiences, nor homage to his genius, nor a wish to be known as familiar with an eminent man. Entire strangers, men of the world, Romanists and Protestants, females of apostolic sanctity buried in the shades of a country village, and females, the wittiest and most accomplished, from the capital; Hayley, in the splendor of his fame; Rose, a youth just from College; and Hill, loaded with the business of his office, are all drawn alike to the recluse at Olney and Weston Lodge. The spot is not visited because of its celebrity; the visits make no noise in the journals, and probably would not now be known but for his description of them in his familiar letters. Some of his most valued friends discovered him by accident; and though they might well deem it the great event of their lives, they could scarcely dream that the terms on which they lived with him were to associate their names with his for ever. Before he was at all known as a writer, and when long sequestration had made him as one dead and out of mind to the intimates of his youth and early manhood, the same charm had won him friends, which secured those who visited him in the days of his far-spread fame.

So far from courting attention himself, his excessive shyness made him apprehensive at the approach of a stranger, and even of his dearest friend after long separation; and though dependent upon society, he wished it small and of the most domestic kind. But when the countenance beamed upon him or the voice was heard that harmonized with his spirit, let it happen ever so casually, his heart opened to them, and confidence was given and established. The ways in which his friends showed their devotedness are deserving of the particular notice which Dr. Southey has taken of them, for they are tokens of their character and of his; and in many points they are illustrative of his habits, taste, and circumstances. Sometimes these offices were imprudent and exceedingly injurious, but they were not the less affectionate and well intended. We cannot but observe in almost every case how unpretending and considerate are the attentions he received. Mrs. Unwin's maternal devotion of her life to him, and the prudence and overflowing tenderness of Lady Hesketh's care, call for higher language. We refer to humbler

services ; to the charge taken of his little property by an early and constant friend, while others, who had a right to confer such a favor, are engaged to make up any deficiency. A neighbour offers him the free use of his grounds for his retired walks, where none shall intrude upon him. Delicacies are constantly sent to him from the seashore ; seeds and plants are remembered in season for his garden ; some are urging him to write, and proposing subjects, and transcribing his verses, and others are finding him a better residence, and furnishing his study, or tempting him to journey. Take his years of illness and health together, and his life seems to be one continued reception of kindness, and his poetry, the fruit and return of friendship.

We may see in this nothing but proofs of his helplessness and their compassion. But does mere helplessness draw forth such various and cheerful service, and from strangers ? It would be wrong, however, to speak of Cowper as a mere burden to others, or, at best, as rewarding their care with his letters only, or his muse, or his conversation. He was far from being wholly inactive, though his power was every way small to serve a friend or the people of the village. He was in no respect a selfish man, though with every temptation to become one. It is particularly to our purpose here, to name his devotion to Mrs. Unwin in the feebleness of her old age. It forms one of the most affecting passages in his own or in any life ; and to feel all its beauty and sadness, we should read every particular of their long intimacy. He had been as dependent upon her as a sick child, and had contemplated the possibility of her death with a childlike dread of desertion. And when he saw her mind, which had been his guardian and cheering light, failing, and the support and even the restraint of religious principle growing feeble with her own weakness ; when he saw her, whose charge he had been, now impatiently exacting attentions from him, which his depression at her changed state, and his common infirmities, made it next to impossible that he should render ; though himself old, he went to her with a child's love, and in his turn gave himself wholly to her comfort. "I cannot," he says, "sit with my pen in my hand and my books before me, while she is in effect in solitude, silent, and looking at the fire." His strength sunk under his care of her and the absence of his customary supports. A mournful scene follows of impotent

devotedness, and then of humiliation and misery till death. Let us return to the days of his happier intercourse with his friends.

How unlike it is to the intercourse we commonly read of, between a distinguished writer and his circle of courtiers, or to what usually passes during the calls of a traveller upon a celebrated author. It was altogether domestic and affectionate, and full of simplicity and ease. There is no flattery on one side, and no imperiousness or vanity on the other. The noble and wealthy come without ostentation, and the humblest friend is never reminded of his inferiority. His letters give many beautiful pictures of his social habits and pleasures. We see in them, as if present, the manner in which he and his friends lived together. And it must be remembered that his conversation had all the playfulness and good sense and natural variety of the letters. He was essentially the same man in his conversation and his writings. He did not reserve a part of himself for the public; but all that we call his genius ran easily into homely, familiar use. There is no reason to think that those who were most intimate with him were at all surprised, when, past middle life, he produced his first great poems; so perfectly was all he wrote an image of himself as they familiarly knew him. And if we have a feeling of home in the mere reading of his poetry, how must they have enjoyed it, who, day after day, in summer walks or by the evening fire, lived in the presence of his purity, good humor, and beautiful fancy.

His occupations, or, as he would call them, his amusements, are illustrative of his temper. We allude especially to those of the ten or twelve years after his recovery from the second and lengthened attack of his malady. For a time his health required constant exercise and employment in the open air; and his occupations denote the simplicity of his taste, and his readiness, which he never lost but when overpowered by disease, to do any thing that was blameless, which might give him strength and turn his thoughts from madness. He never had recourse to false stimulants, nor to the relief of sullen despair. Cut off for a season from reading and mental exertion of every kind, he was content with the care of plants and a vegetable garden, or with taming hares. He says, "from thirty-three to sixty I have spent my time in the country, where my reading has been only an apology for idleness, and

where, when I had not either a magazine or a review, I was sometimes a carpenter, at others a bird-cage maker, or a gardener, or a drawer of landscapes." No matter how little the object, if it served to amuse him. As he says in another letter; "I delight in baubles, and know them to be so. I am pleased with a frame of four lights, doubtful whether the few pines it contains will ever be worth a farthing; amuse myself with a greenhouse, which Lord Bute's gardener could take upon his back and walk away with; and when I have paid it the accustomed visit, and watered it and given it air, I say to myself, 'this is not mine; 't is a plaything lent me for the present; I must leave it soon.' "

And then what an amusing importance does he give to his turning the greenhouse into a summer retreat.

"I might date my letter from the greenhouse, which we have converted into a summer parlour. The walls hung with garden mats, and the floor covered with a carpet, the sun too in a great measure excluded, by an awning of mats which forbids him to shine anywhere except upon the carpet, it affords us by far the pleasantest retreat in Olney. We eat, drink, and sleep where we always did; but here we spend all the rest of our time; and find that the sound of the wind in the trees, and the singing of birds, are much more agreeable to our ears than the incessant barking of dogs and screaming of children. It is an observation that naturally occurs upon the occasion, and which many other occasions furnish an opportunity to make, that people long for what they have not, and overlook the good in their possession. This is so true in the present instance, that for years past I should have thought myself happy to enjoy a retirement even less flattering to my natural taste, than this in which I am now writing; and have often looked wistfully at a snug cottage, which, on account of its situation at a distance from noise and disagreeable objects, seemed to promise me all I could wish or expect, so far as happiness may be said to be local; never once adverting to this comfortable nook, which affords me all that could be found in the most sequestered hermitage, with the advantage of having all those accommodations near at hand, which no hermitage could possibly afford me."

It was for occupation's sake that he betook himself to poetry. "At fifty years of age I commenced an author. It is a whim that has served me longest and best, and will probably be my last." He delighted in the most laborious exercises of

his art, in the revision of single verses and of whole poems again and again, to make all as perfect as possible ; and when a book was once carried through the press, he felt that he had parted with a summer and winter friend, a patient soother that was ever ready at his call. The labor to which he regularly subjected himself, though probably far greater than some poets of "more mercurial powers" have endured for an equal fame, seems to us as nothing, because we regard it as the prudent remedy or solace of a diseased mind, and as a part of the arrangement of his daily life. If it answered its immediate purpose, there was time enough to think of the sensation he might produce abroad, or of the celebrity he was actually winning.

The period of life, and the circumstances of Cowper's first great poetical effort, deserve attention. At the age of thirty-two, we find him a man of letters in London, fond of classical studies and of the society of wits, by profession a lawyer, and properly an idler. Thus far he has published nothing that foretells the author of "John Gilpin," "Yardley Oak," and "The Task." Then follow nearly two years of insanity and despondency, during far the larger part of which he was under the care of Dr. Cotton, till his recovery in 1765. According to Dr. Southey, Cowper may be said to have been first introduced to the public as a poet by the "Olney Hymns," which were not published till 1779. His contributions to this collection had been made at a much earlier date, but the publication had been delayed by another access of madness, which lasted several years ; and it is not till the close of 1780, when he was bordering on fifty, that he undertook any considerable work. It seems, that on his last recovery, Mrs. Unwin urged him to give his thoughts to poetry, and to a poem of some extent ; and proposed for a subject the Progress of Error. His mind was first directed and kindled to a great achievement, after its recovery from a longer, if not severer attack, than he ever suffered till its final obscuration ; at a time of life too when we commonly expect no new developement of power, and at the instance of the faithful woman who had been his nurse and guardian through this scene of woe. He was living in a retired spot, where the calls and influences of society could not easily reach him, and where the power of habitual indolence, and of exemption from ordinary cares, had every means of fatally establishing itself. His recovery, too, had not been

entire, for he was never wholly relieved from the delusion which took possession of his mind during this illness. And yet now he first wakes to a sense of his resources and strength, and enters upon his great poetical career. We cannot receive the superstition that insanity is allied to inspiration, and thence conjecture that some mysterious accession of power was going on in this dreadful repose of the mind. All that we perceive is, that he is more judiciously treated by his friends, and that a more happy direction is given to his faculties, than when he was wasting life in the frivolities of London, or was absorbed in his scarcely less hurtful religious excesses at Olney.

His attachment to a country life was formed early. He had enjoyed the city, and lived on equal terms with many distinguished young men whom he associated with there ; and he had been driven from the town, and from all general intercourse with society, by his calamity. But in his healthiest state, he was most in his element in a quiet seclusion. What is commonly called a life of action was not only revolting to his taste, but he probably could never have forced himself into a successful prosecution of any of its callings, by any strength of principle or exercise of self-discipline. He says, he had never been able to conjecture what nature expressly designed him for, so universally disqualified did he seem to himself for the common and customary occupations and amusements of mankind ; and he was probably nearer the truth in this, than when, speaking to Rose of his own wasted years in an attorney's office and at the Temple, he says :

"Had I employed my time as wisely as you, I had never been a poet perhaps, but I might by this time have acquired a character of more importance in society, and a situation in which my friends would have been better pleased to see me. The only use I can make of myself now, at least the best, is to serve *in terrorem* to others, that they may escape my folly and my fate."

Men may be expected to take different views of themselves at different seasons, according to the present weight of a particular motive or state of mind. When Cowper says, that God had given him "an unambitious mind, content in the low vale of life," we believe that he partly erred ; for he had ambition, and he acknowledges it as freely as in other

places he avows his apathy to fame. See what he says on this point to Lady Hesketh.

"I am not ashamed to confess, that having commenced an author, I am most abundantly desirous to succeed as such. *I have* (*what perhaps you little suspect me of*) *in my nature an infinite share of ambition.* But with it, I have, at the same time, as you well know, an equal share of diffidence. To this combination of opposite qualities it has been owing that, till lately, I stole through life without undertaking any thing, yet always wishing to distinguish myself. At last I ventured, ventured too in the only path, that at so late a period was yet open to me; and am determined, if God have not determined otherwise, to work my way through the obscurity that has been so long my portion, into notice. Every thing, therefore, that seems to threaten this my favorite purpose with disappointment, affects me nearly."

But whenever he refers to rural life, the tone, we believe, is always the same. The contemplation is a happy one, as if he again felt his first-breathed atmosphere, and the presence of his native prospects. He was indeed scourged thither; and so the tempest may drive us to port, and afflictions, to Heaven's light. Read his beautiful confession.

> "The country wins me still:
> I never framed a wish, or formed a plan,
> That flattered me with hopes of earthly bliss,
> But there I laid the scene. There early strayed
> My fancy, ere yet liberty of choice
> Had found me, or the hope of being free.
> My very dreams were rural; rural too
> The first-born efforts of my youthful muse."
>
> *Task,* Book IV.

With such love of the country, and its influence being always most favorable to his health and a sound activity of his mind, his poetry would naturally turn much on rural topics. In addition to this, he wanted to make the inhabitants of large towns aware of their privations and evils, and come out to inhale a purer life, in the quiet and verdure, and amidst the sounds and employments of farms and villages and woods, and the border of inland streams. His descriptions of these have been his most popular compositions; not however because they present truer pictures of his mind, or, in general, juster views of things, than are to be found in those of

his poems which are more strictly occupied with man; nor because there is less nerve and variety in the latter. But in describing natural scenes, he had the advantage of a subject which was likely to excite sympathy, and raise agreeable images and trains of thought in all. Even those who knew the least of the matter, had yet wants ungratified, and such as they might for the first time be made distinctly acquainted with by a strain of music, or a painting, or a poetical description of nature. And though they still lived on in crowded cities, they could dream with delight upon the new conceptions which were thus formed in their imaginations. What would particularly recommend such topics to Cowper, was the conviction that moral and religious truths could be more powerfully urged, if they were interwoven with images, that were both in beautiful accord with them, and naturally agreeable to all minds. And he could anticipate their general good influence from what he knew of himself. He knew the charm which the contemplation of such scenes, and the description of familiar objects in a life of rural seclusion, could exercise over the most afflicted mind. He rested upon the pure bosom of the earth, as if it were a mother's. From his safe retreat he saw men at a distance, and was less disturbed by their hot contentions. The strain of his poetry grew more in sympathy with the generality of readers. There was more sweetness in his devotional sentiments. Though at times his satire and denunciations and expostulations are withering, yet how frequent are the intervals of serene contemplations of nature, and of the breathings of spiritual peace, as if he could not escape the soothing tone of his general subject, and wished others to feel it with him.

Dr. Southey thinks, that the humble and quiet scenery to which Cowper was accustomed, was peculiarly suited to his disposition, and to the spirit of his most characteristic poem, "The Task." We apprehend, however, that the calm and domestic air of his finest descriptions, is owing in part to a natural turn of mind, which would have shown itself, even if he had been placed in a wild and picturesque country. He would not have sought chiefly those points in a prospect which are most apt to create wonder, but those which he could subdue to his fancy and common feelings, and which would wear best as old acquaintance. He would scarcely have busied himself with making grand pictures, merely

because the materials were ready at hand. He would not describe an object for its own sake, but simply because it had become a companion and image of his ordinary thoughts. And with his ingenious fancy and thoughtful humor, he would find such objects on the ocean side, or amongst mountains, as well as on "the sandy flats of Buckinghamshire." He expresses, however, a different opinion in a letter from Eartham; but it was written when he was longing for the shelter of his home, and the renewal of habits that were become necessary to his happiness.

"More beautiful scenery I have never beheld, nor expect to behold; but the charms of it, uncommon as they are, have not in the least alienated my affections from Weston. The genius of that place suits me better; it has an air of snug concealment, in which a disposition like mine feels peculiarly gratified; whereas here, I see from every window woods like forests, and hills like mountains; a wildness in short that increases my natural melancholy."

Cowper's religious history and character are now so associated with certain points of belief, and with his dreams of madness, that the sweetness and beauty of his devotional spirit are in danger of being overlooked or indistinctly conceived. His early discovered and profound feeling of God was the terror as well as the solace of his boyhood; and afterwards, upon the fuller developement of his constitutional tendency, it allied itself to his mental disease, to inspire him with perilous raptures, or plunge him in depths of woe to which sin alone might seem doomed. Still the devout feeling breaks forth from the clouds and fires that environ it. And how submissive is it, and filial, and dependent. God is the nearest being he knows; the only being. To be separated from him, is to lose all good, and life would be a terror. Nature is filled with his presence; life is his constant power; events are his permission or command. Even behind the darkness, and when despair is on every side, God's mysterious agency is as real to him, as when he rejoiced in the light of his countenance. His delusion cannot impair his benevolence or sense of duty; and were it not for compassion and grief, we should feel that it gave them even a sublime character. He alone is shut out from mercy; and, himself a castaway, he yet preaches to others, deeming it the appointment of Providence that

he should labor for them, though no longer permitted to do any thing for himself. Shall we say that he is equally insane in either conviction? Why not rather, that faith had power to subdue selfishness, and in a degree to control madness?

He tells his friends, that he mingles pleasantry with his seriousness, that his writings may have attraction for the worldly and inconsiderate. It is more probable that the humor came naturally, and was fearlessly indulged because a consciousness of right intention, and an almost instinctive good taste, assured him that he should never fall into unseasonable levity. And if his views of human life are often dark, and his remonstrances severe, we need not ascribe this to his malady, for they were so in his brightest days. The prophet of old went not with pleasant minstrelsy to his idolatrous countrymen. A mind in the highest sense spiritual, absorbed in religious feelings, and believing that men generally are content to be slaves to what is present and perishable, would be mad indeed or worse, if it feared to employ words and arguments and images that would break their slumber, however those might be offended who would not be made free. Cowper is never soured with the world, but amazed and afflicted at its blindness.

It is admitted that there is often an air of exaggeration when he speaks of spiritual subjects and of sin, which is not to be observed in his descriptions of outward objects, or when he draws a moral lesson from some simple occurrences that fall under his notice. This must always be expected (even in minds far better strung and regulated than his) whenever they are strongly impelled by a generous purpose and an exalted feeling. The overstatement is not falsely hyperbolical; a cold inflation of a common matter. It is running beyond the bounds from excessive eagerness. And it cannot be denied, that in such cases the extravagance often places the truth in the only light to affect the mass; or perhaps more properly, their minds could be animated in no other way to see, in its full force and verity, what to the more apprehensive and thoughtful writer is instantly visible in its whole importance. Cowper never exaggerates in the sense of telling what he does not feel. He has long felt it. He has dwelt upon it perhaps till his views have grown morbid. There is no mark of sudden impulse or vexation, however wrong the judgment may be. He is thoroughly sincere in the condemnation he

passes upon his own course of life in London, and in arraigning a corrupt clergy, and public and private offenders of any class.

It is remarkable that when relating mere matters of fact, let them be of the most exciting kind, (for instance, in his Narrative of what occurred during his first attack of insanity,) the statements are as clear and simple and low-pitched, as if he were speaking of ordinary topics. We doubt whether many strangers could tell the story, half so deliberately and distinctly. So in the letters which describe his sufferings, a temperate tone seems to be borrowed from his very despair; and, as if despair had made him disinterested in the contemplation of his own case, he shuns not to relate every thing, as far, at least, as language can go. He does not, however, press his griefs upon others, nor ask for sympathy, nor betray egotism, as if he were vain of his peculiar affliction. He does not return to the subject from habit, nor does the lapse of time, or frequent recurrence to it, lessen its weight and power. Year after year the description is equally fresh and vigorous, and though the language and images vary, yet the strain is always the same. Let us read one or two passages from his letters to Newton.

"The weather is an exact emblem of my mind in its present state. A thick fog envelopes every thing, and at the same time it freezes intensely. You will tell me that this cold gloom will be succeeded by a cheerful spring, and endeavour to encourage me to hope for a spiritual change resembling it; but it will be lost labor. Nature revives again; but a soul once slain lives no more. The hedge that has been apparently dead, is not so; it will burst into leaf and blossom at the appointed time; but no such time is appointed for the stake that stands in it. It is as dead as it seems, and will prove itself no dissembler."

"I have been lately more dejected and more distressed than usual; more harrassed by dreams in the night, and more deeply poisoned by them in the following day. I know not what is portended by an alteration for the worse, after eleven years of misery. I now see a long winter before me, and am to get through it as I can. I know the ground, before I tread upon it. It is hollow, it is agitated, it suffers shocks in every direction; it is like the soil of Calabria, all whirlpool and undulation. But I must reel through it; at least, if I be not swallowed up by the way."

"My experiences have this belonging to them: that, as they are not fit for recital, being made up merely of infernal ingredients, so neither are they susceptible of it; for I know no language in which they could be expressed. They are as truly things which it is not possible for man to utter, as those were which Paul heard and saw in the third heaven. If the ladder of Christian experience reaches, as I suppose it does, to the very presence of God, it has nevertheless its foot in the abyss. And if Paul stood, as no doubt he did, in that experience of his to which I have just alluded, on the topmost round of it, I have been standing and still stand on the lowest, in this thirteenth year that has passed since I descended. In such a situation of mind, encompassed by the midnight of absolute despair, and a thousand times filled with unspeakable horror, I first commenced an author. Distress drove me to it; and the impossibility of subsisting without some employment, still recommends it. I am not indeed so perfectly hopeless, as I was; but I am equally in need of an occupation, being often as much and sometimes even more worried than ever. I cannot amuse myself as I once could with carpenters' or with gardeners' tools, or with squirrels and Guinea-pigs. At that time I was a child. But since it has pleased God, whatever else he withholds, to restore to me a man's mind, I have put away childish things. Thus far, therefore, it is plain that I have not chosen or prescribed to myself my own way, but have been providentially led to it; perhaps I might say with equal propriety, compelled and scourged into it; for certainly could I have made my choice, or were I permitted to make it even now, those hours which I spend in poetry I would spend with God."

One important and regular occupation of Cowper's better years, was letter-writing; genuine letter-writing too, of the most familiar kind, in a correspondence with the nearest friends, and growing out of present occurrences, impressions, and exigencies. The Letters may be considered in several points of view. In the first place, they give us the best possible account of the writer. They take up nearly all the ground of an avowed Biographer, with the advantage of not doing it on purpose. Where there is any perceptible chasm in the correspondence, there was also a blank, or nearly so, in his mind and history. With the aid of a few notes, the Letters would leave little else to be required for a satisfactory view of his life; such an impression is there of completeness in the information. They are full of him, either as they show

his character in every aspect, or his common experience from day to day, or his opinions on recent and indeed on any topics, his estimate of literary obligations, and of the connexion between an author and his reader; or, in fine, as they answer almost every inquiry that could be raised from reading his works generally, from reading the letters themselves, or the accounts of him that have been furnished by others. It may be proper to add, that to understand the value of the Letters in a biographical view, or indeed in any other, they should be read in their order and read through. Such scattered fragments as we find in the Life answer the immediate purpose very well, but give a very inadequate idea of the correspondence.

The simple, the precisely stated facts of his early life are few, though no doubt as numerous as ought to be expected. But he has contrived, by his manner of referring to this period in his letters, to fill it out and make it singularly beautiful and interesting. We cannot say very distinctly what this manner is. Certainly, indefinite allusions, such as his old acquaintance would fully understand, are not likely to give *us* what we call information. Dim regrets, laughing recollections, and indications on every hand, that while he seems absolutely to live in the past, the present is still in and about him, that he is himself a changed man and yet touched as of old, and even more, by revisiting his former haunts, — all these marks of truth and helps to truth would be every thing in the eye of the friend he was writing to. But why is it that they affect *us* so deeply and familiarly? Without any orderly narrative, without notes to fill up or clear up, all appears luminous, real, present, and entire. And it is all delightful, both for the truth, and the way the truth falls from him; the broken, incidental way; the absence of all thought of making a dream of boyhood or a choice of its beauties. His feelings illuminate his hints, and they swell into scenes. By knowing his spirit, we are able to interpret, to complete and make real. *We* too were with him at school, at the club, and in Southampton Row, and we are now talking together of our old times and former selves.

But whatever be the topic, and whether of former or present days, he runs on with freedom and lightness; there is not the least appearance of keeping a Diary or rendering an account; and no pressure of responsibleness, not even from the

necessity of getting something ready when he has nothing to say. He takes this very easily ; far more easily than Sterne, who says that he made half a dozen different beginnings to say nothing, and could no way please himself. Cowper enters upon the vacuity in the highest spirits. The want of a topic seems to be the best state of things possible to begin a letter. He is "put to entreaty, and there begins new matter." The whole case we are now considering is stated in a letter to Unwin.

"You like to hear from me ; this is a very good reason why I should write. But I have nothing to say ; this seems equally a good reason why I should not. Yet if you had alighted from your horse at our door this morning, and at this present writing, being five o'clock in the afternoon, had found occasion to say to me, — 'Mr. Cowper, you have not spoke since I came in ; have you resolved never to speak again ?' it would be but a poor reply, if in answer to the summons I should plead inability as my best and only excuse. And this by the way suggests to me a seasonable piece of instruction, and reminds me of what I am very apt to forget, when I have any epistolary business in hand, that a letter may be written upon any thing or nothing, just as that any thing or nothing happens to occur. A man that has a journey before him twenty miles in length, which he is to perform on foot, will not hesitate and doubt whether he shall set out or not, because he does not readily conceive how he shall ever reach the end of it ; for he knows, that by the simple operation of moving one foot forward first, and then the other, he shall be sure to accomplish it. So it is in the present case, and so it is in every similar case. A letter is written as a conversation is maintained, or a journey performed ; not by preconcerted or premeditated means, a new contrivance, or an invention never heard of before, but merely by maintaining a progress, and resolving as a postilion does, having once set out, never to stop till we reach the appointed end. If a man may talk without thinking, why may he not write upon the same terms ? A grave gentleman of the last century, a tie-wig, square-toe, Steinkirk figure, would say, 'My good sir, a man has no right to do either.' But it is to be hoped that the present century has nothing to do with the mouldy opinions of the last ; and so, good Sir Launcelot, or Sir Paul, or whatever be your name, step into your picture frame again, and look as if you thought for another century, and leave us moderns in the mean time to think when we can, and to write whether we can or not, else we might as well be dead as you are."

Cowper makes it almost a condition of the correspondence, that he may "scribble away and write his uppermost thoughts, and those only." But these sudden products of his mind bear marks of more than its activity. He can trifle and gossip; and little things have their uses, if a man have the wit or philosophy to find them out. Horace Walpole raised gossip very near to the dignity of a fine art, and could set off sober wisdom the better in a crowd of vanities. With him, however, letter-writing seems to be a profession; while with Cowper, who probably gave to it as much of his time, it commonly has the ease and lightness of something called forth by a pleasing accident; and the riches and variety of his mind would have been far less known but for this sort of irresponsible exercise. And though a letter be gloomy throughout, or one of grave advice, or sympathy, or criticism, or occupied wholly with his literary engagements, the freedom and despatch are equally visible. If heavy spirits and a reluctant genius compel him to make efforts, he tells us how it is with him, or we should suspect nothing of the matter, so soon does the exertion create facility.

As to literary merits, the better opinion seems to be that a letter should have none, or at least none which are susceptible of being critically defined. Walpole says, he hates what is called a good letter. Cowper observes, that West's Letters are "elegant and sensible, but have nothing in them that is characteristic, or that discriminates them from the letters of any other young man of taste and learning." Of course the elegance goes for very little. Upon hearing that his own letters had been praised by Unwin for being "entertaining and clever, and so forth," he makes a remonstrance which shows that he thought there must be something wrong in a letter that sought or received admiration.

"I found this consequence attending, or likely to attend the eulogium you bestowed; if my friend thought me witty before, he shall think me ten times more witty hereafter; where I joked once, I will joke five times, and for one sensible remark I will send him a dozen. Now this foolish vanity would have spoiled me quite, and would have made me as disgusting a letter-writer as Pope, who seems to have thought that unless a sentence was well turned, and every period pointed with some conceit, it was not worth the carriage. Accordingly, he is to me, except in very few instances, the most disagreeable maker of epistles that ever I met with."

To say that his letters have every property of good style which is suitable for such compositions, and yet that they have no style at all, might be deemed (however near the truth) an affected mode of expression ; so that we are tempted to specify a few particulars ; for instance, the purity of his diction, and the consummate grace and dexterity with which he uses the language. There is a music in the arrangement, which is felt as much, and observed as little, as a pleasant voice in conversation. The sentence takes its shape from the matter, and the manner varies with the topic or feeling, or the party addressed. In short, here is perfect English composition, in its kind, and a reigning harmony ; and the result is, that a body of familiar letters, in the first copy, has passed into English libraries as a monument of prose, and an established classic unequalled in its own department.

It is agreeable to know that Cowper found relief and amusement in his part of the correspondence. It was more to him than an exercise and expression of his love, and was rewarded with more than a grateful reply. We may see the diversion it afforded him, in one striking characteristic of the Letters ; we mean the unexpected turn he gives to common things, and usually a playful one. The grotesque is delicately applied to raise and set off a very simple matter. The comic and serious are so mixed as to have the effect, with seemingly no purpose, of irony. He is evidently amused himself ; but to all appearance he is entertained with something he has discovered in the thing he is describing, and not with the whimsical conceits it has suggested. It was of great moment to his happiness, that his fancy should be easily directed to objects that would make it active without producing strong emotion ; and he seems to have so trained it to his service, that he could go to it for relief in his dejection as hopefully as another might have recourse to music. In the milder states of his melancholy, his strange and diverting fancies came forth, like the day-spring, to mingle with and scatter the throng of shadows. But sometimes he wrote his merriest pieces under the influence of despair itself, as if it were the inspiring power, and the flashes and floods had waited till the cloud were thickest. How much of real joy there was in such a revel, is hidden. Madness, we may suppose, has many alleviations of which we know nothing ; and Dr. Southey has suggested one in the case of Cowper, which

though foreign to that we have just spoken of, may have a place here.

"Our retrospect of any individual's history is colored by the fortune of his latter days, as a drama takes its character from the catastrophe. A melancholy sentiment will always for this reason prevail, when Cowper is thought of. But though his disease of mind settled at last into the deepest shade, and ended in the very blackness of darkness, it is not less certain that before it reached that point, it allowed him many years of moral and intellectual enjoyment. They who have had most opportunity of observing and studying madness in all its mysterious forms, and in all its stages, know that the same degree of mental suffering is not produced by imaginary causes of distress as by real ones. Violent emotions, and outbreaks of ungovernable anger are at times easily excited, but not anguish of mind, not that abiding grief which eats into the heart. The distress, even when the patient retains, like Cowper, the full use of reason upon all other points, is in this respect like that of a dream, — a dream, indeed, from which the sufferer can neither wake nor be awakened; but it pierces no deeper, and there seems to be the same dim consciousness of its unreality." — Vol. II. p. 70.

We will close with one more extract from the Life, that is not without a cheering influence, though its tone is melancholy.

"Happily there was nothing irksome in any of the business to which he was called. His correspondence, — except only when, upon writing to Mr. Newton, and to him alone, the consciousness of his malady arose in his mind, —was purely pleasurable. He had his own affliction, and that was of the heaviest kind; but from the ordinary cares and sorrows of life no man was ever more completely exempted. All his connexions were prosperous. Mr. Unwin was the only friend, whose longer life must have appeared desirable, of whom death bereaved him. From the time when in the prime of manhood he was rendered helpless, he was provided for by others; that Providence which feeds the ravens raised up one person after another to minister unto him. Mrs. Unwin was to him as a mother; Lady Hesketh as a sister; and when he lost in Unwin one who had been to him as a brother, young men, as has already been seen, in the instance of Rose, supplied that loss with almost filial affection. Sad as his story is, it is not altogether mournful; he had never to complain of injustice, nor of injuries, nor even of neglect. Man had no part in bringing on his calamity; and to

that very calamity which made him 'leave the herd' like 'a stricken deer,' it was owing that the genius which has consecrated his name, which has made him the most popular poet of his age, and secures that popularity from fading away, was developed in retirement; it would have been blighted had he continued in the course for which he was trained up. He would not have found the way to fame, unless he had missed the way to fortune. He might have been happier in his generation; but he could never have been so useful; with that generation his memory would have passed away, and he would have slept with his fathers, instead of living with those who are the glory of their country and the benefactors of their kind."—Vol. II. p. 313.

ART. IV. — 1. *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan, comprising a Series of Discourses delivered before the Historical Society of Michigan, and other interesting Papers relative to the Territory.* Detroit. 1834. 12mo. pp. 215.

2. *Constitution of the State of Michigan, as adopted in Convention begun and held at the Capitol in the City of Detroit, on Monday the 11th day of May, A. D.* 1835. Detroit. 1835. 8vo. pp. 20.

THE late rapid growth of Michigan in population and importance; the extent of recent speculations in land within its limits; the collisions in which it has been engaged with the great bordering State of Ohio; and its peculiar actual position in relation to the Federal Union, are circumstances naturally creating a strong interest in its statistics and history.

Michigan is a peninsula of triangular shape, occupying what may be denominated the maritime frontier of the old Northwestern territory. Its southeastern point is about 300 miles from the city of Buffalo, in the State of New York, which stands at the eastern extremity of Lake Erie. It is bounded on the north by the connected waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan, on the west by Lake Michigan, and on the south by the States of Indiana and Ohio. Lake Erie, Detroit river, Lake St. Clair, and the river of the same name, constitute its

eastern boundary, for the space of about 140 miles; after which this boundary is continued northward by Lake Huron. The area of the State comprises about 40,000 square miles, and its population at the present time is estimated at 125,000.

The general surface of the territory is comparatively level, having no mountains of any considerable elevation. In many points, however, the soil is gently undulating, particularly as you advance from the shores of the surrounding Lakes. Precipitous bluffs may be found along the border of Lake Huron; and numerous sand hills, which have been doubtless blown up by the winds of that Lake, may be discovered upon the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Much of the land along the shore of Lakes Erie, Huron, and St. Clair, is low, level, and heavily timbered. The interior is more hilly, and consists of extensive tracts of good timber, alternated by plains, prairies, and oak openings. These plains are timbered soil, destitute of undergrowth; and the oak openings are constituted of large timber scattered over the surface in groves, but in sufficient quantities, ordinarily, for farming purposes. The soil of this species of land, although easily cleared by a team of four or five oxen, and favorable to the production of wheat, is not deemed so fertile and durable, as those sections which are more heavily timbered. The prairies are vast plains, destitute of forest, and covered with a long and coarse grass, which is occasionally cleared off by the autumnal *burnings*. They are either wet or dry. The dry prairies produce most of the crops which are common to 42 degrees of north latitude, and they are especially productive on the borders of the St. Joseph River. The wet prairies afford good pasturage, and coarse hay for winter stock; and by draining, may be reclaimed into valuable meadow land.

Michigan abounds also in rivers and small streams, which rise in the interior and flow into the neighbouring Lakes. The northern tributaries of the Maumee river, a stream of much importance as the outlet of a wide and rich back country, spring from this State, and joining the main stream, which rises in Ohio, discharge their waters into Lake Erie, at the point of junction between the States of Michigan and Ohio. The river Rouge enters Detroit river just below Detroit. Grand River is the largest stream in Michigan. It is 270 miles in length, has 8 feet of water on its bar, and at its mouth is between 50 and 60 rods broad. The soil which borders it

is extremely fertile. A project has been started to connect it with the Huron, and, by this agency, to open a direct line of communication between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan. The St. Joseph river, with its tributary streams, waters a fertile tract of territory, and is deemed to afford eligible points for settlement along its banks. Besides the larger rivers, which we have mentioned, there are numerous smaller streams not navigable, which afford advantageous sites for manufactories; and lakes abounding with fish are scattered through the forest, some marshy and unhealthy, others clear as crystal, watering shores of pebble and sand.

A number of projects for internal improvement are now under consideration, upon a scale of great magnitude. A survey has been made for a railroad across the peninsula, from Detroit, through the several counties of Wayne, Washtenaw, Jackson, Calhoun, Kalamazoo, Van Buren, and Berrian, to the mouth of St. Joseph river; and also for a railroad from the mouth of the Maumee river, through the southern counties of Michigan and the northern part of Indiana, terminating at Michigan City, which stands upon the south-eastern shore of Lake Michigan. A canal has also been projected, from the mouth of the Maumee Bay, to the shore of Lake Michigan. There is little doubt but that some, if not all, of these schemes will be carried into effect, as capital flows into the country, and as its resources are gradually developed. The configuration of the land is eminently adapted to the construction of canals and railroads, as it is generally level, and easy of excavation, from the loamy nature of the soil and the absence of rocks.

The soil of Michigan is highly fertile, although of diversified character. The different varieties of gravel, black sand, loam, and clay, may be found in the different sections of the State, but the greater part is productive. It is in fact found to be much more valuable, than was formerly imagined, from its light and sandy appearance in many parts of the State. By actual experiment it is ascertained, that the greater portion improves by cultivation, and, in point of fertility, is equal to that of any of the northwestern States, affording products common to 42 degrees of north latitude. The bottoms and thickly-timbered parts of the country are covered usually with a black mould, which has doubtless been formed by the accumulation of vegetable matter, the deposit of forests, which

have been successively decaying and fertilizing the soil for ages. Valuable lead mines have been discovered within the boundaries of Michigan, at its junction with the State of Illinois. In some parts of the State, iron and salt have also been discovered, but their value has not been accurately determined. It is believed, however, that the country abounds less in mineral than in agricultural wealth.

The public lands of Michigan were first surveyed in 1816 or 1817; and in the succeeding year they were offered in the market for sale, under the authority of the national government. From that period the rapid advance of the territory may be dated, on account of the emigration which the sale of these lands encouraged. The public domain of the territory is surveyed into townships of six miles square ; these are subdivided into sections, each one mile square ; and the number of the sections is always blazed upon the trees by the surveyor, at the corner of the sections respectively, in numerical order, commencing at the northeast corner of each township. *Blazing* is performed by shaving off a certain space upon the bark of the tree, and by cutting the number of the township, range, and section, upon the smooth surface. Each section contains 640 acres, and the smallest lot which can be purchased must comprise 40 acres. Section number 16 of each township, is reserved for the support of common schools; and liberal grants have been made for the erection of a University. The minimum price affixed by the government for the public lands, is a dollar and a quarter for the acre. In the different land offices which are established at Monroe, Bronson, and Detroit, there are annual sales of public lands by *auction;* and whatever remains unsold, is left to be purchased at these offices by private sale, on the payment of the government price.

The scenery of Michigan is in many parts beautiful. It has been our lot to wander along the borders of its largest rivers, and to traverse its deepest wilderness, at a season of the year when nature was adorned with its most magnificent dress. Immense forests of walnut, hickory, maple, beech, ash, poplar, and oaks, of different species and of enormous size, stretch out before the eye their gloomy solitudes to a vast extent, occasionally broken by a sheet of clear water, or a waving prairie. The streams which intersect the more undulating parts of the country are transparent and rapid.

Broad lakes spread out their crystal mirrors to the heavens, within sandy banks encumbered by verdant and massive vegetation, and enamelled with gaudy and brilliant forest flowers. In the more dense parts of the wilderness, you may occasionally cross the track of a wolf or a bear, and, as you emerge into the oak openings, you will come suddenly upon a fine deer, bounding across the plains which seem like an immense park, or feeding by the banks of the lakes ;

> " hos tota armenta sequuntur
> A tergo, et longum per valles pascitur agmen."

But the beauties of nature must atone for many *desagrémens*, and the absence of all beauties of art. Musquitoes and bad roads put the traveller's patience to the test ; and while, occasionally, he finds little clusters of log huts, and even prosperous villages, springing up in the wilderness, these, in proportion to the extent of country, are, of course, few and far between. His eyes are more frequently greeted with the sight of the Indian wigwam, with its painted inmates lounging about the environs in savage disorder, or the solitary log cabin of the hardy emigrant, containing a household too often prostrated by sickness, and surrounded by half-burned and smouldering logs, of which he has just disburdened the soil with his axe.

We suppose that the average temperature is not lower than that of New England ; and the climate is healthful, with the exception of those bilious disorders which are incidental to all new countries, particularly the fever and ague. This disease seems to be contracted from the month of June to September, and almost everybody who remains in the country through those months, is obliged to undergo a *seasoning*. It doubtless proceeds from the *miasmata* thrown off from decayed vegetable matter ; for it is found that in proportion as the surrounding country is cleared up, the disease disappears.

The ante-revolutionary history of Michigan is in a great measure traditional, and is handed down to us mainly in scattered and mutilated fragments. A savage race of Indians, inhabiting an equally savage wilderness, remote from civilization, is the last source to which we should refer for well-authenticated historical documents ; and the monuments which are daily ploughed up by the emigrant throughout the whole breadth of the Mississippi valley, rather present new problems, than elucidate the old. With the exception of what

relates to bloody wars of the savages among themselves, and the successive struggles of the English, the Indians, and the French, for the right of domain, little of interest has been transmitted to our times.

The "Historical Sketches," whose title we have prefixed to our remarks, comprise a series of discourses delivered by Lewis Cass, our present Minister to France, Henry Whiting, John Biddle, and Henry R. Schoolcraft, the accomplished western scholar and antiquary, before the Historical Society of Michigan. This Society, it appears, was founded in 1829, for the purpose of collecting and perpetuating its historical records. The facts which are embodied in these Discourses, are, from the causes which we have mentioned, fragmentary, and of course form no compact and connected chain of history. They are, however, as interesting as could be collected by able and ingenious minds from crude materials, and are brought down to the year 1832. From certain causes which do not appear, they are destitute of a particular and accurate jurisprudential history of the State, commencing with the administration of Governor Cass. This is now, therefore, a great desideratum; because the organization of the territorial government into a firm and compact body politic, may be dated from his induction into office. Before that period, the jurisprudence of the territory was comparatively loose, unsettled, and desultory. To a lawyer of talents, this portion of its history would form a valuable subject for a future discourse.

The Discourse of Mr. Schoolcraft is confined to the consideration of Indian history. This subject falls properly within the scope of the historical sketches of Michigan, because out of relations to the savage tribes, arose all events of principal importance in its early settlement. They were proprietors of the soil, and the whites were their tenants at will; until by fraud, force, or policy, the Indians were themselves ejected from their ancestral domain. Mr. Schoolcraft has been long conversant with their character, as Indian Agent for the United States; and his habits of accurate observation and philosophical investigation, attach the highest authority to his opinions on all matters connected with them. The character of that fast fading, but, with all their errors, noble race, is a subject full of attraction to the philosophical student of man. It must be acknowledged that there is no nation on

record, which, at a period anterior to civilization, has exhibited stronger and more exalted traits of character; and the subject acquires a melancholy interest from recent occurrences, wherein we view them rousing into one more desperate effort before they sink. We find them in league successively with the English, the French, and the Americans, and they have seldom evinced a want of talents or courage. As early as 1535, the French emigrants encountered the most formidable opposition from the Iroquois, or Five Nations. These tribes were closely affiliated, with the exception of the Wyandots or Hurons,* who severed from their family and took part with the French. They had their domiciles at the head of the most important streams; and their success was consequent, according to Mr. Schoolcraft, on their having early acquired the use of firearms, while the other tribes adhered with obstinacy to the use of the bow and the war club.

Against this confederacy, the French courted an alliance with the Algonquins, a race which were scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, and exerted a powerful influence towards the north and west, extending even to the principal tribes of New England. The Foxes were neutral, and destroyed their own influence by acquiring the hatred of both parties. The Chippewas subsequently formed an alliance with the French against the Foxes, and drove the latter race into the country west of the Mississippi. The French, who had most to fear from the enmity, and most to hope from the friendship of the Algonquins, took advantage of the hostilities between this tribe and the Iroquois, to secure the former to their cause, attending them in their hunting and war parties, intermarrying with them, and settling in their remotest villages. The Iroquois were a brave and crafty tribe, and carried the most savage war into the territory of their enemies; but were finally conquered by the French, backed by their confederates, the Algonquins.

Mr. Schoolcraft thinks that the declension of the Indians arises from causes incident to their own condition and habits, as much as from contact with civilization. Among these causes he enumerates disease, springing from an ignorance of medical science, wars, sudden transitions from heat to cold,

* Lake Huron derives its name from this tribe.

from abstinence to repletion, and from exertion to indolence. We cannot forbear quoting his language in illustration of their melancholy decay, as the sentiments of a man who has thoroughly studied the Indian character.

"But not they only, — our entire Indian population appears fated to decline; not so much, it is apprehended, from the want of external sympathy, as from their falling under the operation of a general principle which spares neither white or red man, but inevitably dooms all who will not labor, to suffering and want. Accustomed to live on game, they cannot resolutely make up their minds to turn agriculturists, or shepherds, or mechanics. They have outlived the true hunter state of the country, yet adhere with fatal pertinacity to the maxims of a wandering life. They pursue their intestine feuds with as determined a rancor, as if they still had ample stores of animal food, and unbounded ranges of territory to flee to. They cannot be persuaded that there is any better mode of living, than that pursued by their forefathers, or any species of freedom, superior to the state of savage independence. This is the whole mystery of their decline, however other secondary causes may have hastened, and may still continue to accelerate it.

"They have been taught from early life, that tilling the earth is dishonorable; that war is the true path of glory; that happiness consists in sensual enjoyments; that forecast is distrust of Providence; the acquisition of property degrading, and generosity the test of greatness. But their generosity often degenerates into extravagance, and their trust in Providence into an excuse for indolence. Their aversion to labor is often to be traced to the fear of ridicule; their contempt of wealth, to the rage for popularity. The desire of personal distinction is frequently indulged at the expense of private rights and of national faith. Bravery is often another term for assassination; and riot, a milder word for homicide.

"These remarks may appear severe, but they are not intended to be so. They are conceived to be just; and we may appeal for their truth, to every person of observation, who has been long and intimately acquainted with our Indian tribes. No one can be insensible to the heroic traits of the Indian character; to his open hospitality, his constancy in professed friendships, his filial piety, his resignation under suffering, his valor in battle, and his triumph at the stake. No nation, perhaps, ever felt a stronger love of country, or cherished a deeper veneration for their dead. And they linger round the places of their sepulture, as if conscious that the period of separation was limited, and the soul itself was immortal.

"There is a charm cast over the hunter's life, which it is easier to appreciate than describe. There is something noble in the situation and circumstances of the Indian, who, confident in his own skill, is buoyed up in his frail canoe, or, trusting to his own prowess, plunges into the deepest forests, reckless alike of want and danger, roving at will, without the ties of property to embarrass, or the obligation of laws to restrain him. But it is the charm of poetry, and not of real life. It is sweet to the contemplation, but bitter to the taste. The pleasure arises from associations which few will stop to analyze, but every heart can feel. It is a pleasure which will remain and be cherished as a species of intellectual talisman, long after the people who are the sources of it shall have submitted to their probable fate."—pp. 83 – 85.

Mr. Schoolcraft enters into an argument to show, that the abridgment of their hunting grounds is one prominent cause of their declension ; and he affirms, that their character presents almost insuperable obstacles to the success of philanthropic labors for their improvement. He remarks ;

"They neither desire our knowledge nor our religion. They are not in a situation to appreciate our customs or institutions. They distrust our power, decry our refinements, and condemn our laborious industry. All the motives that can operate on unenlightened minds, pride of character, the hope of fame, the fear of evil, tend powerfully to oppose civilization and Christianity. The Jew is not more wedded to his peculiarities, nor the Mussulman to his slothful habits and erroneous faith."—p. 88.

The recorded history of Michigan, commences with the emigration of Jacques Cartier, the first European adventurer to that region, who landed about three centuries ago upon the island of Montreal. Before this period, the vast region of country beyond the lakes was held through occupancy, by numerous Indian tribes, who had been previously engaged in a long series of disastrous and bloody wars with each other, for conquest or revenge. Cartier, however, was only the pioneer. Champlain, a French naval officer, laid the foundation of French influence in this country, by the establishment of a colony upon the banks of the river St. Lawrence, which gradually spread itself until it disputed the sovereignty of North America with England. By his agency, and that of the emigrants who explored the interior for the sake of gain, besides the Christian exertions of a body of Roman Catholic

missionaries, a knowledge of the country was gradually acquired, and the dominion of civilization extended. In 1632, these missionaries had advanced as far as Lake Huron. They identified their fortunes with those of their converts, the Wyandot Indians, and suffered the same carnage with them, when they were conquered by their savage enemies, the Iroquois.

The French trade soon took the course of the upper Lakes; and trading posts with the Indians were established about the middle of the 17th century, at the Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, Chicago, St. Joseph, and Michilimackinac.

Robert de la Sâle, a Frenchman, was the first complete discoverer of the course and outlet of the Mississippi river, previous attempts for that object having been made and failed. Having built the first ship at Erie which had ever navigated the western Lakes, he embarked on board of that ship, and in 1679 ascended the Lakes to Michilimackinac; where he left his vessel, and embarked his party on Lake Michigan in canoes. Coasting along its shore to its southern extremity, he found his way over land to the Illinois, and descending that river and the Mississippi, he first saw, on the 7th day of April, 1681, the mingling of its waters with the Gulf of Mexico. He made such a report of the advantages of the country through which he had passed, after meeting the most discouraging obstacles, and suffering extraordinary hardships, as to induce the French government to establish a cordon of posts along the western Lakes and rivers, extending from Quebec to the delta of the Mississippi, which should keep the Indians in check, and monopolize the trade. It is a somewhat remarkable fact, that General Washington entered on his public career, in a mission to remonstrate with the commanding officers of the French, upon the Ohio and Alleghany, against these advancing establishments.

Detroit was founded, in 1701, by Monsieur de la Motte Cadillac, who left Montreal in Canada with a hundred men and a Jesuit, and made a permanent establishment at this point. This was the first white settlement in the region; and here was laid the foundation of the State of Michigan. The name Detroit, derived from the French word *étroit*, a *strait*, was given to the city from the fact that it was the prominent point upon the river, or *strait*, connecting Lake Erie with Lake St. Clair. Before this name was selected, Detroit was known to the French, and was styled in the early grants, Fort Pontchartrain of the strait of Lake Erie.

There is a chasm in the history of Detroit from this period; and, in fact, we are left in entire darkness as to the particular causes which stimulated or checked its early growth. It would seem, from what we can collect in the broken records of the day, that it continued to advance with a moderate degree of prosperity, disturbed occasionally by attacks from the surrounding savages. Charlevoix remarks, that herds of buffaloes, which modern civilization has driven to the plains of Missouri and the base of the Rocky Mountains, were, in 1721, ranging upon the prairies bordering the river Raisin.

During the early settlement of Detroit, the Ottagamies or Foxes evinced a marked hostility to the whites, and several times attacked their forts; but they were soon discomfited and driven into obscurity by the confederates of the French, the Ottawas, the Potowotamies, and the Wyandots.

Governor Cass remarks, that only a few scattered and broken facts can be gleaned from the contemporaneous records of Detroit, for the space of forty years commencing with the year 1720. The surrounding savages were, many of them, treacherous and hostile; but, notwithstanding the most appalling disadvantages, the French colonial power was rapidly extended. In 1749, a reinforcement of emigrants, bringing with them the necessaries for the support of a colony, had been sent out from Europe, and new settlements were made. The wars between France and England, which prevailed during a portion of the eighteenth century, extended their ravages to this quarter. In 1760, under the capitulation of Montreal, the British took possession of Detroit and the other trading establishments of the French, which then commanded the great domain of the west, from points at St. Joseph, Green Bay, Maumee, Sandusky, and Michilimackinac. In 1763, these posts were ceded by France to Great Britain.

The Indian influence, which had been long vacillating between the English and the French, was strongly exerted against the former as soon as they had obtained the French posts; and at this juncture appeared a character unrivalled in savage history. That character was Pontiac. An Ottawa by birth, he had been long distinguished among the tribes as a chief uniting all qualities for command. He would have been eminent in any nation, savage or civilized, for the possession of an acute and solid judgment, profound dissimula-

tion and address, invincible courage, and impressive eloquence. Profiting by the prejudices which were arrayed against the English, he established a general confederacy among the Indian tribes for the purpose of attacking, simultaneously, the line of English posts extending northwest from Niagara to Green Bay, and southwest to Pittsburg; (the whole constituting a thousand miles of frontier;) and, by treachery, slaughtering their garrisons. His design was, first to acquire possession of the territory, and afterwards to prevent the ingress of British power by a general Indian league. He possessed sufficient materials to inflame the passions of the savages, in the recollection of the injuries which they had for a long time endured. For this object, a grand council of war was convened. Pontiac showed them a belt, which he alleged that he had received from the French King, enjoining upon them to expel the British, and to make way for the return of the French; and he at the same time wrought upon their superstition, by declaring, that the Great Spirit had appeared to a Delaware Indian in a dream, prescribing the course of the savages, and demanding among other things, "Why do you suffer these *dogs* in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I gave you? Drive them from it, and when you are in distress I will help you." By the eloquence of his harangues upon such topics, he roused their minds to determined action. During the month of May, 1763, the storm burst suddenly upon the British garrisons, and nine out of twelve surrendered. Pontiac* considered the post at Detroit

* The following is a part of Pontiac's speech to the French inhabitants, on the 23d of May, 1763. "I have no doubt, my brothers, but this war is very troublesome to you, and that my warriors who are continually passing and repassing through your settlements frequently kill your cattle and injure your property. I am sorry for it, and hope you do not think that I am pleased with this conduct of my young men. And, as a proof of my friendship, recollect the war you had seventeen years ago, [1746,] and the part I took in it. The northern nations combined together, and came to destroy you. Who defended you? Was it not myself and my young men? The great Chief Mickinac, (the Turtle,) said in council that he would carry to his village the head of your chief warrior, and that he would eat his heart and drink his blood. Did I not then join you, and go to his camp and say to him, if he wished to kill the French, he must pass over my body and the bodies of my young men? Did I not take hold of the tomahawk with you, and aid you in fighting your battles with Mickinac, and driving him home to his country? Why do you think that I would turn my arms against you? Am I not the same French Pontiac who assisted you seventeen years ago? I am a Frenchman, and I wish to die a Frenchman." After throwing a war belt into the council, he continued; "My brothers, I begin to grow tired of

as the most important, and the key to the ultimate success of his enterprise, and he therefore undertook its attack in person by stratagem. We subjoin an account of his contemplated mode of attack, and its fortunate discovery, in the language of Governor Cass.

"Such was the relative situation of the British and Indians, when Pontiac, having completed his arrangements, on the 8th of May, 1763, presented himself at the gates of the town with a considerable body of his warriors, and requested a council with the commanding officer. His plan was well devised, and had it been secretly kept, must have been successful. The Indians had sawed off their rifles so short, as to conceal them under their blankets. One of our most intelligent French inhabitants, Colonel Beaufait, has informed me, that his father, returning that day from the fort, met Pontiac and his party upon Bloody Bridge. The last warrior was his particular friend; and as he passed him he threw aside his blanket, and exhibited the shortened rifle, intimating, at the same time, the project they had in view. The Indian chief intended to meet the British commander in council, and at a given signal, which was to be the presentation of a belt of wampum in a peculiar manner, his attendants were to massacre all the officers, and rushing to the gates, to open them and admit the warriors, who were to be ready on the outside for immediate entrance. An indiscriminate slaughter was to follow, together with the demolition of the fort, and the annihilation of the British power.

"How Major Gladwyn acquired a knowledge of this atrocious scheme, cannot now be ascertained. The accounts which have been given of its disclosure are at variance; and it is possible that

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this *bad meat* which is upon our lands. I begin to see that this is not your case, for instead of assisting us in our war with the English, you are actually assisting them. I have already told you, and I now tell you again, that when I undertook this war it was only your interest I sought, and that I knew what I was about. I yet know what I am about. This year, they must all perish. The Master of Life so orders it. His will is known to us, and we must do as he says. And you, my brothers, who know him better than we do, wish to oppose his will! Until now, I have avoided urging you upon this subject, in hopes that if you could not aid, you would not injure us. I did not wish to ask you to fight with us against the English, and I did not believe that you would take part with them. You will say that you are not with them. I know it, but your conduct amounts to the same thing. You tell them all we do and say. You carry our counsels and plans to them. Now take your choice. You must be entirely French like ourselves, or entirely English. If you are French, take this belt for yourselves and your young men, and join us. If you are English, *we declare war against you.*" — p. 49.

that officer may not have revealed the secret, from well-founded apprehensions of the consequences to his friendly monitor. I am inclined to believe that an Indian woman named Catherine, who was frequently employed in making moccasins for the garrison, was the person who communicated the important information. It is said that she had previously completed a number of pair for Major Gladwyn, and had been so well rewarded that her gratitude was excited. On the evening preceding the day assigned by the Indians for the catastrophe, an elk skin was delivered to her, for the purpose of making some very fine moccasins. After receiving it, she lingered about the quarters of the commanding officer, as though unwilling to depart; and when urged to leave the fort before the gates were closed, she gave some equivocal answer and desired to be led to Major Gladwyn. She then disclosed the whole plan. It was fortunate that her warning was well received. Major Gladwyn employed the night in making the necessary preparations. His defences were strengthened, his arms and ammunition examined and arranged, and every man within the fort, civil and military, was directed to be ready for instant and urgent service. The officers walked upon the ramparts during the night, not certain but that the usual inconstancy of the Indians might precipitate their movements, and urge an immediate assault. All, however, was silent except the songs and dances in the Indian camps, which alone broke upon the stillness of the night. They employed the time as they usually do upon the eve of any great enterprise, in singing and dancing, anticipating the full success of their scheme.

"In the morning, Pontiac and his warriors sung their war song, danced their war dance, and repaired to the fort. They were admitted without hesitation, and were conducted to the council-house, where Major Gladwyn and his officers were prepared to receive them. They perceived at the gate, and as they passed through the streets, an unusual activity and movement among the troops. The garrison was under arms, the guards were doubled, and the officers armed with swords and pistols. Pontiac inquired of the British commander, what was the cause of this unusual appearance. He was answered that it was proper to keep the young men to their duty, lest they should become idle and ignorant. The business of the council then commenced, and Pontiac proceeded to address Major Gladwyn. His speech was bold and menacing, and his manner and gesticulations vehement, and they became still more so as he approached the critical moment. When he was on the point of presenting the belt to Major Gladwyn, and all was breathless expectation, the drums at the door of the council-house suddenly rolled the

charge, the guards levelled their pieces, and the British officers drew their swords from their scabbards. Pontiac was a brave man, constitutionally and habitually. He had fought in many a battle, and had often led his warriors to victory. But this unexpected and decisive proof that his treachery was discovered and prevented, entirely disconcerted him. *Tradition says he trembled.* And at all events, he delivered his belt in the usual manner, and thus failed to give his party the concerted signal of attack. Major Gladwyn immediately approached the chief, and drawing aside his blanket, discovered the shortened rifle; and then, after stating his knowledge of the plan, and reproaching him for his treachery, ordered him from the Fort. The Indians immediately retired; and as soon as they had passed the gates, they gave the yell, and fired upon the garrison. They then proceeded to the commons, where was living an aged English woman with her two sons. These they murdered, and then repaired to Hog Island, where a discharged Sergeant resided with his family, who were all but one immediately massacred. Thus was the war commenced."— pp. 30–32.

The following is the account by Governor Cass, of the surrender of another fort which was also carried by stratagem.

"The circumstances attending the surprise of Michilimackinac, are better known than those which led to the success of the Indians at any other place. The Fort was then upon the main land, near the northern point of the peninsula. The Ottawas, to whom the assault was committed, prepared for a great game of ball, to which the officers were invited. While engaged in the play, one of the parties gradually inclined towards the Fort, and the other pressed after them. The ball was once or twice thrown over the pickets, and the Indians were suffered to enter and procure it. Almost all the garrison were present as spectators, and those upon duty were negligent and unprepared. Suddenly the ball was thrown into the Fort, and all the Indians rushed after it. The rest of the tale is soon told. The troops were butchered and the fort destroyed." — p. 28.

The following arrangements of a maritime attack made by Pontiac upon certain British vessels, which had been sent to Niagara to hasten the arrival of a reinforcement as well as army stores, speak well for his ingenuity, although the attack was unsuccessful.

"Pontiac felt the necessity of destroying these vessels, and he therefore constructed rafts for that purpose. The barns of some

of the inhabitants were demolished, and the materials employed in this work. Pitch and other combustibles were added, and the whole so formed as to burn with rapidity and intensity. They were of considerable length, and were towed to a proper position above the vessels, when fire was applied, and they were left to the stream in the expectation that they would be carried in contact with the vessels, and immediately set fire to them. Twice the attempt was made and unsuccessful. The British were aware of the design, and took their measures accordingly. Boats were constructed and anchored, with chains above the vessels, and every precaution was used to ward off the blow. The blazing rafts passed harmlessly by, and other incidents soon occurred to engage the attention of the Indians. On the 29th of July, a fleet of boats was descried ascending the river. Anxious to ascertain whether they had escaped the attacks of the Indians, a gun was fired from the Fort, which was immediately answered by the boats, each of which carried four swivels and two mortars; and on board the whole, was a detachment of 300 regular troops, under the command of Captain Dalyell, an aid-de-camp of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the British Commander-in-chief." — p. 38.

Pontiac, like King Philip, carried his bitter hatred of the English to his grave. After a series of bloody struggles, accompanied by like acts of cunning, with which he continued to harass them, he separated himself from his former Indian confederates, who had established a compact of peace with the British, and retired to Illinois. For causes which do not appear, he was there assassinated by a Peoria Indian.*

The events to which we have referred, conjoined with a friendly policy which was thenceforward maintained towards the savages, left the British in possession of the posts. From that period, their mercantile enterprise was gradually pushed into the interior, through the channels of the fur trade; and their power was consolidated, until the outbreak of the American revolution. Throughout that war, the frontier position of Detroit exposed it to incursions of the Indians, (great numbers of whom had been engaged by British influence against the Colonies,) which continued to disturb its peace until inde-

* It may be mentioned as illustrative of the character of Pontiac, that in a subsequent war he appointed a commissary, and issued bills of credit, drawn upon bark, with his arms, the figure of an otter, sketched upon them, and that when these bills came to maturity, they were punctually redeemed.

pendence was established. The subsequent controversy, originating from the surrender of the posts, gave rise to the well-known defeat of Harmar and St. Clair, and the successful campaign of General Wayne.

The treaty of 1783 included Michigan within the boundaries of the United States, and a great portion of the soil was doubly secured, in 1785, by compacts with the Indian tribes; but it continued, from well-known causes, for a considerable time, under the dominion of Great Britain. In 1796, that chivalrous officer, General Anthony Wayne, first planted the American banner on the fort at Detroit. The Ordinance of 1787 was at this time extended over Michigan, as being embraced within the boundaries of the Northwestern Territory, which was constituted by that ordinance. By this frame of government for the Northwestern Territory, (drawn up by Nathan Dane, the distinguished public benefactor and jurist of the State of Massachusetts, the founder of Dane Law College at Cambridge, and author of the "Abridgment and Digest of American Law,") the executive power was lodged in a Governor, the Judicial power in three Judges, and the Legislative power in both combined. The Ordinance itself was declared irrevocable without the "common consent"; and the legislative power was limited in its exercise to the adoption of laws from the codes of the different States. The officers of the Territory were to be appointed by the national government; and the expenses of the government were to be defrayed by Congress, until the Territory should contain a population of five thousand free white male inhabitants, after which time, it was to become optional with the Territory to provide its legislation at its own expense.

In 1805, during which year Detroit was destroyed by fire, General William Hull, the new Governor, organized the Territorial Government of Michigan, Ohio and Indiana having been erected into States, and Illinois into a separate Territory. From that time to 1819, the Ordinance, a comprehensive code of the most clearly defined and liberal principles of jurisprudence, and a worthy monument of its founder, continued in unabated force. Within this interval, the civil administration of the Territory was interrupted, as is well known, by the military operations in that quarter, which, commencing in 1812 with the disastrous movements of General Hull, and blackened by the massacre of the river Raisin,

terminated, in the autumn of 1813, with the victory of Commodore Perry, and the advance of General Harrison to the Canada frontier. In that year, General Cass was appointed Governor of Michigan.

In 1819, the power to send a delegate to Congress, who should have the right of speaking but not of voting, was granted by a law of the United States, established *over* the Ordinance of 1787 ; and the right of suffrage, limited by that ordinance to freeholders, was extended to all taxable citizens. In 1823, the Territorial Government was further modified in favor of local influence, by an act of Congress. By this act, the right of *eligibility to office* was based on the right of *suffrage*, granted in the act of 1819; the Judicial term of office was limited to four years, the legislative power of the Governor and the Judges was taken away, and in their place was substituted a legislative body, with augmented powers, now denominated the "Legislative Council." This Council was required to be constituted of nine men, selected by the President of the United States, from eighteen candidates chosen by the people. In 1825, all the County offices of the Territory were made elective, excepting those which were connected with the administration of justice ; and the Executive appointments were made subject to the acquiescence of the Legislative Council. In 1827, the electors of the Territory were empowered to select a number of persons equal to that of which the Council had heretofore been constituted. The power of this Council was confined to the enactment of laws consistent with the Ordinance of 1787 ; subject, however, to the *veto* of the Executive of the Territory, and the abrogation of Congress.

Thus stood the Territorial Government of Michigan until the establishment of the present State Constitution. It was ordained and established by a convention assembled at the City of Detroit, in May, 1835. Modelled somewhat after the constitutions of the other States, it is probably more democratic than any. This is particularly true in reference to the right of suffrage. It grants this right not only to all free white male citizens above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have resided in the State six months ; but also to all free white male citizens of the aforesaid age, who shall have been residents of the State at the time of signing the Constitution. Whether this liberal provision does not open a door for cor-

ruption and fraud, is a fair question for discussion, and we believe that it divides the public opinion of that State. The means of education are amply provided, in the act which ordains the establishment of common schools, the institution of a library in each township, supported by penal fines and taxes for exemption from military duty, and the erection of a University, aided by grants of public lands for that object, which we believe have been already made by the United States. These beneficial enactments, if discreetly carried out, will doubtless place the State on a strong basis of morals and intelligence. It is provided also, that the territorial laws, not repugnant to the Constitution, are to remain in force until they expire by their own limitation, or are repealed by action of the Legislature.

The attitude in which Michigan has for some time stood in relation to her southern boundary line, and to the Union, exhibits a marked anomaly in the history of the government. The State government is already organized, and the Territorial government still remains. The boundary line which is made the subject of controversy, is a belt of land seventy miles in length, and about eleven miles broad at its eastern, and seven at its western end, dividing the States of Ohio and Michigan. It is especially valuable upon the eastern side, on account of the fertility of the soil, and from the fact that it commands the outlet of the Maumee river, the key to a wide and rich back country; and will also afford the control of the Erie and Wabash Canal, a work of brilliant promise, which has recently been projected. Although the States of Indiana and Illinois would be abridged by the success of the claim of Michigan, still the main question, from the cause which we have stated, is at issue between this State and Ohio.

We shall not enter into a minute exhibition of the case, as the documentary evidence, running back into the early records of the Territory, would furnish matter for volumes. We will confine ourselves to a brief statement of its general grounds, since the whole subject has already passed under the examination of Congress.

It is contended on the part of Michigan, that the southern boundary of that State is fixed by the Ordinance of 1787, which was established by the then thirteen United States of America; that this ordinance is a solemn compact between the Federal Government, and the people who were then or should

become inhabitants of the Territory; a compact unalterable except by common consent; "a compact" said Mr. John Q. Adams, on the floor of Congress, "as binding as was ever ratified by God in heaven." By the 5th article of that ordinance, it is declared that the boundaries of the three States constituting the Northwestern Territory, "shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of said Territory which lies North of *an East and West line drawn through the Southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan.*" It is affirmed in consequence of this ordinance, that the Southern boundary of Michigan is fixed by compact, and cannot be altered by Congress, except by *common consent.*

It was maintained on the other hand by Ohio, backed by the influence of Illinois and Indiana, — whose organized territory was involved, — that the aforesaid line prescribed in the ordinance was *not*, in the legal sense, a boundary, but a *parallel* and *partial* line, introduced "for the protection of the States below, and to prevent a diminution of the territory allotted to them; that the ordinance intended at once to give to Congress the discretionary power of forming one or two States in any part North of the line, and to restrain them from abridging the territory of the three States established by the ordinance, by coming to any extent whatever south of it."* It was affirmed that Congress had a right, therefore, to establish the Northern boundary of Ohio, as the Constitution of the State, which had been recognised by the General Government, declared it should be established, namely, by "*a direct line running from the Southerly extremity of Lake Michigan, to the most Northerly cape of Maumee Bay.*"

While this case was pending, Ohio passed a law, extending its jurisdiction over the disputed territory, which was actually resisted by Michigan with a military force. At this juncture, the President of the United States, foreseeing disturbances, appointed two commissioners, Mr. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Benjamin C. Howard, of Maryland, to repair to the disputed territory, and to adjust these differences, until the whole matter could be concluded by Congress. An arrangement was subsequently made between the parties, in May of 1835, to the effect, that Harris's line, the boundary

* Binney's speech on the Boundary Question.

claimed by Ohio, should be re-marked by the surveyor, without interruption; and that the people upon the disputed territory should acknowledge, at their option, the jurisdiction either of Ohio or Michigan. This arrangement, however, left the matter pretty much where it was found, and did not assuage the existing excitement. The war accordingly broke out anew upon the border, to enforce and resist the jurisdiction of either State.

This question was not acted upon, finally, by Congress, until the month of April of the last year, in "the bill to establish the boundary line of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of Michigan into the Union." In this bill, the boundary, as claimed by Ohio, was established for that State, and the admission of Michigan was made *conditional* on its assent to this boundary, given by a convention of delegates from the people. As a *quittance*, the same act granted an extension of its territorial limits towards the shores of Lake Superior. This matter was acted on by a convention held in September last, and the condition proposed in the act of Congress was rejected. The important questions involved seem, therefore, at least as far from adjustment as ever.

No one can travel through Michigan at the present time, without being astonished at the spirit of speculation, which there perhaps, more than in any other district of the West, is burning with such *fanatical intenseness*. It seems impossible to doubt that it proceeds, to a great extent, upon a basis of calculations which never can be realized; and that, exceedingly often, valuations are merely factitious. Certainly, a new and growing country is the right field of speculation. A broad acre of good arable soil is doubtless worth double the government price, for actual use; and there are eligible points, where large cities will eventually be built up. The evil is, that the spirit excited by the imagination, travels *beyond* all reasonable prospects of the growth of the country, and that it is opposed to that every-day industry, which must itself create the growth that is looked for. The hardy yeoman who emigrates to that country, with limited funds, for the purpose of purchasing and *improving* a farm, is soon infected with the epidemic speculating mania, and betakes himself to his paper and pencil, instead of uprooting the oaks, and following his plough through the mellow soil. Altogether too great a portion of the land is purchased to sell, and too little to cultivate.

The cities of the West cannot be maintained and enriched, but by agricultural industry. *Festina lente* is an important maxim, not only for individuals, but nations. Magnificent institutions will doubtless rise up in the West, for rapid growth is the necessary consequence of its affluent resources; but we have no doubt, that before that period arrives, many rivers which are now of great consideration on paper, will be used as mere duck ponds, and many sites of very plausible cities, now engraved upon the maps, will be bought and sold as wheat fields. Happy if they are capable even of being put to that use, for the city-makers do not always operate on such good materials.*

The valuable Discourses of Mr. Whiting and Mr. Biddle, which are presented in the volume of "Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan," both relate to the later history of that Territory, and we have been indebted to them for many of our statements belonging to that period. They are followed by extracts from a lecture delivered by Mr. Schoolcraft, before the Detroit Lyceum, upon the Natural History of Michigan, containing important and curious details, respecting its geology, animals, and minerals. A few remarks by Major Whiting, on the supposed tides of the North American Lakes, are subjoined. These are illustrated by a tabular view of the periodical rise and fall of the tides at Green Bay, the result of observations made in 1828, at the request of Governor Cass. The history and science, as well as the social prosperity of Michigan, are not under greater obligations to any individual, living or dead, than to that distinguished soldier, scholar, and statesman.

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* The process of *city-making* for purposes of speculation, as it is too often practised in Michigan, as well as in other Western States, is substantially as follows. A tract of land is purchased by the acre, sometimes by individuals, but more frequently by companies, at the government price, and, if it can be obtained, along the banks of a lake or stream. This tract is surveyed, and laid out into a city or village, with the streets, squares, and public buildings all tastefully laid down upon a map. *Choice city lots* are then offered in market, at an enhanced price, and under an imposing name. The vender does not always tell, nor does he always know, whether his city possesses local advantages or not; whether it is upon the shore of a dismal fen, or the brow of a precipice. Sales have actually been sometimes effected of immense tracts, which have never been explored by either party; and no wonder, if the dream of wealth is sometimes broken by the "sober certainty" of an unenvied as well as undisputed possession of some pestilential bog, or swamp of *Tamarack*.

ART. V. — *Philothea, a Romance.* By MRS. CHILD, Author of "The Mother's Book," &c. Boston; Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1836. 12mo. pp. 284.

THE early writings of Mrs. Child gave brilliant promise of future eminence in the path of imaginative literature. The little tale of "Hobomok" contains passages of pathos and power, which are certainly extraordinary, coming from so young and untried an hand. Notwithstanding some serious defects in the plot, the numerous excellences of the work, its copious, vigorous, and eloquent style, and the rare descriptive talent it manifested, placed its gifted and youthful authoress, at once, among our most promising writers of fiction. This romance was followed, at a considerable interval, by the tale of "The Rebels"; and public curiosity was strongly excited, to know if this second appearance would sustain the reputation won by the first. If we remember rightly, the reading circles were somewhat disappointed; but still the same vigorous expression, lively fancy, and copious eloquence, which charmed the readers of "Hobomok," were undeniably exhibited. It was naturally supposed that a career, so auspiciously commenced, in the fascinating pursuit of literary renown, would be followed out, until the authoress's fully developed powers had assumed their rightful station in the literature of the country. In this, our expectations were not fulfilled. With the exception of a few short tales and poems, — a few slender veins that served only to show the riches of the mine beneath the surface, — Mrs. Child added nothing to the elegant literature of the day. It was a subject of some surprise and more regret, that one so well qualified to adorn the path she had apparently chosen, should have deserted it so soon. "The practical tendencies of the age," she remarks, in an elegantly written preface, "and particularly of the country in which I lived, have so continually forced me into the actual, that my mind has seldom obtained freedom to rise into the ideal." Mrs. Child's works, subsequent to the publication of "The Rebels," hardly come within the scope of this Journal, and we therefore pass at once to the new novel, the title of which stands at the head of this article. We cannot, however, allow the occasion to pass by, without expressing our pleasure at meeting Mrs. Child again in the calm and gladsome light of literature.

This novel, as its title indicates, is an attempt to paint the manners and life of Grecian classical times. The attempt is a bold one, and of a kind rarely attended with much success. Mr. Lockhart's "Valerius" is a splendid and powerful delineation of the first age of the Christian religion. But there was an element at work among the fragments of the institutions of early classical times, which connected the feelings of that period with the predominant feelings of later ages. It was not, therefore, so hard a task to give a living picture of that period, as Mrs. Child has undertaken in her romance. Mr. Bulwer's "Pompeii" has the advantage of describing a wonderful and terrible event in the physical world, of which an eye-witness has left us a striking memorial. He too deals with the sufferings of the early Christians, and his work is but slightly tinctured with the coloring of classical antiquity. It is a brilliant and gorgeous succession of pictures, but has none of the calm and majestic strength of the old masters. Indeed, to revive the scenes of historical or classical interest, with a fidelity which shall satisfy the imagination and heart, demands a power of intellect, that few novel-writers possess. A Milton, a Goethe, a Talfourd can do it. Original genius is not the only thing needed; to that must be added minute and thorough learning, and a power of keenly searching into the spirit of other days. Critical skill must yield the treasures of its long and painful investigations; imagination must summon the forms of the departed, and the severest taste must represent them in the shapes of historical truth. The classical novelist must know how to go beyond the circle of his daily associations, and lay aside the feelings of the modern. He must contemplate life, art, society, and religion under an aspect wholly different from that, to which his mind has been accustomed from his boyish days. He must renounce himself, and transform his being, for the time, into the great original he draws. He must be able to contemplate the scenes he describes *objectively*, as the Germans call it. An egotist, like Lord Byron, would find it utterly impossible to write a classical novel. Indeed, the universal uproar of this age of new things, in which every individual is fighting under his own banner, and means to make the most of his chance to better his condition, renders the attempt to recall the serene spirit of beauty, which, in our imaginations at least, is breathed over the manners, arts, and literature of the classical world, peculiarly hazardous, and any

degree of success peculiarly honorable to the genius of the aspirant after that kind of literary fame.

Mrs. Child has some intellectual traits, which are well suited to success in this field of literary enterprise. She has a vigorous and exuberant imagination, and an accurate eye for beauty of form. She understands the harmonious construction of language, and can describe both nature and society with liveliness and truth. Her style, in its general character, is rich and eloquent; abounding in brilliant turns and fanciful illustrations. It is generally simple, energetic, and impressive, but sometimes it is too dazzling. In fact, the copiousness of her imagination, and the ardor of her feelings, which lend such power to her enthusiastic eloquence, in a measure injure her style for classical novel-writing. It is deficient in *repose;* we must use that word for want of a better. Classical scholars feel that ancient literature is deeply impressed with the peculiar quality, which can be described in its effect by that word alone. The study of the best classics soothes and solemnizes the mind like the contemplation of nature, or the presence of a gallery of ancient statues, standing before us in the marble stillness of centuries; and our imagination craves the same impressive effect in a work that essays to recall the spirit of classical times. In this point of view, it appears to us that Mrs. Child has not been entirely successful. She has not gone out of her peculiar feelings and opinions far enough to give us something thoroughly Greek. We trace distinctly enough certain ways of thinking, that belong, not merely to modern times, but to Mrs. Child herself. Through the whole work, we are threading the mazes of an imaginative faith, and a transcendental philosophy, partly Platonic, partly Swedenborgian. This influence has guided her in forming the leading characters, and in constructing the discourses and dialogues, in which their peculiarities are unfolded.

The time selected by Mrs. Child is the most brilliant period in the history of Athens. Pericles, the master statesman of the ancient world, is at the head of affairs, swaying the destinies of the tumultuous republic. Plato teaches philosophy in the Academy, and Phidias builds the temples and carves the statues of the gods. Aspasia captivates the gravest sages by her beauty, wit, and eloquence, and well nigh overthrows the ancient severity of female manners, by introducing among the matrons and maidens of the violet-crowned city, the unheard-of

freedom of appearing unveiled at the symposia of the wits. Tragedy and Comedy have arrived at the highest point of cultivation, and all the arts connected with them are elaborated till the hand of genius can go no further. The courts of justice and the assemblies of the people are thronged by busy, inquisitive crowds, for whose entertainment, instruction, or corruption, the orators and demagogues are continually at work. Swarms of Sophists teach the young men the subtilties of their pernicious art, against which the keen dialectic weapons, forged in the Socratic workshop, can scarcely avail. Strangers throng to Athens from every part of the world, to gaze on her wondrous citadel, and the majestic forms of her gods. Ambassadors lay the pompous homage of dependent colonies and semibarbarous nations at her feet. Such is the splendid age, in which the scene of Mrs. Child's novel is laid. Such are the gorgeous but somewhat indefinite pictures which the page of history unfolds to us; and so far the character of the age is sufficiently intelligible. But to go beneath this gay and glittering surface, and detect the elements at work there; to follow the statesman from the *agora* or the courts, to the scenes of domestic life; to accompany the philosopher from his walk beneath the grove, to his private residence, or nightly revel; to detect beneath the plausible exterior of pompous religious rites, the lurking imposture, or the sneer of skepticism; to unravel the threads of apologue, irony, playfulness, and symbolical expression in the discourses of the philosophers, and learn the almost hidden truth they would teach; to judge truly and delineate strongly the influence of woman, both in the strict seclusion of the austere lovers of the olden times, and in the free circles of the Aspasias; to unfold the secret of that amazingly rapid growth of art and letters, which has made Athens and the age of Pericles for ever illustrious, — were a task for the mightiest genius, the profoundest knowledge, the most delicate taste. To say that Mrs. Child has not done all this, is far enough from calling in question either her ability or learning.

The main interest of the tale centres in the fortunes of Philothea, the heroine, and a subordinate interest is kept up by an underplot, in which are developed the character and adventures of Eudora, Philothea's friend and companion. The heroine is the granddaughter of the philosopher Anaxagoras, and is represented as having been educated by him with sedu-

lous care. Eudora is a member of the family of Phidias, the sculptor, having been purchased by him in early childhood, and trained up in his own household. Paralus, the son of Pericles, has been under the instruction of Anaxagoras, and an attachment has been formed between him and Philothea. The young man is compelled to subdue his affections to the bidding of parental ambition, and resign all thoughts of marrying Philothea. An attachment has also sprung up between Eudora and a wealthy young Athenian, Philæmon, whose mother is a Corinthian by birth. Philæmon is summoned before the court of Cynosarges, and condemned to lose his estates and the privileges of an Athenian citizen, in consequence of a slight taint of foreign blood in his veins. The tale opens with a scene in which the two maidens are watching the return of Philæmon and his friends from the court.

Meantime the witty and wicked Lothario of Athens, Alcibiades, has been struck with the beauty of Eudora, and determines to win her to his base purposes. The splendor of his name and rank, the grace of his person, and the captivating power of his eloquence, have already partially dazzled the imagination of the simple-hearted maiden, before her firmer friend, Philothea, is aware of the danger. This is the source of distress in the plot. To facilitate his libertine designs, Alcibiades persuades Aspasia to have both Philothea and Eudora present at one of her symposia. The description of this *réunion* is one of the most striking portions of the book. The characters that figure in it are among the most illustrious of that period of Athenian history. Pericles and Aspasia, Plato, Anaxagoras, and Alcibiades, with numerous others; an Ethiopian of distinction; the Persian ambassador; Phidias the sculptor, and the two maidens, are present and partake of the conversation and festivities of the night. Alcibiades persuades the credulous Eudora that he will repudiate his wife and marry her; and Philothea finds it impossible at first to dispel the delusion. She grants him an interview, which is interrupted accidentally by Philæmon, her lover. The infatuated damsel is only aroused to a sense of her danger by overhearing a conversation at the house of Aspasia, between her and Alcibiades, in which her own name is coupled with that of Electra, a courtezan of Corinth. In the mean time, Philæmon, shocked at the discovery he has accidentally made, and disgusted with the unjust treatment to which he has been sub-

jected by the court of Cynosarges, prepares to leave his country and seek a refuge at the Persian court.

A prosecution is now instituted against the most confidential friends of Pericles, by the enemies of the great statesman. Anaxagoras, Phidias, even Aspasia herself, are summoned before the people to answer to various charges, brought against them by the intrigues of a powerful faction, who aimed at the political destruction of Pericles. The issue of the prosecution is the banishment of Phidias, who retires to Elis, and of Anaxagoras, who takes up his abode in Lampsacus. Soon after, the plague breaks out in Athens, and rages through the city, sparing neither high nor low, neither age nor sex. Among other illustrious victims is Paralus, the son of Pericles, and lover of Philothea. He is left by the awful disease in a state of utter helplessness. He retains no recollection of the past, save the memory of his lost Philothea. He has no perception of the objects of sense around him, but is perpetually visited with delightful visions from the land of spirits. The haughty spirit of Pericles is subdued by these domestic calamities; and he forthwith sends Plato on an embassy, to express his earnest wish that Philothea will return to Athens and marry his now helpless son. She readily, nay joyfully consents, in the hope that she may assist in restoring his shattered intellect to a healthy tone. She arrives in Athens, and is united to Paralus with due solemnities. Pericles, with Paralus and Philothea, accompanied by Plato and others, journey to Olympia, hoping to benefit the health of the sufferer by the stirring scene of the games, and the old associations of which they may touch the chord. At Elis they encounter Eudora, living in seclusion after the death of Phidias her protector. The experiment is unsuccessful, and Paralus dies. The mourning party return to Athens, where the funeral honors are completed, and the urn, containing the ashes of the best beloved son of Pericles, is deposited in his ancestral tomb. Philothea gradually wastes away, and soon dies. Eudora is again exposed to the persecution of Alcibiades, by whose hirelings she is seized and carried forcibly to Salamis. She is rescued from this perilous prison by her faithful Geta, but is so swiftly pursued that she is compelled to take refuge in Creusa's grotto, where she remains some time. Here she receives a supernatural visitation from Paralus and Philothea, and is warned by them to seek Artaphernes the Persian. She obeys the celes-

tial intimation, and finds in Artaphernes her father. After this developement she returns with him to Persia, and is at length united to her lover, who is in high favor at the Persian court.

This very brief sketch will give some idea of the groundwork, on which Mrs. Child has raised the superstructure of her story. It is obvious that she has introduced upon her canvass the figures of mighty historical characters, who will task all the vigor of her pencil. How has she succeeded? We have already spoken in general terms of her style. In this book it has all its characteristic beauty and force. It is musical and significant. The glories of Athens are described in language fresh and sparkling, like the radiant forms of art, which filled the proud city. The imagery she draws around her scenes, and the associations she awakens, are in strict keeping with the time, the character, and the place. She has mastered all the learning requisite to the preserving of the outward proprieties, and the allusions and scenery are fastidiously correct. Indeed, it may justly be said, that she is too laboriously classical in minute details; in her Atticism, she is hyper-Attic, and might be known for a foreigner on classic ground, as Theophrastus was hailed "O Stranger" by a fishwoman of Athens, in consequence of the elaborate finish of his pronunciation. The general idea of each of her historical characters seems to us historically correct; but the details are not always so. The picture of the age is in the main truly colored; yet there are many features, in the character of the times, which are not sufficiently brought out. Thus the plague, of which Thucydides has given so true and masterly a description, opens scenes and presents contrasts that might have been used with great effect; and the trial of the friends of Pericles might have been described at greater length, and with more fulness of detail. In the course of the story, we think that love, in the modern acceptation of the word, plays far too conspicuous a part. The gallantries of Alcibiades are too much like the intrigues of a modern rake; and the perils and rescue of Eudora, would be in place in a novel of the last century.

The two characters on which Mrs. Child has expended the most care and labor, are evidently those of Plato and Philothea. So far as her portrait of the philosopher goes, it is unquestionably correct; but, led by some elective affinity, she has selected a few of Plato's philosophical doctrines, and represented his character only through their medium. The conse-

quence is, that the Sage of the Academy appears but in one light. He is for ever the mystic and the moralizer, with a dash of sentiment that almost unmans him. Whether discoursing with the carousers at the Symposium, or with the young ladies, on a journey, or at Lampsacus, he perpetually arrays his harangues with fanciful analogies, and mystic intimations, and poetical rhapsodies. He drags in, seasonably and out of season, his strange notions about preëxistence and the connexion between the spiritual and outer world; but he never appears like a man engaged with the actual business of life, or capable of discussing the high themes of policy; never as a master for statesmen, or teacher of science to vigorous-minded youth. But this is a partial view of Plato's character; true as far as it goes, and false in its general effect. The themes he is made to touch upon exclusively, he *did* discuss occasionally; they formed a part, but not the whole of his philosophy. He indulged his imagination, it is true, with an occasional flight into an ideal world; but he was at times a severe logician, and a practical dealer with stubborn facts. In the exuberance of his genius, he would even run riot in beautiful visions, and fantastic theories; but he could come down to the elaborate discussion of scientific principles, and many of the weightiest arguments, on the most solemn questions of the destiny of man, are wrought out by him with an amazing vigor of understanding. Now, as in his writings Plato is often full of plain practical common sense, it is a fair inference that his common conversation partook largely of the same character; and in this respect we think that our author has not given a full and complete view, or even a justly proportioned view, of his intellectual constitution.

Philothea is a beautiful creation. A woman of great personal loveliness, educated in the midst of all the influences that can refine the imagination, deeply imbued with the more spiritual part of the Platonic philosophy, in daily communion with all of wit and genius that the best portion of Athenian society could offer, she rises before us, a being of such pure beauty, that we think of her not as of a daughter of this world, but as a child of the skies. The character is drawn with a delicate perception of the minutest proprieties and the finest shades. No discordant act breaks the harmony of her being; no harsh or violent sentiment, no wild passion, mingles with the gentle tone of her daily thoughts. The supernatural incidents th-

occur after her death, are a beautiful finale to the rich music of her life. But can we realize the character? does it belong to human life, and Attic life? No. It is a lovely dream of Mrs. Child's imagination.

We might go on still further, but our readers will be better satisfied with some specimens of the book. We cannot leave it, however, without expressing our persuasion that it will take a permanent place in our elegant literature; for, though deficient in some points of execution, it has the vital qualities that will save it from the common doom. Every page of it breathes the inspiration of genius, and shows a highly cultivated taste, in literature and art. The structure of its style is such as belongs only to a mind of fresh and vigorous powers; and the greatest fault of its plot, — its tendency to an excessive idealism, — will perhaps scarcely abate its popularity.

"The room in which the guests were assembled, was furnished with less of Asiatic splendor than the private apartment of Aspasia; but in its magnificent simplicity, there was a more perfect manifestation of ideal beauty. It was divided in the middle by eight Ionic columns, alternately of Phrygian and Pentelic marble. Between the central pillars stood a superb statue from the hand of Phidias, representing Aphrodite guided by Love and crowned by the goddess of Persuasion. Around the walls were Phœbus and Hermes in Parian marble, and the nine Muses in ivory. A fountain of perfumed water from the adjoining room diffused coolness and fragrance as it passed through a number of concealed pipes, and finally flowed into a magnificent vase, supported by a troop of Naiades.

"In a recess stood the famous lion of Myron, surrounded by infant loves, playing with his paws, climbing his back, and decorating his neck with garlands. This beautiful group seemed actually to live and move in the clear light and deep shadows derived from a silver lamp suspended above.

"The walls were enriched with some of the choicest paintings of Apollodorus, Zeuxis, and Polygnotus. Near a fine likeness of Pericles, by Aristolaus, was Aspasia, represented as Chloris scattering flowers over the earth, and attended by winged Hours.

"It chanced that Pericles himself reclined beneath his portrait, and though political anxiety had taken from his countenance something of the cheerful freshness which characterized the picture, he still retained the same elevated beauty, — the same deep,

quiet expression of intellectual power. At a short distance, with his arm resting on the couch, stood his nephew Alcibiades, deservedly called the handsomest man in Athens. He was laughing with Hermippus, the comic writer, whose shrewd, sarcastic, and mischievous face was expressive of his calling. Phidias slowly paced the room, talking of the current news with the Persian Artaphernes. Anaxagoras reclined near the statue of Aphrodite, listening and occasionally speaking to Plato, who leaned against one of the marble pillars, in earnest conversation with a learned Ethiopian.

"The gorgeous apparel of the Asiatic and African guests, contrasted strongly with the graceful simplicity of Grecian costume. A saffron-colored mantle and a richly embroidered Median vest glittered on the person of the venerable Artaphernes. Tithonus, the Ethiopian, wore a skirt of ample folds, which scarcely fell below the knee. It was of the glorious Tyrian hue, resembling a crimson light shining through transparent purple. The edge of the garment was curiously wrought with golden palm leaves. It terminated at the waist in a large roll, twined with massive chains of gold, and fastened by a clasp of the far-famed Ethiopian topaz. The upper part of his person was uncovered and unornamented, save by broad bracelets of gold, which formed a magnificent contrast with the sable color of his vigorous and finely-proportioned limbs.

"As the ladies entered, the various groups came forward to meet them; and all were welcomed by Aspasia with earnest cordiality and graceful self-possession. While the brief salutations were passing, Hipparete, the wife of Alcibiades, came from an inner apartment, where she had been waiting for her hostess. She was a fair, amiable young matron, evidently conscious of her high rank. The short blue tunic, which she wore over a lemon-colored robe, was embroidered with golden grasshoppers; and on her forehead sparkled a jewelled insect of the same species. It was the emblem of unmixed Athenian blood; and Hipparete alone, of all the ladies present, had a right to wear it. Her manners were an elaborate copy of Aspasia; but deprived of the powerful charm of unconsciousness, which flowed like a principle of life into every motion of that beautiful enchantress."— pp. 34 - 36.

"At a signal from Plato, slaves filled the goblets with wine, and he rose to propose the usual libation to the gods. Every Grecian guest joined in the ceremony, singing in a recitative tone:

> Dionysus, this to thee,
> God of warm festivity!
> Giver of the fruitful vine,
> To thee we pour the rosy wine!

"Music, from the adjoining room, struck in with the chorus, and continued for some moments after it had ceased.

"For a short time, the conversation was confined to the courtesies of the table, as the guests partook of the delicious viands before them. Plato ate olives and bread only; and the water he drank was scarcely tinged with Lesbian wine. Alcibiades rallied him upon this abstemiousness; and Pericles reminded him that even his great pattern, Socrates, gave Dionysus his dues, while he worshipped the heaven-born Pallas.

"The philosopher quietly replied, 'I can worship the fiery God of Vintage, only when married with Nymphs of the Fountain.'

"'But tell me, O Anaxagoras and Plato,' exclaimed Tithonus, 'if, as Hermippus hath said, the Grecian philosophers discard the theology of the poets? Do ye not believe in the gods?'

"Plato would have smiled, had he not reverenced the simplicity that expected a frank and honest answer to a question so dangerous. Anaxagoras briefly replied, that the mind which did not believe in divine beings must be cold and dark indeed.

"'Even so,' replied Artaphernes devoutly; 'blessed be Oromasdes, who sends Mithras to warm and enlighten the world! But what surprises me most is, that you Grecians import new divinities from other countries as freely as slaves, or papyrus, or marble. The sculptor of the gods will scarcely be able to fashion half the images.'

"'If the custom continues,' rejoined Phidias, 'it will indeed require a life-time as long as that conferred upon the namesake of Tithonus.'

"'Thanks to the munificence of artists, every deity has a representative in my dwelling,' observed Aspasia.

"'I have heard strangers express their surprise that the Athenians have never erected a statue to the principle of *Modesty*,' said Hermippus.

"'So much the more need that we enshrine her image in our own hearts,' rejoined Plato.

"The sarcastic comedian made no reply to this quiet rebuke. Looking toward Artaphernes, he continued: 'Tell me, O servant of the great king, wherein the people of your country are more wise in worshipping the sun, than we, who represent the same divinity in marble?'

"'The principles of the Persian religion are simple, steady, and uniform,' replied Artaphernes; 'but the Athenian are always changing. You not only adopt foreign gods, but sometimes create new ones, and admit them into your theology by solemn act of the great council. These circumstances have led me to suppose that you worship them as mere forms. The Per-

sian Magi do indeed prostrate themselves before the rising Sun; but they do it in the name of Oromasdes, the universal Principle of Good, of whom that great luminary is the visible symbol. In our solemn processions, the chariot sacred to Oromasdes precedes the horse dedicated to Mithras; and there is deep meaning in the arrangement. The Sun and the Zodiac, the Balance and the Rule, are but emblems of truths, mysterious and eternal. As the garlands we throw on the sacred fire feed the flame, rather than extinguish it, so the sublime symbols of our religion are intended to preserve, not to conceal, the truths within them.'

"'Though you disclaim all images of divinity,' rejoined Aspasia, 'yet we hear of your Mithras pictured like a Persian king, trampling on a prostrate ox.'

"With a smile, Artaphernes replied, 'I see, lady, that you would fain gain admittance to the Mithraic cave; but its secrets, like those of your own Eleusis, are concealed from all save the initiated.'

"'They tell us,' said Aspasia, 'that those who are admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries die in peace, and go directly to the Elysian fields; while the uninitiated wander about in the infernal abyss.'

"'Of course,' said Anaxagoras, 'Alcibiades will go directly to Elysium, though Solon groped his way in darkness.'

"The old philosopher uttered this with imperturbable gravity, as if unconscious of satirical meaning; but some of the guests could scarcely repress a smile, as they recollected the dissolute life of the young Athenian.

"'If Alcibiades spoke his real sentiments,' said Aspasia, 'I venture to say he would tell us that the mystic baskets of Demeter, covered with long purple veils, contain nothing half so much worth seeing, as the beautiful maidens who carry them.'

"She looked at Pericles, and saw that he again cautioned her, by raising the rose toward his face, as if inhaling its fragrance.

"There was a brief pause; which Anaxagoras interrupted, by saying, 'The wise can never reverence images merely as images. There is a mystical meaning in the Athenian manner of supplicating the gods with garlands on their heads, and bearing in their hands boughs of olive twined with wool. Pallas, at whose birth we are told gold rained upon the earth, was unquestionably a personification of wisdom. It is not to be supposed that the philosophers of any country consider the sun itself as any thing more than a huge ball of fire; but the sight of that glorious orb leads the contemplative soul to the belief in one Pure Intelligence, one Universal Mind, which, in manifesting itself,

produces order in the material world, and preserves the unconfused distinction of infinite varieties.'

"'Such, no doubt, is the tendency of all reflecting minds,' said Phidias; 'but in general, the mere forms are worshipped, apart from the sacred truths they represent. The gods we have introduced from Egypt are regarded, by the priests of that learned land, as emblems of certain divine truths brought down from ancient times. They are like the Hermæ at our doors, which outwardly appear to rest on inexpressive blocks of stone; but when opened, they are found to contain beautiful statues of the gods within them. It is not so with the new fables which the Greeks are continually mixing with their mythology. Pygmalion, as we all know, first departed from the rigid outline of ancient sculpture, and impressed life and motion upon marble. The poets, in praise of him, have told us that his ardent wishes warmed a statue into a lovely and breathing woman. The fable is fanciful and pleasing in itself; but will it not hereafter be believed as reality? Might not the same history be told of much that is believed? It is true,' added he, smiling, 'that I might be excused for favoring a belief in images, since mortals are ever willing to have their own works adored.'

"'What does Plato respond to the inquiries of Phidias?' asked Artaphernes.

"The philosopher replied; 'Within the holy mysteries of our religion is preserved a pure and deep meaning, as the waters of Arethusa flow uncontaminated beneath the earth and the sea. I do not presume to decide, whether all that is believed has the inward significancy. I have ever deemed such speculations unwise. If the chaste daughter of Latona always appears to my thoughts veiled in heavenly purity, it is comparatively unimportant whether I can prove that Acteon was torn by his dogs, for looking on the goddess with wanton eyes. Anaxagoras said wisely, that material forms lead the contemplative mind to the worship of ideal good, which is in its nature immortal and divine. Homer tells us, that the golden chain resting upon Olympus reaches even to the earth. Here we see but a few of the last links, and those imperfectly. We are like men in a subterranean cave, so chained that they can look only forward to the entrance. Far above and behind us is a glowing fire; and beautiful beings, of every form, are moving between the light and us poor fettered mortals. Some of these bright beings are speaking, and others are silent. We see only the shadows cast on the opposite wall of the cavern, by the reflection of the fire above; and if we hear the echo of voices, we suppose it belongs to those passing shadows. The soul, in its present condition, is an exile from the orb of

light; its ignorance is forgetfulness; and whatever we can perceive of truth, or imagine of beauty, is but a reminiscence of our former more glorious state of being. He who reverences the gods, and subdues his own passions, returns at last to the blest condition from which he fell. But to talk, or think, about these things with proud impatience, or polluted morals, is like pouring pure water into a miry trench; he who does it disturbs the mud, and thus causes the clear water to become defiled. When Odysseus removed his armour from the walls, and carried it to an inner apartment, invisible Pallas moved before him with her golden lamp, and filled the place with radiance divine. Telemachus, seeing the light, exclaimed, "Surely, my father, some of the celestial gods are present." With deep wisdom, the king of Ithaca replied, "Be silent. Restrain your intellect, and speak not."'

"'I am rebuked, O Plato,' answered Phidias; 'and from henceforth, when my mind is dark and doubtful, I will remember that transparent drops may fall into a turbid well. Nor will I forget that sometimes, when I have worked on my statues by torch-light, I could not perceive their real expression, because I was carving in the shadow of my own hand.'

"'Little can be learned of the human soul, and its connexion with the Universal Mind,' said Anaxagoras. 'These sublime truths seem vague and remote, as Phœacia appeared to Odysseus like a vast shield floating on the surface of the distant ocean.

"'The glimmering uncertainty attending all such speculations, has led me to attach myself to the Ionic sect, who devote themselves entirely to the study of outward nature.'

"'And this is useful,' rejoined Plato: 'The man who is to be led from a cave will more easily see what the heavens contain by looking to the light of the moon and the stars, than by gazing on the sun at noonday.'" — pp. 43 – 49.

ART. VI.—1. *A Treatise on Insanity, and other Disorders affecting the Mind.* By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M. D., F. R. S., &c. &c. London. 1835.

2. *On Insanity; its Nature, Causes, and Cure.* By WILLIAM B. NEVILLE, Esq., of Earl's Court House. London. 1836.

3. *Observations on the Principal Medical Institutions of France, Italy, and Germany.* By EDWIN LEE, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. London. 1835.

4. *Annual Reports of the Lunatic Hospitals in the United States.*

INSANITY, or the derangement of the mental faculties by disease, has always been a matter of interesting inquiry to reflecting men. Of late, however, it has awakened more general attention; and its causes, and methods of cure and prevention, have become of such serious interest, that no apology need be offered for devoting some pages to the subject.

There is reason to apprehend, that insanity is increasing in this, and all civilized countries; that the very freedom of our government and of our institutions, by opening to every individual the avenues to wealth, office, and distinction, by creating competition, and increasing the mental activity and excitement of all classes, tends to produce this most deplorable malady. "The more there is of liberty," says M. Pariset, physician to the largest lunatic hospital in the world, "the more numerous are the chances of mental derangement; though this does not prevent our allowing, that liberty is favorable also to the expansion of human reason."

As M. Esquirol remarked many years ago, insanity belongs almost exclusively to the civilized races of men. It is nearly unknown in savage and barbarous nations. Baron Humboldt informed Dr. Rush, that he did not hear of a single instance of this disease among the uncivilized Indians of South America. Other travellers assure us it is very rare among the Indians of North America. There is but little insanity among the uneducated blacks of Africa, of the West Indies, and of this country. Dr. Winterbottom says, "Mania

seldom or never occurs among the African tribes near Sierra Leone. I could not make them comprehend the meaning of the term, though they were acquainted with the delirium of drunkenness." Inquiry was made during the last session of Congress, of several members from the slave-holding States, respecting the frequency of insanity among the blacks. These gentlemen said it was extremely rare. Some of them had never heard of a single case. In countries where the government is despotic, where there is but little mental excitement among the mass of the people, the intellectual faculties are inactive, and the passions torpid; and here are but few cases of insanity. Travellers inform us, that madness is an uncommon disease in Russia, though it prevails more in the large towns than among the peasantry of the country. There is but little in Spain and Portugal, though according to Sir A. Halliday, malformations of the head, and idiocy, are common in both countries. The inhabitants of China appear to be nearly exempt from this disease. Dr. Scott, who accompanied Lord McCarthy in his embassy to that country, heard but of a single instance. It is uncommon in Persia, Hindostan, and Turkey. Dr. Madden, in his Travels in Turkey, after remarking, that "in countries where the intellect is most cultivated, there insanity is most frequent," adds, "there is no nation where madness is so rare as in Turkey, where the people of all others think the least."

The mere excitement of the passions, however, of a savage uncivilized race of men, seldom produces derangement of the mental faculties, unless the brutal ferocity they manifest towards their enemies may be so considered; but in the communities where the mass of the people have received some intellectual culture, whatever strongly affects the mind, whatever greatly excites the feelings and passions, hopes and fears, whether it be political or religious commotions and revolutions, or sudden loss or accession of fortune, disposes many to insanity. Esquirol says it was frightfully increased during the first French Revolution; that even women strongly affected by the events of that exciting time, bore children whom the slightest cause rendered insane. Dr. Rush tells us it was rendered more frequent in the United States by our war of independence.

The reformation of Luther much augmented it on the continent of Europe, and the revolution of the early part of the

sixteenth century in England. Esquirol says, that during the late wars of France, the number of the insane was increased at each departure of the conscripts, either among the conscripts themselves or their parents and friends. When France was invaded by the allied army, terror multiplied the disease among the French, and German writers make the same observation respecting its increase in Germany, when the French entered that country.

The noted South Sea scheme in England, about 1720, when large fortunes were suddenly made and lost, when all minds were intensely agitated with hopes and fears, multiplied the inmates of madhouses. And it is a curious fact, that more were made crazy by the sudden acquisition of great wealth, than by the loss of it.

Peculiarities of insanity, or the particular delusions of the insane, are determined by the state of general intelligence, or by the kind of excitement that produced the disease. Thus during the ignorance and superstition of the middle ages, the belief was universal that mankind were in the power of evil spirits or demons, and *demonomania* was a common form of insanity. In modern times the belief in demons, and the fear of them, has generally subsided; but the fear of the power of the government, of the police, and the prison, has increased, especially in Europe. Esquirol remarks, that in France many are now sent to the lunatic hospitals, whom the fear of the police has made crazy, that would in former times have been hung because they feared the devil.

Any event that excites much feeling in the community, will be sure to produce some cases of insanity. Such was the consequence of the excitement a year or two since, respecting the removal of the government funds from the Bank of the United States. We witnessed one case. The individual affected was not in any way personally interested in the occurrence; but was excited by reading and talking upon the subject to such a degree, that he forsook his usual business, and sallied forth on a crusade through the country, to instruct the people. When Napoleon made and unmade kings and queens with great rapidity, kings and queens increased in the French madhouses. When the Pope came to Paris, an event that excited the religious community of that country, cases of religious insanity became more numerous. "So great has been the influence of our political commotions,"

says Esquirol, "that I could give the history of France from the taking of the Bastile to the last appearance of Bonaparte, by that of the insane in the hospitals, whose delusions related to the different events of that long period of history."

Insanity has increased as knowledge and the arts of civilized life have advanced, and is now most prevalent in the countries most enlightened and free. The exact number of the insane of any country is not known, as in none have they been enumerated in such a manner as to insure correctness. In some countries, those only are reckoned that are in the public institutions, or in some way supported at the public expense. In others, in addition to such, those that are known to the magistrates, clergymen, or physicians of the different districts, are also enumerated. But in this way, many would undoubtedly be omitted, as families usually endeavour to conceal, as long as possible, the fact that one of their number is deranged in mind. According to the most recent estimates, there is in France *one* insane person to 1000 of the population,

" Wales,	"	"	800	"
" England,	"	"	782	"
" Scotland,	"	"	574	"

These statements show, that insanity is very prevalent in France and England; yet they are, we apprehend, considerably too low. Dr. Prichard, the latest, the most elaborate, and in our opinion the most able writer on insanity, speaking of the number of lunatics in France, observes; "Unfortunately no satisfactory sources of information on this subject exist, and France is much behind England and some other countries, in all the materials for statistical researches on the frequency of mental derangement." He believes the estimate for England much too low; and the following facts appear to confirm his opinion. The Quakers, or Society of Friends in England, have accurate knowledge of the insane belonging to their society. From statements furnished by themselves, it appears there is *one* insane person to 358 of their number. When it is considered, that there are but few cases of religious insanity among the Quakers, and extremely few from intemperance, and that there are no known causes for a greater frequency of this disease with them, than the other inhabitants of England, we are forced to the conclusion, which Mr. Tuke, of the Retreat near York, and Dr. Prichard appear to have come to, "that the returns of the number of the insane for

the rest of England are too incorrect to afford fair ground for the estimates that have been made, while the knowledge of each other which prevails among the Quakers, brings nearly all the cases which occur among them into the calculation."

That the estimates for France and England are too small, is rendered probable from the fact, that in other countries, where more care has insured greater accuracy, the number of the insane has been ascertained to be considerably greater than in either of those countries. The statistics of insanity in the Prussian Provinces on the Rhine, are more accurate than those of England or France, though the learned Dr. Jacobi thinks they are far from correct. According to this writer, there is in these provinces *one* insane person to 666 of the population.

But the most complete statistical accounts that exist of the deranged persons of any country, are those of Norway ; and these exhibit *one* case of insanity to 551 of the population. Still most of the known causes of this disease prevail to even greater extent in England and France than in Norway, and we have no other way of accounting for the difference in the above estimates, than by supposing those of the former countries to be very inaccurate.

We have no means of determining the number of the insane in Russia and other northern countries, or in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. From all we can learn on this subject, we believe the disease to be much less frequent in these countries than in France, England, Germany, and the United States. According to M. Brière, who recently visited the lunatic establishments of Italy, only *one* case of insanity is found to 4879 of the population. That there has been but little of the disease in Spain, we infer from the fact, that, but a few years since, the Hospital for Lunatics at Madrid contained but 60 patients, and that at Cadiz only 50.

In the foregoing accounts of the number of the insane, probably some idiots are included. Indeed, it is often very difficult to distinguish insanity from idiocy, as the former frequently passes into the latter, in a gradual and imperceptible manner. Thus a person may be insane one month, and the next be idiotic.

The statistics of insanity in the United States are less complete than those of Europe. In many of the States nothing is known upon the subject, no measures having as yet been

adopted to ascertain the number of the insane. A few of the States have made some partial investigations; but the object of these has generally been to ascertain if the insane were sufficiently numerous, and their situation sufficiently necessitous, to require the assistance of the state for their support. That there was such a number, and such want, has soon been ascertained, and then further investigations ceased.

A committee of the legislature of the State of New York, appointed to examine this subject, reported in 1831, that there were then in that State 2695 lunatics and idiots, or one to 713 of the population. Of this number the committee considered *five eighths* to be idiots. In 1821, the great number of recent cases of insanity in Connecticut, led a few medical gentlemen to attempt ascertaining the whole number of the insane in the State, and to devise the means of providing an Hospital for their reception and cure. "To obtain information," they say in their published Report, "circulars were sent into every town in the State, addressed to clergymen, physicians, and other respectable gentlemen, requesting returns of the number of the insane, their ages, sex, cause of disease, &c. The returns in answer to these circulars, although many of them were very imperfect, satisfied the committee that at least *one thousand* individuals within the limits of the State were mentally deranged, and that the condition of most of them was truly deplorable." As the population of the State was at that time 275,202, this would be *one* insane person to 275 of the population; a proportion so great that we suppose some idiots were included; though we know it was the decided opinion of Dr. Todd, the late distinguished physician to the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane, whose means of information on this subject were better than those of others, that *one thousand* was not above the actual number of the insane in the State of Connecticut.

In Massachusetts insanity appears also to be very common. Dr. Parkman, of Boston, stated in 1818, that 541 insane persons had come to his knowledge in that State, though he supposed he had heard but of part. In 1833, a committee of the legislature of that State reported they had ascertained that in 68 towns, containing a population of 264,327, there were 168 insane persons and 111 idiots, *in confinement in jails, almshouses, and houses of correction.* This would afford above 600 insane and idiotic persons in confinement in the State, if we

assign as many in proportion to the rest of the population. But it is probable only a small part are thus confined; and no doubt an accurate inquiry would exhibit more than double or triple that number. From considerable knowledge of portions of Massachusetts, we are confident, that at the time referred to, not more than one fourth, or one third, of the insane and idiotic were in the places of confinement alluded to by the committee.

In New Hampshire, it appears from recent inquiries that insanity is nearly as prevalent. A committee of the legislature of that State reported, during the present year, 350 insane persons in the State, exclusive of idiots. We are informed that the committee, who made the report, were of opinion this estimate was too low. But this number exhibits *one* case of insanity to 800 of the population; and if we add as many idiots in proportion to the insane, as there are in the State of New York, there would be *one* crazy or idiotic person to 300 inhabitants.

A select committee of the legislature of the State of Vermont recently reported, that there were, in 59 towns, 60 insane males and 84 females, making a total of 144, of whom 45 are town paupers, and 40 are poor and destitute. This committee estimate the whole number of the insane in the State, exclusive of idiots, at 300, or *one* to 1000 inhabitants.

These statistics respecting insanity, though few and imperfect, show, that the disease is alarmingly prevalent in this country, especially in the northern States of the Union. We believe it is not equally so in those of the south and west, though our means of judging are not such as to enable us to speak confidently.

From a review of these facts respecting insanity in some of the States, we can hardly avoid the conclusion, that the disease has of late considerably increased. This conclusion is supported by the fact, that within a few years several large establishments for the accommodation of lunatics have been opened and almost immediately filled, while the numbers in the older ones have not diminished, but on the contrary considerably increased. Previous to October, 1818, there was no public institution exclusively for the reception of lunatics in the New England States. At that time the McLean Asylum at Charlestown, Massachusetts, was opened. April 1st, 1824, the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane went into

operation; and in January, 1833, the Massachusetts State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester was completed, and commenced receiving inmates. Each of these hospitals is now, and for some time past has been full, and obliged to refuse many applications for admission. But, besides these public institutions, there are several private asylums for lunatics in these two States, and many are yet confined in almshouses; and in Connecticut some are in jails, and in the State Prison. Undoubtedly the erection of these hospitals, their success in curing the disease, and other causes have contributed to make cases of insanity more generally known of late years, and therefore the increase may not be so great as it appears; still, as Dr. Prichard observes, respecting the increase of insanity in Europe, "the apparent increase is everywhere so striking, that it leaves on the mind a strong suspicion that cases of insanity are far more numerous than formerly; and this suspicion can only be removed by a series of observations that may prove the negative. It is also encouraged by the reflection that the state of society is in most countries such, as appears likely to multiply the exciting causes of madness."

That insanity is now a very frequent disease in some parts of this country, may be evidenced in another way, namely, by ascertaining the number of new cases that occur in one year in a known population. The State of Massachusetts having two public hospitals for lunatics, (one of them for pauper lunatics, and both popular and well conducted,) it is probable that a majority of the cases, that now occur in that State, are sent to one or the other of these institutions. We say a majority, as we do not believe that all, or that nearly all, are. Into these two institutions there have already been received, or have applied for admission, *one hundred and seventeen* patients belonging to Massachusetts, who became crazy in the year 1835. When we consider, that there are one or two private asylums in that State which receive insane patients, that the House of Industry at Boston usually contains a considerable number, and that the Connecticut Retreat has received eight from Massachusetts who became crazy in the same year, together with the fact that these hospitals are still receiving, occasionally, more patients who became deranged during the same year, but have remained with their friends, we are obliged to conclude that insanity is a common disease in that State. *One hundred and twenty-four* cases are known

to have occurred in the year 1835, as that number has been received into three institutions; and it is not probable that this is much more than half, as friends, for various reasons, are often opposed to sending their relations from home when deranged. That some belonging to that State, who became deranged in 1835, recovered without going to any institution, and some still remain deranged with their relatives, are facts within our knowledge.

If for many years there have occurred 124 new cases of insanity annually in Massachusetts, the success in curing the insane, without hospitals for their reception, must have been greater than it is with them, or else at the present time there are more than 1000 insane persons in the State.

It may be said that many have died. But it should be recollected that insanity is not a disease very dangerous to life. M. Desportes informs us, that among the lunatics at the *Salpetrière* and the *Bicêtre* in France, 12 patients have been there in a deranged state from 50 to 60 years, 20 upwards of 40, and a vast number more than 20 years. The records of the lunatic hospitals in this country exhibit similar facts. In the Massachusetts State Lunatic Hospital are several cases that have existed 30 years, and many of persons that have been deranged 15 and 20 years. The last Report of the Asylum for the relief of persons deprived of the use of their reason, at Frankford, near Philadelphia, states, that of the 46 patients now in the Asylum, 15 have been insane above 20 years. The Report of the committee of the legislature of New Hampshire states, that the average period of the existence of the disease in the 350 insane now in that State, is between 13 and 14 years.

From these facts, we cannot well avoid the conclusion that insanity is now much more frequent than formerly. But whether this is correct or not, the foregoing statements cannot fail to awaken attention to the importance of adopting early measures for the cure of the disease, when it does occur.

And it is gratifying to be able to state, that no fact relating to insanity appears better established, than the general certainty of curing it in its early stage. The following statements render this evident. Dr. Willis, in his evidence before a committee of Parliament in 1789, averred, that *nine* out of *ten* cases of insanity recovered, if placed under his care within three months from the first attack. Dr. Burrows has

reported, from his own experience, 221 cures out of 242 recent cases, affording a proportion of 91 in 100. Dr. Ellis, director of the York West Riding Lunatic Asylum in England, stated in 1827, that of 312 patients, admitted within three months after the commencement of the insanity, 216 recovered.

Mr. Tuke, of the Retreat near York, observes, "According to the result of our experience, I should say the probability of recovery from uncombined insanity, in recent cases, is somewhat greater than *nine* to *one*." Several other hospitals for lunatics in England, established within a few years, have been equally successful in curing recent cases of insanity.

Some of the asylums of this country are not behind those of England in this respect. By the Report of the Bloomingdale Asylum, near New York, it appears, that of 125 recent cases, received during the last two years, 93 were cured. At the Connecticut Retreat at Hartford, previous to the 1st of April, 1836, there had been received 328 recent cases, of which 274 recovered. The last Report of the superintendent of the McLean Asylum at Charlestown, Massachusetts, states, that from May 1st to December 31st, 39 recent cases were received, of which number 32 had been cured. So large a proportion of recoveries has surprised many, especially medical men on the continent of Europe; and some have believed it could be explained only by supposing that patients were discharged at a very early period after apparent recovery, or during an intermission of the insanity which occasionally occurs. We are inclined to believe that this is sometimes the case, as we have known cases, reported cured, in a short time relapse, and others pronounced well that were but improved. It is much to be regretted that any institution of this kind, from anxiety to report a great number of recoveries, or from any other motive, should dismiss as cured, any who are not so, or any who have not remained a considerable time after apparent recovery.

Again; in some institutions many are received, whose insanity is caused by the immoderate use of intoxicating drinks. Such cases, as Dr. Prichard remarks, "are in general to be reckoned among the cases most easily cured, for although this is not uniformly the fact, it often happens that when the exciting cause is removed, the effect begins to lessen, and eventually ceases. When these patients are prevented from

obtaining stimulating liquors, and are treated with sedative remedies, they quickly show signs of amelioration and of the subsidence of the disease." This may perhaps explain why, in some of the institutions of England and of this country, the cures of recent cases of insanity have been more numerous than in the institutions on the continent of Europe. Intemperance, in this country and in England, is reported to be a very frequent cause of insanity; but, according to M. Esquirol, it is not so in France, even among the lower classes. Among 336 lunatics in his establishment, there were only *three* who appeared to have lost their reason through the habit of intoxication. Still the uniform testimony of all lunatic hospitals is, that a large majority of the recent cases of insanity are cured; and in contrast with this, is the fact, that those of long standing are exceedingly difficult to cure.

According to an official statement to Parliament, by Doctor Vietch, out of 152 old cases, only 5 were cured. Dr. Ellis says, that at the York West Riding Asylum, of 318 cases that had existed from one to thirty years, only 26 were restored to their reason. M. Esquirol, who from his vast experience is great authority on this subject, observes, that after the insanity has existed *three* years, the probability of cure is scarcely *one* in *thirty*. Of 173 old cases in the Bloomingdale Asylum, New York, in 1835, only 16 were cured. The reason of the incurability of chronic cases appears, from the researches of modern pathologists, to be, that the longer the disease has existed, the more profound the alterations of the brain become. But though the probability of curing old cases is small, compared with those that are recent, yet we ought never to despair of recovery; as many, after having passed eight or ten years in a state of lunacy, have been restored to their reason, and some after having been insane twenty and even forty years.

But there is reason to hope that hereafter, few of the insane will be suffered to remain month after month, and year after year, without measures being adopted for their restoration. Just views respecting the disease now more generally prevail than formerly. It is no longer regarded as a disgrace, or as a disease resulting from some criminal offence. It is now considered a physical disorder, a disease of the brain, and one which can be as readily cured as disease of other organs of the body. But, in order to effect a cure, it

is often necessary to remove the patient from his home, and separate him from his relatives and former associates. We say it is often necessary, for undoubtedly there are cases that would not be benefited by this course, and some that would be aggravated by it. Quite recent cases may frequently be cured without seclusion. Broussais refers to a great number of cures effected by active treatment alone in the commencement of the disease. On the necessity of seclusion, M. Esquirol remarks, in a late publication; "Confinement should not be prescribed for all insane persons; for, if the delirium is partial or transitory; if it relates only to objects of indifference, and is unaccompanied with violent passion; if the patient has no aversion to his home, nor to the persons with whom he lives, and his delirium is independent of domestic habits; if his real or imaginary causes of excitement are not to be found in the bosom of his family; if the fortune or life of the patient, by retaining a large proportion of his friends, is not compromised, and he submits to the proper means of cure; — in all these cases confinement may be useful, but it is not indispensable. But if the patient, retaining a large portion of his intellect, has a great attachment to his relations, it is to be feared that confinement might aggravate the disease." But such cases are much less frequent than those that require seclusion and separation from friends and home. This renders hospitals for the insane necessary, and we rejoice to find they are rapidly multiplying in this and all civilized countries.

Asylums for the insane are of modern origin. In fact, all public hospitals for the sick and poor may be so considered, as they originated with the Christians of the third or fourth century. But long after those suffering from other diseases were received into hospitals and provided with medical assistance, lunatics were neglected, and perished in great numbers. Some of the most furious were confined in small cells, or shut up in convents and dungeons, while others were burned as sorcerers, or as possessed of demons. Those that were tranquil were permitted their liberty, abandoned however to neglect, — to the abuse and the laughter, or to the ridiculous veneration of their fellow creatures.

But about the commencement of the seventeenth century, lunatics began to be received into the general hospitals, where they were confined in the most obscure corners of the buildings, and received no medical aid. Soon after this, in some

of the large towns of France, a few separate but poorly conducted hospitals were provided for the insane, though the greater part still remained at liberty, or were confined in the general hospitals. It was not until 1792, when M. Pinel was appointed physician in chief to the Bicêtre at Paris, that correct views respecting the treatment of the insane began to prevail, and to be reduced to practice. At this institution, when M. Pinel took charge of it, were a large number of lunatics considered incurable. Many of them being very furious, were kept constantly chained. This illustrious physician, after having in vain solicited the government to allow him to unchain these maniacs, finally went in person to the authorities, and advocating, with much warmth and earnestness, the removal of this monstrous abuse, obtained permission to do as he pleased respecting them. Great fears were entertained for the personal safety of M. Pinel, should he undertake to unchain them. This, however, he resolved to do. The first man on whom he tried the experiment was one of the most furious, who had been in chains forty years, and had already killed one keeper by a blow with his manacles. Pinel entered his cell unattended, and offered to remove his chains and permit him to walk in the court, if he would promise to behave well and injure no one. "Yes, I promise you," said the maniac. His chains were then removed, and the keepers retired leaving the door of his cell open. "He raised himself," says the son of the celebrated Pinel, in a paper read at the Academy of Sciences, "many times from his seat, but fell again on it, for he had been in a sitting posture so long that he had lost the use of his legs. In a quarter of an hour he succeeded in maintaining his balance, and with tottering steps came to the door of his dark cell. His first look was at the sky, and he cried out enthusiastically, 'How beautiful!' During the rest of the day he was constantly in motion, walking up and down the staircases, and uttering short exclamations of delight. In the evening he returned of his own accord into his cell, where a better bed than he had been accustomed to had been prepared for him, and he slept tranquilly. During the two succeeding years which he spent at the Bicêtre, he had no return of his furious paroxysms, but even rendered himself useful, by exercising a kind of authority over the insane patients, whom he ruled in his own fashion."

In the course of a few days, Pinel released fifty-three maniacs from their chains. The result was happy beyond his hopes. Tranquillity and harmony succeeded to tumult and disorder; and, by the aid of continued mild and judicious treatment, the most furious became calmer and more tractable, and many were restored to perfect health of body and mind. This transaction caused much sensation, not only in France, but throughout the civilized world, and created a revolution in the treatment of this unfortunate but hitherto neglected portion of our fellow creatures. To M. Pinel is unquestionably due the great credit of first employing judicious, systematic, moral means in the cure of the insane.

At present there are in France many large institutions for the reception and cure of lunatics. Among the most celebrated are the *Salpétrière* and the *Bicêtre*, and the *Maison Royale de Charenton*. The former, at the southeastern extremity of Paris, is composed of several buildings, enclosing spacious gardens and grounds for exercise. This is for the accommodation of females only. It usually contains about 1000 lunatics. These are divided into three classes, the curable, incurable, and idiotic. M. Pariset has the medical superintendence of the curable class. The Bicêtre, about two leagues from Paris, receives only males. It usually has from 350 to 400 patients. Here are also spacious grounds for exercise, and a farm where many of the patients are employed much of the time. The Maison Royale de Charenton, a short distance from Paris, is exclusively appropriated to the reception of the insane of both sexes, and contains 600 beds. Besides these, there are others in the vicinity of Paris and in many of the large towns of France, some public and some private, but all under good regulations and well conducted.

In London, so early as 1553, lunatics were received into the Bethlem Hospital, a Royal foundation for lunatics, incorporated by Henry VIII. This hospital has been rebuilt several times, and enlarged. It is now a noble brick building, 580 feet in length, with accommodations for 400 patients. It cost about £100,000, and has an annual income of £18,000. St. Luke's Hospital, another institution in London for the reception of lunatics, originated in 1732. The present building, though commenced in 1751, was not completed until 1786, at an expense of £55,000. It is a solid

brick edifice, 500 feet in length, and accommodates 300 patients. This hospital has an annual income of £ 9,000.

Both these old establishments are quite defective, as they are without the useful appendage of spacious grounds and workshops, for the exercise and employment of the patients. In other parts of England, in Ireland, and Scotland there are many well-arranged and well-conducted lunatic establishments. Among the most celebrated, are the Wakefield Asylum for the West-Riding of York, and the Lancaster Asylum, in England; the Richmond Asylum at Dublin; and the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum in Scotland. But there are several others, more recently established, equally well conducted. Most of these institutions can accommodate from two hundred to three hundred patients. Workshops are generally attached to them, and twenty or thirty acres of land, where the patients are much of the time employed at their trades, or in agriculture. In addition to such public institutions, private ones, for the accommodation of a limited number of lunatics, are numerous in England. Often one such receives only those of the same sex. Some of them are fitted up with great elegance, with every thing desirable for the safety and welfare of the patients, affording to them all the advantages of a secluded private residence, with large, airy, and commodious apartments, beautiful gardens and grounds for exercise and amusement, together with experienced and careful medical superintendence.

In many of the other states of Europe, hospitals for the insane have been provided. Some of them are well, and others badly conducted. In the Netherlands, according to Halliday, much attention has been paid to the relief and comfort of the insane. At Ghent are several public establishments, and one private, for their accommodation. At Antwerp there is an excellent hospital for lunatics. It was built about thirty years since, and usually has between two hundred and three hundred patients. With this is connected the celebrated and singular establishment at Gheil, which, with perhaps some modifications, might be adopted with advantage in this country. It consists of a village, or a number of detached cottages, far removed from other habitations. These buildings are occupied by peasants of good character, who receive lunatics,—mostly those that are convalescent,—treat them with great kindness, and employ them in the cultivation of the land.

Each patient is obliged to labor a certain number of hours every day when able ; and when not so employed, is allowed to walk about without restraint. Scarcely any accident occurs, and very few attempt to escape. The recoveries here have been so numerous and rapid, that the fame of the institution has extended far, and many persons of distinction have been sent to it for recovery.

In Bavaria and Saxony, much has been done by government for the welfare of the insane. In Denmark and Sweden there are several lunatic hospitals. Those in the former, and especially the one at Copenhagen, merit high commendation. Many of the large towns of Italy have one or more Asylums for lunatics. At Milan there is a well-conducted lunatic hospital, containing near five hundred patients, most of whom are employed in gardening and in manufacturing clothing. At Genoa, part of the Hospital of Incurables is given up to the insane. About two hundred and fifty are kept here in a wretched condition. When we visited this establishment in 1829, though the sexes were in different wards, all varieties and degrees of insanity were congregated together. From fifty to one hundred were in one room, most of them chained to their beds by their wrists and ancles. When we entered the women's ward, the inmates were eating ; and, perhaps excited by the entrance of strangers, their fury exceeded any thing of the kind we ever witnessed. Mingled with the clashing of chains, were groans, and curses, and prayers, and shouts of laughter. Every individual appeared excited. Some came the length of their chains, and strained every muscle to break them ; others threw at us, with their utmost strength, the little pittance they were eating ; while others, a little less furious, beckoned to us, and besought us to look at some coarse pictures they had drawn on the wall, or at some rags they had fantastically put together. Throughout this vast Pandemonium, we saw not one that appeared tranquil, or in the way of recovery. We were told they received but little medical treatment, and were not allowed to leave their wards until death released them.

At Florence, the average number of the insane in the *Spedale di Bonifacio*, the hospital appropriated to them, is about three hundred. The patients are clothed alike, in white woollen dresses, and have their apartments kept very neat. When it becomes necessary to confine a patient, his hands

are placed in a wooden case, and bound to the abdomen by a strap around the body. Furious patients are confined in dark rooms with well-padded walls. The darkness is thought to be very serviceable in rendering them more tranquil. The management of this institution appears to be good. Many of the male patients are employed in gardening, or at their trades, and the women in knitting and spinning. At Rome, the hospital for lunatics consists of two separate buildings, one for each sex. The number of patients is about 400. The most furious are confined by chains. All varieties of insanity are mixed together, and no moral measures are resorted to in their treatment. At Naples is the celebrated Aversa, an hospital for lunatics. The sexes are here in different buildings, above 200 in each. Great regularity prevails throughout the institution. On ringing a bell, the patients rise, breakfast with decorum, and the more quiet are present at religious worship. Though the advantages of this institution are said to have been exaggerated, it is the most extensive and best regulated hospital for the insane in Italy.

In Germany, some of the lunatic hospitals are well conducted, and others not so. At the one in Berlin, containing 150 patients, no moral treatment appears to be adopted. There being no grounds for exercise, the patients are constantly confined to the house. At *Sonnenstein*, about four leagues from Dresden, there is a government establishment for insane patients, and the most celebrated and best conducted institution in Germany, if not in Europe. It consists of an ancient castle, situated on a hill, with extensive adjacent grounds. The number of patients is about 200; most of whom are occupied in good weather out of doors, in walking about the grounds, cultivating flowers, digging, &c. The women have a flower-garden in their department, which serves to occupy and amuse many of them; and others sew, knit, and spin. None are confined to the house; even the most furious patients are allowed to walk about with the others, with cloaks that conceal the apparatus that confines their hands. This measure is said to tranquillize them more than any thing else. The whole establishment is kept extremely neat, and contains workshops, a saloon of amusement, with books, a piano, draught boards, and a billiard room. At a distance from the large building, in a lovely garden at the base of the hill, is the house for the convalescents, fur-

nished with musical instruments, and other things for the amusement of those who are recovering.

A few miles from Bonn is another excellent hospital for lunatics, on the same plan as the one at *Sonnenstein*. It contains about 200 patients. Dr. Jacobi is the superintending physician, and resides in an adjoining house.

In the United States, hospitals exclusively for the insane are of quite recent origin. That established by the Society of Friends near Frankford, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, in 1817, may be considered the first; though a separate building was allotted to those at the New York Hospital in 1808. But previous to this, the general hospitals of Philadelphia and New York received lunatics. Ever since the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1752, lunatics have been received there as patients, though not until 1796 was a part of the building exclusively appropriated to them. At this time, upwards of seventy rooms were opened for their accommodation. From its establishment in 1752 until 1836, 4116 lunatics have been received, of which number 1349 have been cured, 810 have been relieved, and 548 have died. More than twice as many males as females have been admitted to this hospital.

In May, 1817, the *Friends' Lunatic Asylum* was opened for the reception of patients. This Asylum is situated in a healthy and retired neighbourhood, about six miles northeast from Philadelphia, and one mile west from Frankford. A farm is connected with it, of sixty-two acres, about one fourth of which is woodland. The original cost of the main building, which is of stone and 320 feet in length, was $43,000, and of the farm, $6760. Since then, some additions have been made to both. Previous to the year 1834, none were admitted but those in membership or profession with the Society of Friends; but, since then, others not in connexion with the Society have been admitted. About 500 patients have been received and treated at this institution, since it went into operation. By the last Report for 1835–6, it appears that 51 patients have been admitted into the Asylum during the year, which, with the 57 in the institution previously, make 108, being an increase of twenty over the preceding year, and greatly exceeding the numbers that have been there in any previous year.

The New York Hospital was opened for the reception of

patients in 1791. Apartments were then appropriated to lunatics ; but the accommodations being inconvenient, a new and separate building was erected in the immediate vicinity of the general hospital, and opened in 1808. This edifice, which cost $ 56,000, contained 64 rooms, and accommodated 70 or 80 patients. A few years after this, with a view of introducing a course of moral treatment for lunatic patients, similar to that pursued at the Retreat near York, in England, the governors of the New York Hospital applied to the Legislature of that State for aid, to enable them to purchase a number of acres of ground near the city, and to erect suitable buildings. An act was passed, in 1816, granting to the Hospital the yearly sum of ten thousand dollars for this purpose, until the year 1857. A piece of ground containing eighty acres, near the Hudson river, about seven miles from the city of New York, was purchased ; and on a dry, elevated, and pleasant spot, fronting the Bloomingdale road, the building now called the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, was erected. It was completed in 1821, and to it were immediately removed all the lunatics in the old hospitals in the city. The main building is of stone, three stories high, 211 feet long, and can accommodate 200 patients. There are also other buildings for the more violent. During the past year, about one half of the ground, as it was not wanted for the use of the Asylum, has been sold at a great advance upon the original cost. Previous to the erection of the Bloomingdale Asylum, from 1791 to 1821, there had been received into the wards of the New York Hospital and the old Asylum, 1553 lunatics, of which number 704 were cured, 239 were relieved, 154 died, and 52 were transferred to Bloomingdale. The Bloomingdale Asylum was opened in July, 1821 ; and, from that time to the end of 1835, received 1915 lunatics ; of which number 828 were cured, 399 were relieved, and 146 died. The present number of inmates is 144 ; 83 males and 61 females ; being a greater number than are at any other hospital in this country.

For several years past, the Legislature of the State of New York have had under consideration the necessity of erecting an hospital for the insane poor of the State ; and during the last session, they nearly unanimously appropriated $ 60,000 for this purpose. Commissioners were also appointed to fix the location of the buildings, who have recently

selected a site a few miles above Albany, opposite, but below Troy, and purchased ninety acres of land, to be connected with the asylum. Considering the appropriation already made, and the population of that great State, we presume this will be the largest hospital for lunatics in the United States, and receive the most inmates.

In Massachusetts, the General Hospital was incorporated in 1811. It consists of two departments; an hospital in Boston, and the McLean Asylum for the Insane at Charlestown. It was not, however, until October, 1818, and by the aid of a private donation of unprecedented liberality, by the gentleman whose name it bears, that the Lunatic Hospital was prepared and opened for patients. During the first fifteen years, it received 1015 lunatics, 604 men and 411 women. Of this number, 362 recovered, 283 improved, and 89 died. At present it has 80 patients; 51 males and 29 females.

In 1812, the State of Massachusetts completed a magnificent establishment for lunatics, at Worcester, near the middle of the State. It is called, "The Massachusetts State Hospital for the Insane," and was erected exclusively at the expense of the State. The first appropriation for the buildings was $30,000; the second, for furnishing the hospital and preparing the grounds and out-buildings, was $20,000. Twelve acres of land attached to it were given by the town of Worcester. As originally constructed, the buildings accommodated but 120 patients. Recently, additions have been made, and accommodations will soon be provided for above 200. All patients are supported by themselves, if they have property; if not, by their relatives in the direct line. On failure of these sources, they are supported by the towns where they have a settlement. This hospital is intended for lunatics furiously mad, and dangerous to the peace and safety of the community. This class have the preference; and by the last Report of the institution, we learn that 15 have been admitted, who, previous to their entrance, had actually committed homicide. Town pauper lunatics have the next preference. From its establishment to the present time, three years and nine months, 491 patients have been received, and out of this number only 25 have died. As this institution is obliged to receive the worst class of patients in preference to others, it is not to be expected that the whole number of cures will equal that of other institutions, where those con-

sidered incurable may be refused. Many, however, whose insanity had been of long duration, have here recovered; and the number of cures in recent cases has been fully equal to that of any other lunatic hospital. The present number of inmates, (October, 1836,) is 138; 79 men, and 59 women. Of this number, 87 have never been married, 35 are married, and 16 are in a state of widowhood.

Great benefits have already resulted from this noble institution, which, as to the general arrangement of the buildings, the treatment of the inmates, and the liberality which furnished this comfortable home for the insane poor, is worthy of the imitation of other States and institutions.

In the State of Connecticut there is an hospital for lunatics, called the *Connecticut Retreat for the Insane*, beautifully situated on rising ground in the vicinity of Hartford. It was erected in part by the funds of the State, and partly by individual donations. It was opened in April, 1824, and at the end of the first year it had 24 inmates. Since then, the number has yearly increased, and at the present time it has 90. Pauper lunatics are seldom sent to this institution, though indigent lunatics, who are inhabitants of Connecticut, whose disease has not exceeded six months, are admitted for two dollars a week; provided, however, the number of such persons in the institution shall at no time exceed *ten;* and provided also, that no individual shall remain in the institution upon these terms over six months. The lowest price for other patients belonging to the State is three dollars and fifty cents a week, and four dollars for those from other States. By the last published Report it appears, that one half of the patients were from other States besides Connecticut. From the opening of this institution on the 1st of April, 1834, to the 1st of April, 1836, 658 patients have been admitted; 325 men, and 333 women. Of the 325 men, 198 had never been married, 122 were married, and 5 widowers. Of the 333 women, 169 were married, 134 single, and 30 widows. The institution is at present about full, though the Directors have it in contemplation to erect additional buildings, and to provide additional comforts and accommodations for insane patients. Of the 658 patients alluded to, 346 have been removed, recovered; 217 have been removed, not recovered; 33 have died, and 62 remain in the institution. The number of cures effected in recent cases, at this Retreat for the Insane, has been already stated.

Kentucky has the honor of being the first State in the Union to establish, at the expense and under the control of the State, an asylum for pauper lunatics. In the year 1824, a spacious and commodious building was erected at Lexington for their accommodation, at an expense of 30,000 dollars. Since it was opened, 502 patients have been received; 334 males, and 168 females; of which number 190 have died, 219 been discharged, and 93 remained at the commencement of the year 1836. The commissioners, in their last Report, congratulate the Legislature, that their benevolent intentions to provide a secure and comfortable asylum for the afflicted, have been accomplished at comparatively small expense; as the cost to the State, for twelve years, has been but about sixty dollars a year for each patient. The whole expense for 1835 was $5913·62; and the total number of patients was 84 at the commencement, and 93 at the close of the year. Other lunatics besides paupers are admitted; but these pay for their board and attendance. Many of the patients labor a considerable part of the time.

At Columbia, South Carolina, is a well-conducted hospital for lunatics. It was built by the State in 1829, and for several years supported by funds from the State Treasury. Lunatics of South Carolina have the preference over those from other States, and pauper patients over those that pay. The present number of inmates is 54, and an additional wing is now building for the accommodation of more. Most of the cases are of long standing, criminals from the jails, and those who have been for years in poor-houses; of course, but few cures can be expected. On the 1st of January, 1835, there were in the hospital 52 patients; and 20 were received during the year. Of this number 11 were cured, 7 died, and 54 remained at the end of the year.

There is but one hospital for lunatics in the State of Maryland, and that is at Baltimore, connected with the General Hospital. It was built by the State, and incorporated in 1797. It has, at present, accommodations for about 70 lunatics, and is supported by the patients, who pay from three to ten dollars a week, except pauper patients, who pay but one hundred dollars a year; each county in the State having the right to send its pauper lunatics to the Hospital for that price. Though by the act of incorporation it is a general hospital, it has become almost entirely one for lunatics, and the Directors purpose to

make it exclusively so. The present number of the insane at this hospital is 50; 17 of whom are paupers, from various parts of the State. This hospital is under the immediate care and management of the *Sisters of Charity*, an order of Catholic nuns, whose duty is to take charge of the sick. They are twelve in number, who attend here; one of whom is Superior, and performs the duties of a steward.

There are two hospitals for lunatics in the State of Virginia; one at Williamsburg, which has 60 or 70 patients, and one at Staunton, with 30 or 40.

We are informed that there is one for the reception of insane persons in the State of North Carolina, and one recently erected at Nashville, Tennessee. The State of Louisiana has no hospital exclusively for lunatics; but they are received into the Charity Hospital at New Orleans.

In Ohio, a spacious hospital for lunatics is now building at the expense of the State, at Columbus. The general plan is that of the Massachusetts Hospital at Worcester. The building is to be of brick, three stories high, and, including the wings, 280 feet long; and will accommodate 120 patients and the officers of the institution. It is expected to cost $40,000. Thirty acres of land, at sixty-six dollars an acre, have been purchased for the site, one mile northeast of the State-House.

There has, quite recently, one been opened at Brattleborough, in the State of Vermont; though a building exclusively for lunatics has not yet been erected. The legislature of that State appropriated $2000 a year, for five years, for the relief of the insane of the State; and as this was not to be paid until a building was provided for their reception, a house has been purchased for their temporary accommodation. Fifty acres of land, within half a mile of the village of Brattleborough, have been purchased, (including the house now occupied by lunatics,) for $6000. Probably a new and commodious building will soon be completed.

The State of Maine, aided by individual donations to the amount of $20,000, is now erecting an hospital for lunatics on an extensive scale, at Augusta in that State.

New Hampshire, we presume, will also soon have an Asylum for the insane. Public meetings, in several of the largest towns, have adopted resolutions in favor of legislative provision for this purpose; and, at the last session of the legislature, the Governor alluded to the subject in his message, and

a committee, to whom it was referred, reported in favor of speedy action by the legislature in providing an hospital. The whole subject has, however, been referred to the people, who, we presume, will concur in the opinion already generally expressed in that State, in favor of such an institution.

In other States, and in the District of Columbia, public attention begins to be awakened to the importance of having Asylums for the reception and cure of the insane, particularly for the insane poor ; and we doubt not but every State in the Union will, within a very few years, be supplied with at least one. Interest will prompt the States to this, if feelings of benevolence do not ; for it requires but slight observation to see, that the expense of supporting the insane poor will be much lessened by providing them with a good Asylum.

As we have observed, most cases of insanity can be cured if early and proper remedies are resorted to ; among which seclusion, and separation from friends and home, are frequently necessary. If, however, cases are neglected for a few years, they are apt to become incurable. It is also a fact, that in most countries a majority of the insane are poor. The Report of the committee of the legislature of New Hampshire, states, that of 312 lunatics returned, 152 are paupers, now supported at the public expense. Similar facts we learn from other States ; and in England, a majority of the insane are paupers. It is true, however, that insanity not unfrequently precedes and causes the poverty. States will, therefore, act wisely in providing Asylums, where the insane poor can be received, and treated properly, and soon restored to society ; or, if they are incurable, can be supported at a less expense, and far more comfortably, than in the alms-houses of towns.

The large establishments we have referred to, in Europe and this country, are mostly well arranged, well conducted, and creditable to the wisdom and philanthropy of the age. They are not, however, in our opinion, so well adapted for the cure and the comfort of the insane, as smaller ones. We are inclined to believe that government establishments would be much better, if composed of a number of buildings, situated at considerable distance from each other ; so that the insane might be properly classified, and one class never see or hear the other ; and also, where the convalescents might be entirely separated from the rest. The sexes certainly should be in different buildings, remote from each other ; and the hospital

for females, under the constant supervision of a lady of high character for fidelity and intelligence ; and no visitors allowed, not even the officers of the institution, without her permission and attendance. Idiots should be wholly excluded from hospitals for the insane. It is painful to behold patients, partially insane, who have received good education and been accustomed to intelligent associates, confined in the same place, and in fact classed, with idiots totally destitute of mind. It cannot fail of having an injurious effect upon the former, and can be of no service whatever to the latter. The incurably insane should also be perpetually separated from the curable, and the latter never know of the former.

The best Asylums for the insane are those that receive but 30 or 40 patients, only those of the same sex ; and to which are attached extensive gardens and grounds for exercise. Public establishments ought always to have considerable land and workshops connected with them. Labor is often quite an essential aid in the cure of those, who have previously been accustomed to it. Patients belonging to the wealthier class, who have never been used to manual labor, require pleasure-grounds, carriages, and horses, for exercise and amusement.

Too much attention cannot be given by the proper authorities to the prevention of abuses in lunatic hospitals. There are no institutions where abuses are more likely to arise ; none where they are more difficult to detect. This the history of such institutions, in England and other countries, but too painfully testifies. Some patients are frequently so violent and vindictive, that it requires great command of temper in their overseers not to retaliate sometimes ; while others, instigated by appetite and passion, increased by their insanity, are perpetually on the watch to seduce those appointed to guard them, from their duty. Attendants of the most unblemished moral character, and remarkable for kind disposition, for calmness and intelligence, should be procured, and well instructed in their responsible duties ; and be induced by proper compensation to devote themselves perpetually to the care of the insane.

Notwithstanding the attention hitherto given to the subject of insanity, much still remains to be learned. The medical superintendents of the institutions for the insane will have it in their power to add essentially to our knowledge of this important disease. Much, we have no doubt, is yet to be learned by autopsical examinations, made with the carefulness and minute-

ness which distinguish modern researches in pathology. It is already rendered probable, that in all cases of insanity there are specific alterations of the brain. These, with the symptoms of the disease, should be accurately ascertained and described. At the same time, the treatment adopted, and its effects, should be faithfully recorded, and occasionally made public. It is gratifying, to be sure, to learn from the Reports of Lunatic Asylums, that many of the insane are cured; but surely it would be more gratifying, and of far greater utility to the public, to be informed what were the means which produced such results. Is separation from home, from relatives and acquaintance, all that is required for the cure? If so, this should be known. Many would prefer, and in many cases it would be better, to accomplish this without sending insane patients to large lunatic establishments. If medicines are serviceable, these should be made known, and the cases in which they are necessary described. In this way, such information might be imparted, as would enable many to be restored, at home, at the onset of the disease. We are of the opinion, that in a majority of cases of insanity, proper treatment in the commencement of the disease would remove it; and it will be very unfortunate for the community, if the impression becomes general, that insanity cannot be cured except at Lunatic Asylums. Cases of relapse, and we fear they are not few, should be ascertained as far as possible; and, together with the apparent cause, made known. The public desire the whole truth; and not merely to be informed that a large number of patients were considered cured, and discharged after a short residence in the Hospital. They wish to know how many of these were original cases, how many of them readmissions, what were the means of their restoration, and every particular calculated to throw additional light on the nature and cure of this mysterious disease. In this way, public Asylums, in addition to their present utility, will become valuable schools of instruction for all medical men, and be of incalculable benefit to the country and mankind.

But is the cure of insanity all that can be done to prevent its extension in this country? Cannot the causes of this disease frequently be ascertained and avoided? We believe they may. According to most writers on insanity, *moral causes* are far more operative than physical ones in producing the disease. "The observations," says M. Georget, "which

I have had it in my power to make, the more numerous ones which I have compared in authors, have convinced me, that among one hundred lunatics, ninety-five at least have become such from the influence of affections and moral commotions. It is an observation become almost proverbial in the Hospital, (the *Salpétrière*,) 'qu'on perd la tête par les revolutions d'esprit.' The first question that M. Pinel puts to a new patient, who still preserves some remains of intelligence, is, 'Have you undergone any vexation or disappointment?' Seldom is the reply in the negative." This opinion derives support from the fact, that the disease mostly occurs at that period of life, when the passions are excited by the strongest interests, and is chiefly confined to the civilized and intellectual communities. Insanity is a disease of the material organ of the mind, the brain; and never occurs unless this organ is affected. It is, therefore, theoretically probable, that moral commotions, mental anxiety, and the excitement of the feelings and passions, which disturb the natural action of the brain, should most frequently produce this disease.

It is, however, extremely difficult to determine with accuracy the cause of insanity in many cases. In examining the records of Lunatic Asylums in this country, we find intemperance in the use of intoxicating drinks mentioned, as a very frequent cause. No doubt it sometimes is; but we are not without suspicion that there is some other primary and predisposing cause, that is essential to the production of insanity in the intemperate. Intemperance has long been, and is now, very prevalent in some countries where there is but little insanity; and the instances are so very numerous of long and habitual intoxication without any tendency to this disease, that our suspicion is strengthened that some other cause predisposes the brain to the disease we call insanity. Intemperance is very common among the negroes and the Indians of this country, yet insanity is rare among them. The few cases of which we have heard among the former, appeared to arise from excitement of mind. Besides, the excessive use of intoxicating drink is not unfrequently the consequence, not the cause, of the mental derangement, and among the first symptoms of the disease. This fact has been often noticed. Still we do not doubt, that some cases are correctly attributed to intemperance; and still less do we doubt, that, as a secondary cause, it is of quite frequent operation, and has much increased this disease of late,

among the laboring classes in this country and England. When there is an hereditary tendency to insanity, or when the brain has been much disturbed by anxiety and mental excitement, then the use of intoxicating drinks unquestionably tends to develope it; and we have no doubt that very many thus circumstanced would escape the disease, if they would entirely abstain from stimulating drinks.

But altogether the most frequent cause of insanity is hereditary predisposition. Even if one sane generation has intervened, there is not, then, a certainty the next will continue so. It is much to be feared, that if marriages are contracted in disregard of this fact, the numerous cures effected of late will but serve to increase the number of the insane in another generation. In those born of insane parents, much may be done towards preventing the developement of the disease, by attention to their education, both physical and mental. "Predisposition to insanity," says M. Esquirol, "may be traced from the age of infancy; it furnishes the explanation of a multitude of caprices, irregularities, and anomalies, which, at a very early period, ought to put parents on their guard against the approach of insanity. It may furnish useful admonitions to those who preside over the education of children. It is advisable, in such cases, to give them an education tending to render the body robust, and to harden it against the ordinary causes of madness; and particularly to place them under different circumstances, from those with which their parents were environed. It is thus we ought to put in practice the aphorism of Hippocrates, who advises to change the constitution of individuals, in order to prevent the diseases with which they are threatened, by the hereditary predisposition of their family."

Next to hereditary predisposition, mental disturbance, care, anxiety, and faulty education are the most common causes of insanity. In no country, we presume, are these more operative, if as much so, as in this. As has been hinted, the very freedom of our institutions, by creating universal strife, and increasing the mental activity of all classes, causes much insanity. "Great mental activity among all classes, and both sexes, was the most striking characteristic of the people of the United States," noticed by Spurzheim. All are excited, and almost constantly; either on politics, religion, or, more generally, by speculations and projects to acquire wealth. This is not true merely of brokers, dealers in stocks, and merchants, neither is it

confined to the inhabitants of cities; but into whatever part of the country we go, or with whatever class we mix, we find excitement, speculation, and strife. Our thousands of newspapers, circulating in all parts of the Union, and their exciting articles read by all classes, create and perpetuate mental agitation. Then, their details of crimes, murders, and suicides add to the excitement, and, we are not without strong suspicion, often lead others to the commission of similar acts. We hope, however, that some of these evils, which are perhaps but consequences of our freedom, will correct themselves, and cease to be injurious; that the public mind, like the palate of certain epicures, will cease to be affected by ordinary stimulants.

But we hope more from the proper education of children and females. They are placed, in a good degree, without the vortex of speculation and political strife; and if educated properly, we trust a generation will arise, not liable to be affected by causes that hitherto have deranged and destroyed many. To effect this, however, the utmost pains should be taken to develope the physical powers of children. Premature cultivation of the mind should be avoided. Early excitation of the brain is as dangerous to that organ, as stimulating drink is to the stomach; and of itself is calculated to produce a tendency to nervous diseases, and often to insanity. Females should be educated in such a manner, as to make them robust and healthy. At present, especially in cities, in the large towns and villages of this country, they labor but little, exercise but little, and have become too generally delicate and nervous. This can be remedied only by accustoming them to much exercise in the open air, especially when young; with their bodies untrammelled by ridiculous and constrained dress, and their minds unoccupied, some of the time at least, by tasks and lessons.

Erroneous education is reckoned by many writers among the predisposing causes of insanity. On this subject Dr. Prichard observes,

"There are two different points of view under which the injurious effects of wrong education may be considered. By too great indulgence, and a want of moral discipline, the passions acquire greater power, and a character is formed subject to caprice and to violent emotions; a predisposition to insanity is thus laid in the temper and moral affections of the individual. The exciting causes of madness have greater influence on per-

sons of such habits, than on those whose feelings are regulated. An overstrained and premature exercise of the intellectual powers, is likewise a fault of education which predisposes to insanity, as it does also to other diseases of the brain. These are two considerations which are of the greatest importance, with respect to the welfare of families to which an hereditary constitution may belong, rendering them more liable than others to cerebral diseases. They are distinct in themselves, and each might furnish a theme for an extensive treatise, most valuable in a practical point of view. Under the first head, it would be necessary to consider the efficacy of those plans of education, of which the professed object is to form a character remarkable for sedateness, for the strict discipline of the feelings, and, as far as this is attainable, of strong passions and emotions. Such, undoubtedly, would be the kind of moral education best adapted for those who are constitutionally liable to insanity. The second remark, on the regulation of mental exercise in young persons, whose nervous systems are feebly constituted, has a more extensive bearing than on the subject of insanity. It brings forward a suggestion which is of very general interest in these times, in which mental exertion is stimulated to the utmost, and too great sacrifices are often made to the cultivation of the intellect, or even to the mere acquisition of knowledge, while the education of the moral affections is considered as a matter of secondary importance."

These observations are deserving of very serious consideration, though they are but hints on subjects that ought to be treated at much greater length.

In conclusion, we hope there is a class of people in this country, and an increasing class, one destined to be the most numerous, who seek enjoyment in the tranquil occupations of life, in such pursuits as those of agriculture, and the study of natural history ; who are not ashamed to labor with their own hands, and unite, in due proportion, exercise of body and mind ; who, contented with their stations in society, and with a competency, are not perpetually striving for office or wealth. To this course we advise others, for we know not how life can be better spent, or more happiness realized. We hope to see, to be sure, a love of literature and of science increase with this class. All labor of body is not proper ; the mind requires exercise also ; but it does not require constant excitement, any more than the body does alcoholic drinks. The agriculturist, with a good farm and well-selected library,

(and books are now so cheap that most persons can afford such,) is supplied with the essential materials for rational enjoyment. A part of his time judiciously devoted to labor, makes him as independent of others as is desirable ; while a portion of his leisure passed with books, elevates, purifies, and improves his intellect, and thus he secures to himself health of body and mind.

ART. VII.—1. *My Prisons ; Memoirs of* SILVIO PELLICO *of Saluzzo.* Cambridge : Printed by Charles Folsom. 1836. 16mo. pp. 368.

2. *Additions to "My Prisons ; Memoirs of Silvio Pellico," with a Biographical Notice of Pellico.* By PIERO MARONCELLI of Forli. Translated from the Italian, under the Superintendence of the Author. Cambridge : Printed by Charles Folsom. 1836. 16mo. pp. 276.

THE writer of an excellent article on Pellico, in the twenty-second Number of the "Foreign Quarterly Review," remarks, that if the work had been "an ordinary invective against Austrian oppression, conceived and executed in the usual perfervid manner of Italian partisanship, it would have been forgotten in a fortnight ; but this calm, classical, and moving picture of suffering, insinuates itself irresistibly into the heart, and will long maintain its hold on the memory." The work before us is a proof of the truth of this remark ; it is a new translation of Pellico's account of his imprisonment.

It is four years since this sad story was first told in Europe, in accents of such deep and touching pathos, that we seemed to be listening to the voice of one who had passed through the dark valley of the shadow of death ; and now, his words are echoed again in America, and,

> "Like to a harp-string stricken by the wind,
> The sound of his lament shall"

sweep over our land, and be heard with deep and thrilling emotion.

We rejoice that this new translation has been made and published; for, although an English version was prepared in 1833, there still seemed to be sufficient reason for doing the work again. Without intending any disparagement to the London translator's abilities, we may say that his work was fitted rather to satisfy the immediate and urgent demand of English readers, than to do full justice to the style and sentiments of the original. The public were not willing to wait for an elaborate and carefully revised version of a book so full of thrilling interest, and which was addressed not merely to Italy or France, but to the world. But, now that the work has become a classic in the literature of every civilized nation, it seems very desirable that it should be rendered into English with great care and accuracy, and in such a manner as to convey, as far as possible, an idea of the remarkably chaste and elegant style of the original. These objects have been very successfully accomplished in the American translation. It is literal, without being stiff; and while it conveys the thoughts of Pellico, it speaks in the same natural and unaffected style. The work has been executed with great care and fidelity; every word has been weighed and selected, every sentence revised, and the whole discussed and examined by able scholars; so that we know not where a more complete version of any work could be found.

To give our readers, however, an opportunity of judging of the necessity of a new translation, we will lay before them some of the inaccuracies in the English work.

In the first place, there occur through the book numerous additions or interpolations, which destroy the effect of that simplicity for which the original is so remarkable. For instance, on page 86, chapter 35, (we use the London edition of 1833,) the following sentence appears; "And rest satisfied with the acquaintance we had formed, the mutual pleasure we had already derived, and the unalterable good-will we felt toward each other, which resulted from it." Our readers will be surprised to find in the Italian, only the following words; "E ci contentassimo d' esserci conosciuti collo scambio di poche parole, ma indelebili e mallevadrici di alta amicizia;" which are thus rendered in the American translation; "and content ourselves with being known to each other by the exchange of a few words, indelible pledges of strong attachment." Again, chapter 52, page 125, Pellico, describing

his meeting with Maroncelli, is made to say, "We mutually described our prison walks and adventures, *complimenting each other on our peripatetic philosophy.*" The latter clause of the sentence which we have marked with italics, is entirely an addition by the translator. The sentence in the original, is "Ci confidammo parecchie carcerarie peripezie," and is well translated; "We confided to each other various incidents of our imprisonment." In chapter 59, page 143, the Italian, "Io sono cattivo, o signore," is translated, "No, Sir, I am bad — rank bad." In chapter 79, page 191, we read; "And last not least the innocent badinage of a young Hungarian fruiteress, the corporal's wife, who flirted with my companions." This purports to be a translation of the following sentence; "E per ultimo un innocente amore, — un amore non mio, nè del mio compagno, ma d' una buona caporalina Ungherese, venditrice di frutta." The American translation has it; "And in the last place an innocent attachment, — not on my part, nor on the part of my companion, but on that of a good, simple girl, the daughter of an Hungarian corporal, a fruit-seller."

Many instances occur also of hasty and incorrect translation. In the very first line, there is a mistake in the date. Pellico was arrested on the 13th of October; not the 15th, as we read in the London translation. In chapter 55, page 132, we are told that arriving at Fusina, from Venice, they found two boats waiting for them, and that their guards were "some of them at hand in the boats; others in the box of the vetturino." This account presents a very confused idea of their mode of travelling. Why they should have boats ready at Fusina, where persons arriving from Venice usually change the gondola for a land carriage, and why part of the guards should ride on the box of a vetturino, or coach, while the remaining part went in boats with the prisoners, is extremely difficult to be comprehended; especially when we find, a few lines afterwards, that their journey lay over the Alps, which Hannibal himself would never have thought of crossing in a boat. Upon referring to the original, we find that the English translator has rendered "legni," "boats"; when any one who is at all familiar with colloquial Italian, knows that legno is a general term for land carriage.

In chapter 59, page 143, old Schiller, the jailer of Spielberg, says; "Captain as I am," &c. &c. Though we did

not doubt that the whole Austrian army were subject to do service as jailers and executioners, we were still somewhat surprised to perceive that the Emperor should actually use his captains for turnkeys ; but on looking into the original, we found the words, "Caporale qual sono," "Corporal as I am."

Towards the end of chapter 68, in giving an account of an interview with Schiller, Pellico says that each of them joined his hands and prayed in silence. He then adds ; "Ei capiva ch' io facea voti per esso, com' io capiva ch' ei ne facea per me." This is very well rendered in the American version ; "He understood that I was praying for him, and I that he was praying for me." But the English translator has it ; "He saw it and took my hand with a look of grateful respect." (p. 165.)

In the 71st chapter, Pellico, in giving an account of the daily routine, says ; "Un breve intervallo, e ci portavano la colezione. Questa era un mezzo pentolino di broda rossiccia, con tre sottilissime fettine di pane ; io mangiava quel pane e non bevea la broda." One would think that a pot of red broth, with three very thin slices of bread, was hard fare enough ; but the English translator, refining upon Austrian cruelty, tells us, (page 172,) that the breakfast consisted of "coarse bread and *swill.*" In the same chapter, "A certi discorsi non rispondevamo se non pregandoli di tacere," is rendered in the London translation, (page 178,) "Touching upon some topics, they entreated of us to be silent, refusing to give any answer." Pellico has just said that their guards sometimes conversed with them, and then adds the words we have here cited, the meaning of which is, obviously, exactly the contrary of the English translation. They are rendered properly in the new version ; "To certain remarks *we* did not reply, except by begging them to be silent." This makes the next sentence intelligible, in which Pellico adds ; "It was natural that we should doubt, whether what they said were entirely the overflowing of simple hearts, or whether there were not some artifice in it for the purpose of discovering our thoughts."

Another remarkable error in translation occurs in the 77th chapter, where Pellico, speaking of the ill health of Maroncelli, says ; "L' unica idea che mi spaventasse era la possibilità che questo infelice, di salute già assai rovinata, sebbene

meno minacciante della mia, mi precedesse nel sepolcro." This is translated in the American work ; "The only idea which alarmed me was the possibility that my unfortunate friend, whose health was ruined, though his danger seemed less imminent than my own, might precede me to the tomb." But the English translator has it ; "The sole idea which tormented me, was the possibility of this excellent friend also being snatched from me ; his health having been much broken, so as to threaten his dissolution ere my own sufferings drew to a close." (p. 186.)

In the 78th chapter, "Io m' aspettava di vederlo volgere la finezza del suo ingegno ad indagini sconvenienti," is rather inelegantly translated ; "I imagined that we should soon discover him *putting out his feelers* to induce us to make imprudent disclosures." (p. 188.) The American translator has it ; "I expected to find him employing the acuteness of his mind in unbecoming investigations."

There is no need of bringing forward other instances of inaccuracy in the English translation. It is not our object to criticize that work ; but to give an answer to the inquiry so often repeated, "Why should a new translation of Pellico be made ?" We presume we have said enough already, to show, that the American translation, having been made more at leisure, and with great critical minuteness and accuracy, does more justice to the original, and deserves, better than the first version, to stand as the representative of Pellico in the English language.

The volume which we have named in company with "My Prisons," at the head of this article, is, we believe, the first translation into English which has appeared, of Maroncelli's "Additions." This work forms a valuable accompaniment to Pellico's, as it contains many details of great interest respecting the prisoners of Spielberg, and gives us more satisfactory information with regard to the causes of their arrest. Indeed, upon this point Pellico is entirely silent, remarking that, like an ill-treated lover, who keeps aloof from his mistress, he shall leave politics where they are, and speak of other things.

The volume consists of a biographical notice of Pellico ; notices of several individuals mentioned in "My Prisons," with further particulars of the sufferings at Spielberg ; and an Appendix, containing an account of the massacre of Prina ;

notices of the Counts Porro and Confalonieri; of the "Conciliatore," a periodical, conducted by Pellico and others at Milan; the principles which it defended, and the fate of the individuals connected with it; and, finally, a program of Maroncelli's unpublished works, with a few short poems of his composition.

The Appendix is highly interesting, as giving us a hasty view of the political state of Lombardy, for some years before the arrest of Pellico and the others, and forms a good introduction to "My Prisons." As a picture of the beautiful uprightness and justice of Austrian policy, it is worthy of attention; and, as we are fond of expatiating on the virtues of that enlightened government, we shall endeavour to lay before our readers, in a few words, the history of the manner in which it gained possession of Lombardy, after the downfall of Napoleon. While Eugene Beauharnais was waiting at Mantua, in the expectation that the Senate of Milan would proclaim him king of Lombardy, Count Ghislieri, Aulic Counsellor of the Austrian Emperor, came furtively to Milan, and at the house of one of the old adherents of the House of Austria, formed a conspiracy with several of the rich Lombard proprietors, to attack the Senate on the day when it was proposed to take the vote in favor of Eugene, and intimidate the members from proceeding, by the murder of the minister Prina, and then, before the nomination of Eugene, and before the Senate could recover from its panic, to proclaim the Emperor of Austria as sovereign in Lombardy, and thus win back this fine country to slavery and desolation. The infamous plan proved but too successful. On the appointed day, a vast number of peasants, who had been summoned by the Lombard proprietors from their estates, came flocking to the city. "The mountains about Como," says Maroncelli, "and those that surround Lago Maggiore, and the plains opposite, poured forth in torrents the inhabitants of their villages and shores; a savage, threatening multitude, who may well have asked one of another, 'What crime is it they would buy of us?'" This ferocious mob, having received their watchword from Ghislieri, rushed to the Senate-house, and not finding Prina there, ran to his mansion, seized him, dragged him through the streets, and murdered him. The only persons who dared to oppose them were the Counts Porro and Confalonieri, who mounted their horses, rode into

the midst of the mob, and endeavoured, by reasoning with them, to check their fury. Finding arguments of no avail, they hastened to Pino, general of the military forces, and besought him to interfere; but motives of prudence restrained him. As a last resort, they applied to the curate of San Fedele, and implored him to appear in procession with the host. "But," says Maroncelli, "the curate was of a poor spirit. He did not feel the mission, and refused;" and the mob pursued their fiendish work.

The Senate was dissolved, and a regency nominated. The first act of the regency was to appoint three commissioners; Baron Trecchi was sent to Lord Bentinck at Genoa; Confalonieri to Paris, where the allied sovereigns then were; and Porro to the Austrian camp beyond the Ticino, to treat with the General Bellegarde. Here he was immediately made prisoner, but had the good fortune to escape soon after. As soon as Bellegarde had arrested him, he broke up the camp and put his troops in motion for Lombardy. Confalonieri's reception by the Austrian Emperor at Paris was not much more favorable. His Majesty was greatly astonished, that his former subjects in Lombardy should dare to think of independence. "Go," said he to Confalonieri, "and say to them that new rights are added to the old ones. While I speak, my armies have reconquered them, and thus they are doubly my property." His words were true; and thus was Lombardy again subjected to the hated tyranny of Austria.

Porro and Confalonieri returned to Milan, to wait in patience for the time to come, when their country should be able again to throw off the yoke, and to endeavour by silent and gentle means to regenerate her. They did every thing in their power to encourage letters, arts, schools, and manufactures, by great personal exertions, and large expenditures in importing foreign machines and improvements of various kinds, with workmen to teach their use.

One of the most important steps which they took in order to accomplish their purposes, was the establishment of a periodical work called the "Conciliatore," of which Silvio Pellico was the editor. The objects of this journal were ostensibly literary and scientific. Men of eminence were engaged to write for it both in Italy and foreign countries, and it appears to have been conducted and supported with great ability. The account which Maroncelli gives of the writers who contributed

to this paper, the subjects discussed, and the principles of criticism advocated in it, is extremely interesting. It seems, when we are reading the list of fine geniuses whose talents were elicited by this journal, as if the veil which Austrian tyranny has thrown over the mind of Italy were for a moment withdrawn, to show us the brilliant lights which would beam upon the world if that gifted nation were but free. Alas ! this light shone but as the blaze of a meteor, and triple darkness followed its extinction. The journal was continued till 1820, subject to the censorship, when this power was used so arbitrarily that nothing was left of the articles but the title and signature ; which of course, amounted to a complete interdiction, and the journal ceased to exist. The insurrection of the Constitutionalists at Naples took place a few months afterwards, and, being easily quelled, had no other effect than to heighten the rigors of Austrian tyranny. This was displayed in the most signal manner, in the arrest of many of the writers in the Conciliatore. Pellico, as Editor, was peculiarly obnoxious ; he was seized by the police of Milan, in October, 1820, and underwent the long and dreadful imprisonment, of which he has given us an account in his extraordinary book. It does not appear from Maroncelli's account of the " Conciliatore," that politics were treated of to any extent in it ; and, as it was constantly subjected to the censorship, it is certain that nothing very obnoxious to the Austrian government can have appeared on its pages. Maroncelli says of the journal; " It was a logical school of liberty. The Austrian government called it a conspiracy ; and it is most true, that, in a certain sense, every honest effort for social amelioration is a conspiracy ; a conspiracy of the good against the bad, a conspiracy prescribed by the Gospel against all error, prejudice, and iniquity." This however, was enough to alarm Austria ; the objects of the journal were to make the nation wiser, better, and happier, and gradually lead it on to that degree of intelligence, which prepares the way for freedom. The objects of the Austrian government are to render the nation more ignorant and more miserable, and to carry it back, step by step, to the dark ages of oppression and slavery. The power of evil conquered.

In giving an account of the " Conciliatore," Maroncelli introduces his chapter on " Cor-mentalism," which is replete with elevated and fine thought. We regret that the language is so technical, as to repel many, and we are the more sorry, be-

cause there seems to be a prevailing disposition in many writers of the present day, to fall into the habit of using numerous expressions which do not belong to the "language of humanity." This is a decided error in judgment and taste. That there is, that there must be a gradual change in language cannot be denied; the vocabulary of Chaucer, for instance, would not be comprehensive enough to express all the ideas of the nineteenth century; but it is a mistake in any writer to anticipate such a change. No mind can be so much in advance of the age, as to require a separate vocabulary; and as a matter of taste, as well as kindness to readers, it would seem better occasionally to use a little circumlocution, if necessary, than to depart from the language of the age. The proper source of new words is the general usage of society, where all language has its origin; and, as language was spoken before it was written, so all new words should be allowed to come into vogue in the same way; that is, to be authorized by general use before they appear in writing. We have made these objections, that we may speak with more unrestrained praise of the chapter on Cor-mentalism in all other respects; as it abounds in lofty and correct views, and deserves to be read with deep attention. We are sure that any reader who will overcome the technicalities, and comprehend the piece, will be well rewarded for his pains.

The remarks on Cor-mentalism were elicited by the question, which was proposed to the writer; "Which have done most honor to the human mind, the productions of the *classic* or those of the *romantic* literature?" The writer first endeavours to show the great superiority of Christian literature (or Christian *art* as he calls it, including poetry and the fine arts,) in its origin, the means it employs, and the ends it has in view, over Pagan art; that is, the poetry and fine arts, anterior to Christianity. Pagan art, he says, is material, referring only to outward forms; it wants the elevated spirit which comes from the Christian religion; it is contented with imitating nature; "the art and the artist have attained their highest excellence, when the bird pecks at the painted grapes, or when the Athenian would withdraw the veil to behold the lady it conceals." The Pagan is a selfish being; he views the universe as made for himself alone, placed at his command, and fit only for his use; instead of lifting up his soul to comprehend the vastness of creation, he endeavours to bring down the universe

within the compass of his finite powers. The great object of the poetry and the fine arts of Paganism, is pleasure. "Here," says Maroncelli, "is the secret of the whole; selfish pleasure, without elevation."

Far different from this, are the fine arts and poetry of Christianity. The Christian regards himself, not as a solitary, independent being, but as bound to the human race by the social ties. Every act which he performs, every effort of mind, is to be viewed, not merely in reference to himself, but as having an influence upon his fellow men. The great object of Christian art is *Good*, which is to be taught not less by epic, lyric, or dramatic poetry, than in the didactic form; this great lesson is infused into every branch of Christian art, and forms the essence of its being. The great model which the Christian places before him, not for imitation, but as the source of his inspiration, is the Deity. He regards creation as the mirror of the Almighty, and in his own works of art he endeavours to portray the same Infinite existence. "The Pagan artist," says Maroncelli, "scales the loftiest summit of the Andes; but there heaven is excluded from his view as by a vault of adamant, which (save in its proportions) is to him like the wall of his *studio*, bounded on every side. Hence he surveys the earth, to him the universe, and this supposed universe is the palette which supplies him with colors to paint; what? Himself." "The Christian artist feels himself unbound, not only from earth, but from the whole creation over which he has dominion. He grasps it in his hand, and bearing it upward to Him of whom it is the image, they there repose in a divine union with the universal Being."

Pagan and Christian art agree in one respect, which is in accomplishing their objects by the representation of outward forms, as sculpture, poetry, painting. Hence they are said to be *plastic*, that is, creating forms as the means by which they effect their purposes. The great difference between them is in these purposes; that of Pagan art being merely selfish pleasure, while Christian art has for its object the good of the whole race. The former is material and selfish, the latter spiritual and benevolent.

Having drawn this comparison between Christian and Pagan art, Signor Maroncelli proceeds to give a definition of the term Cor-mentalism. The word is derived from two others; *core*, which signifies *heart* or *sentiment*, and *mente*, which is

translated *mind*, comprehending thought and imagination. "In this compound, the word *mente* is used to denote every creation properly intellectual; and the word *core*, every creation emanating from the feelings, from the gentlest breath of affection to the strongest emotion." Christian art, in the highest and abstract sense of the term, is characterized by this union. Still there are many poets in Paganism, who deserve to be called cor-mental, and many Christian poets to whom the term cannot be applied; and the remaining portion of the chapter is occupied with an examination of various writers, principally Italian however, as bearing the test of Cor-mentalism or not. For the concise and masterly view which it gives of Italian literature, especially of a later date, this treatise will be read with great interest. But little is known here of the modern writers of Italy; indeed the chapter on Cor-mentalism will be found to contain many names which have never reached this continent. The literature which was elicited by the "Conciliatore" had scarcely drawn the breath of life, before it was stifled by the oppressive hand of Austria; and they whose talents and genius would have been recognised and admired by the world, had they lived under happier auspices, the authors of a regenerated literature, were hurried away to Spielberg, and buried alive in its gloomy dungeons. And with them their literature has been consigned to oblivion.

And now, one by one, they are beginning to emerge from the frightful tomb where they have dragged out the best years of their life; and they come, with minds strengthened and hearts purified by suffering, to address the whole civilized world in tones of deeper pathos than Tragedy ever uttered. They come to tell us the story of their wrongs, to claim an asylum, to mourn over the ruin of their country, to wait calmly till her call shall again summon them from beyond the seas, and from every land of freedom, to put forth their energies for her liberation, and again perhaps to enter the vaults of Spielberg. But there were some, who might have beheld over their dungeon door the awful inscription which Dante read on the gates of Hell,

"Lasciate ogni speranza voi che 'ntrate,"

who were never to leave their prison but to be transferred to the mad-house or the tomb. Their companions, who survived the horrors which destroyed them, now come to tell their fate, to relate how one who was "condemned to death, as a

Carbonaro," and, "by the grace of the Emperor Francis I.," received a commutation of the sentence to "*only fifteen years of carcere duro*," died of hunger in the second year of his imprisonment; how another, goaded to madness, has been removed by order of the Emperor to end his days in another prison; and how others are still pining in hopeless captivity, loaded with chains, condemned to servile tasks, and tormented by their savage keepers.

Such is the story which we read in Maroncelli's "Additions." The most interesting part of the book is undoubtedly that which relates particularly to himself. We seemed to be acquainted with him through his friend Pellico, before he reached our shores. We had followed him with intense interest through the various scenes and horrors of his imprisonment; we had read with tears the story of his sufferings, his illness, his courage during the fearful operation to which he submitted; we had rejoiced with him at his liberation; and when he came among us and we grasped his hand, when we gazed on his mutilated form and remembered all that he had passed through, since he had been removed in the flower of youth from the society of man, we felt that one, whose character had undergone such an ordeal, had laid up for himself treasures which no rust could corrupt, and no thief could steal.

> "Rifatto sì, come piante novelle
> Rinnovellate di novella fronda,
> Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle."

We are very glad to see that works, which are destined to so high a place, appear in a form worthy of themselves. We have never seen any thing more beautiful from the American press, than the two volumes before us, which deserve a place by the side of the most elegant modern English editions.* That they would be classically correct we felt sure, when we saw that they had issued from the press of Mr. Folsom. That the work would in every respect be elegant, we felt no less sure, when we found the name of Mr. Norton, as Editor; his beautiful edition of Mrs. Hemans, begun, but left unfinished from want of encouragement, showed plainly what was his taste in getting up editions of classic writers. The beauty of these volumes is peculiarly gratifying, however, when we remember that they are American; that the copy-right is secured; and that they are not to be subjected to the debasing touch of

* We speak of those copies, which escaped mutilation by the binder.

those harpies of literature, the republishers of the United States, who defile the banquet prepared by the writers of England. That these volumes are sacred from all such violation, is a mercy for which we desire to be duly thankful. And while touching upon this subject, we cannot forbear calling the attention of our readers to the importance of the establishment of a law, enabling foreign writers to obtain a copy-right for their works in this country, at the same time that they are published in Europe. This subject is now beginning to attract public notice. Several of our journals have expressed themselves in favor of such a copy-right law, and some have declared against it. We shall not pretend to offer here all the arguments in defence of such a law, nor to combat all that may be said on the other side. Our wish is to state the case as simply as possible, with the hope of engaging the attention and interest of others, who are better qualified to conduct the debate.

It is probably known to most readers, that English, and other foreign writers, are not allowed to take out a copy-right for their publications in this country. Any American has the liberty of republishing, abridging, altering, adding to a foreign book at his pleasure, without any reference whatever to the author. This liberty affords great advantages to our publishers. Within thirty days' sail of us, there is a great country more populous than our own, where our language prevails. The success of a book is abundantly tried there ; and if it is well received, the American publisher has only to reprint and sell it as his own. The copy-right costs him nothing, and he therefore enjoys the double profits of author and publisher. We say nothing of the injustice which is thus done to English writers, not because it is of small importance, but because we wish to view the subject exclusively as it relates to Americans. It must be obvious to every one, that, as long as this state of things lasts, and while there are as many writers and publishers in England as in America, our publishers will have quite enough to occupy them in reprinting English works. An American would not be so foolish as to pay a native writer a fair price for his copy-right of a work, which he is not sure of selling when printed, if he can obtain for nothing the work of some English author, of such well-known popularity, that the sale of an edition is certain. The most important consequence of this is, that there is no encouragement for Ameri-

can writers, and therefore, comparatively speaking, there can be no American literature. There will be some undoubtedly, who will assert that it is not desirable that there should be any native literature; but with such persons we decline any controversy. Our whole argument is founded upon the supposition that it is a great want; that it is superior to all other considerations, which may arise in discussing the question; superior to the importance of having books sold very cheap; superior even to the consideration of our publishers' growing rich in five years instead of ten. The reason which has always been assigned for not passing such a law, is that the absence of it promotes the cause of literature in this country; inasmuch as it affords books at a much lower rate than they could be bought otherwise, and places within the reach of many persons, books which they could not buy, if the price were higher; and that it encourages home manufactures, by enabling our publishers to reprint all of the English works which are likely to be sought. — The mistake here is, that the arrangement favors the wrong set of men. It is the writers who are to be regarded as the manufacturers, not the publishers. The American publishers, who reprint English works, are the importers and venders of foreign manufactures.

It may be said indeed that American writers are paid for their copy-rights. A very small number are paid; we doubt whether a dozen writers in this country could be mentioned, whose copy-right could be sold to any publisher for a sum sufficient to repay them for the trouble of writing a book. A very small number of writers of great celebrity are able to sell their manuscripts to advantage, because the publisher, when he puts out the reprint of an English work, incurs the risk of seeing his neighbour republish the work in a still cheaper form; whereas the work of an American popular writer, though not so profitable, is secure from the piracy of other publishers. The thing to be considered is, not how many American writers are paid for their works, but how many are not paid; what a vast number there are to enter the lists for competition, provided they are once fairly opened; how many original, thinking minds are prevented from coming before the public, from the mere inability to bear the expense of publication. It should be remembered that writers are more frequently poor, than rich men; and that numbers, who might have done honor to themselves and good to their countrymen,

have been prevented from taking the first step, by the utter coldness and indifference of the publishers. Who ever heard of an American publisher's reading a manuscript?

One of the most unpleasant effects of the absence of a copy-right law is, inundating the country with wretched editions of very poor books. The most popular works, of course, are novels. When therefore an English writer, Bulwer or Marryatt for instance, publishes a novel, the person who intends to reprint the work in this country, must do it in a prodigious hurry, lest some other publisher anticipate him. Of course, the edition must be very bad, and sold very cheap. Where they are republished more at leisure, and in a handsomer form, they are sold higher. The cheap literature, therefore, which is the boasted result of the absence of a copy-right law, is generally of the most ephemeral and worthless form, consisting chiefly of novels. This class of works, after the lapse of five or six years from the time of publication, becomes utterly valueless; the reprinted volumes are so hideous, as to be excluded from every decent library; and the whole money spent by the public in purchasing the edition is entirely wasted. And yet this class of books is incomparably more numerous with us than any other.

Another bad consequence of the existing state of things is, that the choice of books, which shall be offered us, is in the wrong hands. Our publishers have, to no small extent, the direction of our reading, inasmuch as they make the selection of books for reprinting. They, of course, will choose those works which will command the readiest and most extensive sale; but it must be remembered, that in so doing, while they answer the demand of the most numerous class of readers, they neglect the wants of the more cultivated and intelligent class. Besides this, there are many admirable works, which might come into general use if they were presented to our reading public, but which are left unnoticed by the publishers, because their success is doubtful. Supposing Abbott's "Young Christian," for instance, a book which has had a more extensive circulation than any work of the present times, had been first published in England, at the same moment that one of Marryatt's novels appeared, the American publishers would have given us immediately a horrid reprint of the novel; but we should have heard nothing of Abbott's book, till its success had been abundantly tried abroad; nor

even then, if some ephemeral novel had started up, which promised to sell better.

Nor is it certain that the price of books would be seriously augmented by the passage of the copy-right law. It must be remembered, that a great number of writers would thus be called into the field at once ; English, as well as American writers ; for, if English authors could enjoy this benefit, they would soon begin to write expressly for America ; and the competition would become so great, as to regulate the prices of books to a proper standard. But, even supposing the price to be considerably raised, it would certainly be better to pay two dollars for a handsome volume, which is worth keeping, and worth reading again, than to pay only one dollar for a book, which in five years will be worth no more than the same amount of brown paper. And, finally, there is the consideration of a native literature, which will, we presume, be placed by all reasonable and intelligent persons, above that of cheap books.

Barry Cornwall, in his preface to Willis's poems, makes the following amiable remark. "The great land of America must, of course, produce great poets and eminent men. With the deeds of their bold fathers before them ; with their boundless forests and savannahs, swarming with anecdotes of solitary adventure ; with Niagara thundering in their ears, and the spirit of freedom hovering above them, it is clear that they do not lack material for song." If he had only visited us, he would have found out, that the boldness of our fathers was nothing to the impudence of our publishers ; our forests are less extensive than their brown paper editions ; the song of some brothers of the trade, whom we could name, is louder than the roar of Niagara, nor would all the waters of Superior wash white their books.

We have barely touched upon some of the more important considerations connected with the copy-right law, rather with the hope of exciting the attention of others, than of discussing the subject in a satisfactory manner ourselves. We trust that the question will not be dropped ; and we call upon all, who feel interested in the fate of American literature, to come forward and exert themselves in the cause.

We have treated of many topics in the course of our article, but our thoughts still return to the book which we mentioned first, the "Prisons" of Pellico. We have

spoken of it only in relation to the merits of the English version; and we cannot conclude, without expressing our sense of the high moral power displayed in the work. We view the author as one, who has come out victorious over himself, in the tremendous contest to which he was subjected; and we trust we shall be pardoned, if we take this occasion to give utterance to our respect and admiration, and twine our humble ivy-wreath of praise with the unfading laurels that encircle his brow. We can never forget the emotions, with which we first read his touching narrative. As we closed the book, and endeavoured to recall our scattered thoughts from the wide field they had traversed, indignation and resentment were the predominant feelings. We thought of the weary days and nights, which the unhappy victim had endured in the vaults of Spielberg. We noticed the account of the first night in the prison at Milan, occupying a larger space in the narrative, than whole years of captivity after weariness and torture had become as daily habits; and then we turned to trace our own history through the same years, that we might realize the actual length of his imprisonment, comparing the happy days, the varied scenes, the change from youth to manhood, which we had passed through, with the dreary monotony of the captive's wasted life during the same period. We almost shuddered at the frightful mockery of setting the prisoners at liberty, as if fearless of the vengeance of the crushed victims. We felt that the Austrian government had done a deep wrong, not merely to the sufferers, or to their country, but to human nature itself; and we almost exulted in the belief, that although the authors of their miseries are perhaps beyond the reach of human vengeance, there is still awaiting them the fearful reckoning, when monarchs' diadems shall crumble into dust, and the purple robe shall no longer cover their crimes.

But he who reads the book with no other feelings than these, does deep injustice to the pure spirit of the author. Every page is radiant with the light of Christianity. We trace through the whole that ripening of character, that purifying of the heart, and that expansion of faith, which show that the teachings of God were received aright. We see human weakness sustained, consoled, rendered triumphant over suffering, by Almighty power. A light from heaven penetrates the gloom of the dungeon, and illumines the soul

of the captive ; and we feel, when we close the volume, that our hearts are elevated, and our faith strengthened, by the sublime picture we have contemplated.

ART. VIII. — *Orations and Speeches on various Occasions*, by EDWARD EVERETT. Boston. American Stationers' Company. 1836. 8vo. pp. 637.

IT is a dangerous thing to print a single oration ; much more so, a volume of them. The declamatory fervor, which is essential to the success of a spoken discourse, offends the taste of the fastidious reader in his closet, coldly unravelling the flowery web, whose vivid hues will not bear too close an examination. Words, too, may be printed ; but who can print the electric language of the human eye, the expressive tones of the human voice ? Who can convey to the reader not only the sentences and paragraphs of a discourse, but the glance and the gesture, which enforced them ? Who can put upon paper, the skilful inflections and appropriate movements, which gave dignity to a commonplace observation, and effect to a tawdry flourish ? which broke the fall of a flat sentence, and made old truths sound almost as good as new ? Of the many discourses and orations, which, in our speech-making country, every season sends fluttering forth from the press, on their blue, yellow, and olive wings, how few are read, and of those few, which are read, how few are remembered. A presentation copy is, in most cases, a serious thing to a conscientious man ; for this involves the necessity of reading, and, if possible, of praising, which sometimes awakens a painful struggle between a sense of duty and a sense of politeness. We have known individuals, who avoided a difficulty of this kind, by writing their letter of acknowledgment beforehand, in which they expressed an intention of reading and an expectation of being gratified.

The foregoing observations are suggested by that fruitful mother of associations, the principle of contrast ; for the orations of Mr. Everett are splendid exceptions to a general rule. The book before us is one of those, which are the admiration

of readers and the despair of critics. We believe it was Voltaire who said of some favorite work, that he could praise it in no other way, than by writing at the bottom of every page, "*Pulchrè, benè, optimè*"; and such is the brief and comprehensive criticism, which this volume deserves. Our wonder, no less than our delight, is awakened by the prodigious fertility of mind which it displays, and the copious stores from which its contents have been drawn. Most of our scholars and men of letters publish, in the course of their lives, half a dozen discourses and orations, more or less, but within the covers of this volume, there are no less than twenty-seven lectures, speeches, and orations, all the work of eleven years; and the work too, not of one, who, in the golden light of leisure can devote the heart and strength of continuous and uninterrupted days to his task, but the superadded efforts of a crowded life, and performed in those chance hours which can be gleaned from duties and engagements, which would seem to be enough to demand and justify exclusive devotion to themselves. But there are nowhere any indications of weariness and exhaustion; much less, of self-repetition. The writer addresses himself to the latest, no less than the earliest efforts, with unbroken vigor and undiminished vivacity. Sated, as he must have become, with his employment, nothing seems to have been extorted from a worn-out brain, by the iron scourge of a despotic will; but every thing has, apparently, been thrown off with the easy alacrity of one, who has just awaked to the consciousness of intellectual wealth. The fountain is never turbid, but its last flowings are as fresh and clear, as its "first sprightly runnings." We can hardly help regretting that so much intellectual power has been, — we will not say wasted, — but bestowed upon these occasional efforts, when Mr. Everett might have done so much more for his own fame, by devoting his energies to a single and continuous work. But when we recollect the crowded audiences that have listened with delight to these discourses, when flowing from the orator's lips, and embellished by his beautiful elocution, and who will renew the same glow of pleasure in reading them, we are half inclined to take back our remark.

The great charm of Mr. Everett's orations consists, not so much in any single and strongly developed intellectual trait, as in that symmetry and finish, which, on every page, give token of the richly-endowed and thorough scholar. The natural

movements of his mind are full of grace; and the most indifferent sentence which falls from his pen has that simple elegance, which it is as difficult to define as it is easy to perceive. His level passages are never tame, and his fine ones are never superfine. His style, with matchless flexibility, rises and falls with his subject, and is alternately, easy, vivid, elevated, ornamental or picturesque, adapting itself to the dominant mood of the mind, as an instrument responds to the touch of a master's hand. His knowledge is so extensive, and the field of his allusions so wide, that the most familiar views, in passing through his hands, gather such a halo of luminous illustrations, that their likeness seems transformed, and we entertain doubts of their identity. Especially, in reading these orations, do we perceive the power which comes from an accurate knowledge of history. No man wields an historical argument with more skill; no one is more fruitful in effective historical parallels and applications. He has, in perfection, the historical eye, if we may so speak; the power of running over an epoch and seizing upon its characteristic expression, and of distinguishing the events by which that expression is most decidedly manifested. His Phi Beta Kappa oration (the one delivered at Cambridge in 1824,) is a signal instance of his success in this respect. Whatever may be thought of the soundness of its positions, no one can doubt the ability with which they are maintained, and the ingenuity and admirable rhetorical skill, with which the orator presses into his service the long record of the past, to enforce and defend them. The same remarks apply, also, to his Plymouth oration, and indeed, in a greater or less degree, to nearly all the discourses in the volume. Not only has he the comprehensive grasp and power of generalization, which are the attributes of almost all superior minds, but he has all the minute accuracy of a chronicler, understands perfectly the significance and efficacy of facts and details, and uses them with great skill and success. His picturesque narrative is one of the most striking of his accomplishments. With what vividness does he make a long procession of events pass before our eyes, as in his Lexington, Concord, and Bloody Brook addresses, marshalling every thing into its proper place, without confusion or crowding! How agreeably he relates a familiar incident, like the anecdote of the dispersion of the London mob, in his Cambridge Fourth of July oration, (page 106 of the present volume.) With what living

hues he paints a scene like that of the death-bed of Copernicus, in the Address before the Literary Societies of Amherst College, (page 576 of the volume.) In the following paragraph from the Plymouth address, with what almost painful intenseness he makes us feel the forlorn condition of the Pilgrims, on their voyage and at their landing.

"Methinks I see it now, that one solitary, adventurous vessel, the Mayflower of a forlorn hope, freighted with the prospects of a future state, and bound across the unknown sea. I behold it pursuing, with a thousand misgivings, the uncertain, the tedious voyage. Suns rise and set, and weeks and months pass, and winter surprises them on the deep, but brings them not the sight of the wished-for shore. I see them now scantily supplied with provisions, crowded almost to suffocation in their ill-stored prison, delayed by calms, pursuing a circuitous route; — and now driven in fury before the raging tempest, on the high and giddy waves. The awful voice of the storm howls through the rigging. The laboring masts seem straining from their base; — the dismal sound of the pumps is heard; — the ship leaps, as it were, madly, from billow to billow; — the ocean breaks, and settles with engulphing floods over the floating deck, and beats with deadening weight against the staggered vessel. I see them, escaped from these perils, pursuing their all but desperate undertaking, and landed at last, after a five months' passage, on the ice-clad rocks of Plymouth, — weak and weary from the voyage, — poorly armed, scantily provisioned, depending on the charity of their ship-master for a draft of beer on board, drinking nothing but water on shore, — without shelter, — without means, surrounded by hostile tribes. Shut now the volume of history, and tell me, on any principle of human probability, what shall be the fate of this handful of adventurers. Tell me, man of military science, in how many months were they all swept off by the thirty savage tribes, enumerated within the early limits of New-England? Tell me, politician, how long did this shadow of a colony, on which your conventions and treaties had not smiled, languish on the distant coast? Student of history, compare for me the baffled projects, the deserted settlements, the abandoned adventures, of other times, and find the parallel of this. Was it the winter's storm, beating upon the houseless heads of women and children; was it hard labor and spare meals; — was it disease, — was it the tomahawk, — was it the deep malady of a blighted hope, a ruined enterprise, and a broken heart, aching in its last moments, at the recollection of the loved and left, beyond the sea; was it some, or all of these united, that hurried

this forsaken company to their melancholy fate? — And is it possible, that neither of these causes, that not all combined, were able to blast this bud of hope? Is it possible, that from a beginning so feeble, so frail, so worthy, not so much of admiration as of pity, there has gone forth a progress so steady, a growth so wonderful, a reality so important, a promise yet to be fulfilled, so glorious?" — pp. 60 – 62.

We have before spoken of Mr. Everett's style; but the beauty and power of the foregoing paragraph constrain us to resume the subject. It is doubtless an artificial style; that is to say, a style formed and elaborated by assiduous care, and polished by a taste as sensitive as a blind man's touch; and if it does not snatch a grace beyond the reach of art, it certainly snatches all that are within its reach. But, be this as it may, the skilful result contains no internal evidence of the laborious process by which it was attained, and the orator has reached the highest triumph of art, by so effectually hiding it from observation. His style appears to us a nearly perfect specimen of a rhetorical and ornamental one. Certainly, it is so, if the just definition of a good style be, proper words in proper places. He is as careful to select the right word, as a workman in Mosaic is to pick out the exact shade of color which he requires; and it would be difficult to find an epithet which could be changed for the better. Take, for instance, the following sentence contained in the above extract. "The laboring masts seem straining from their base; — the dismal sound of the pumps is heard; — the ship leaps, as it were, madly, from billow to billow; — the ocean breaks, and settles with engulphing floods over the floating deck, and beats, with deadening weight, against the staggered vessel." What speaking pictures are presented to the eye by these very words; "the *dismal* sound," "the *engulphing* floods," "the *floating* deck," "*deadening* weight," "the *staggered* vessel"; and how impossible it would be to substitute more expressive ones in their places. Let no man underrate this minuteness of verbal criticism, as finical and unmanly. The characteristic of a good style in prose or poetry, is, that it will bear dissection. Fineness of polish is, next to indestructibleness of material, the best specific against the corroding influences of time. The beauty of Mr. Everett's style is a source of constant pleasure to his readers, even to those who are charmed by it unconsciously to themselves. His orations

abound with those delicious cadences, which thrill through the veins like a strain of fine music, and cling spontaneously to the memory. Where can we find the English language moulded into more graceful forms, than in such sentences as these ?

"They do not create, they obey the Spirit of the Age; the serene and beautiful spirit, descended from the highest heaven of liberty, who laughs at our little preconceptions, and, with the breath of his mouth, sweeps before him the men and the nations, that cross his path." — p. 25.

"Greece cries to us, by the convulsed lips of her poisoned, dying Demosthenes; and Rome pleads with us, in the mute persuasion of her mangled Tully." — p. 37.

"The sound of my native language beyond the sea, is a music to my ear, beyond the richest strains of Tuscan softness, or Castilian majesty." — p. 58.

"They come from the embattled cliffs of Abraham; they start from the heaving sods of Bunker's Hill; they gather from the blazing lines of Saratoga and Yorktown; from the blood-dyed waters of the Brandywine; from the dreary snows of Valley Forge, and all the hard fought fields of the war." — p. 101.

"No vineyards, as now, clothed our inhospitable hill-sides; no blooming orchards, as at the present day, wore the livery of Eden, and loaded the breeze with sweet odors; no rich pastures, nor waving crops, stretched beneath the eye, along the wayside, from village to village, as if Nature had been spreading her halls with a carpet, fit to be pressed by the footsteps of her descending God!" — p. 229.

"The memory of their great men of old went before them to battle, and scattered dismay in the ranks of the barbarous foe, as he moved, like Satan in hell, with uneasy steps, over the burning soil of freedom." — p. 402.

"Have not these future billows, on which navies are soon to be tossed, in which the great monsters of the deep will disport themselves, been borne aloft on the bosom of a fleecy cloud, — chased by a breeze, — with scarce enough of substance to catch the hues of a sunbeam; and have they not descended, sometimes indeed, in drenching rains, — but far more diffusively in dew-drops, and gentle showers, and feathery snows, over the expanse of a continent, and been gathered successively into the slender rill, the brook, the placid stream, till they grew, at last, into the mighty river, pouring down his tributary floods into the unfathomed ocean?" — pp. 407, 408.

The extracts which we have made from Mr. Everett's volume, are specimens of that magnificent declamation which is one of his most obvious and striking characteristics; but, in order to appreciate the versatility of his powers, one should read his discourses of a sober and practical cast, such as his lecture on the Workingmen's Party, his address before the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, and his speech on the subject of the Western Rail-road. In these, we shall find that the same person who can so move and thrill us when he has his "singing robes and garlands about him," can put them off, and give us familiar instruction and plain, practical advice, as if he had never spurned the damp earth with his rhetorical wings. His singular power of illustration enables him to give dignity to the lowest, and interest to the driest subject, while that unerring taste, which, in his highest flights, insures him temperance and smoothness, preserves him from the unpardonable sin of being heavy, commonplace, and prosaic. The extent of his knowledge in common things, and his minute power of observation, are quite remarkable in one, who has spent so much time in his study, and is so familiar with books. His brilliant intellectual accomplishments, and his fine taste, rest upon a granite foundation of vigorous good sense. He can meet merchants, farmers, and mechanics upon their own ground, and tell them something they did not know before. His retentive memory, and copious stores of all kinds of information, enable him to support every position by an imposing array of facts, and leave no room for that distrust, which practical men are apt to entertain of the views and opinions of scholars and thinkers. The following extract from his speech on the subject of the Western Rail-road, may be adduced as a specimen of his powers in this respect.

"But the great thing wanting to the prosperity of Massachusetts is COMMUNICATION WITH THE WEST. The internal commerce of this country is prodigious; and of all that part which is accessible to us, on the present system of communication, we have an ample share. With the South, we have, in our freighting and coasting trade, every thing that can be asked. With the South-West, in reference to all that part of commerce which is calculated to seek the route by sea to New Orleans, we have nothing more to desire; — and the intercourse already established in this way, with the whole region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, is most extensive, various, and mutu-

ally profitable. In ascending the Mississippi and its tributaries, in 1829, on which occasion I was on board several boats, I continually saw casks, packages, and bales, in all of them, which I knew came from New England, by their marks, — by the mode of doing up, — by a certain indescribable something, in which to a true Yankee eye there is no mistake. A distinguished gentleman, of Pittsburgh, told me there was a regular battle between the Boston nails and the Pittsburgh nails, on the Ohio river; — the Boston nails coming all the way round, and the Pittsburgh made on the spot, from Juniata iron; and that, though the Pittsburgh nails sometimes fought their way down the river to Louisville, the Bostonians, at times, had driven them up as far as Wheeling. I was informed by a respectable trading house in Pittsburgh, that they had, in the year preceding, imported two thousand barrels of pickled mackerel; and I think I did not enter a public house in the West, to take a meal, morning, noon, or night, without seeing a pickled mackerel on the table. I remember, a year or two ago, that one of my neighbours from Charlestown, who had emigrated to the northwest corner of Arkansas, — a spot not then even laid out into counties, — told me, that in that remote region, — the last foothold of civilization, where you have but one more step to make, to reach the domain of the wild Indian and the buffalo, — a settler did not think himself well accoutred, without a *Leominster axe.* But, give him that, — give him, Sir, that weapon which has brought a wider realm into the pale of civilization, than the sword of Cæsar or the sceptre of Justinian, — give him a narrow Yankee axe, — he 'll hew his way with it to a living, in a season; though I shrewdly suspect, without the least disparagement of emigrants from other quarters, that after sending the Yankee axe into the country, the best way to give it full effect would be to send a little Yankee bone and sinew, to facilitate its use.

"But, Sir, though by the way of New Orleans we have a considerable trade with the South-West, there is a vast region, which that channel does not reach. A *direct communication* is greatly wanted. This is THE *want*, daily becoming more serious, and which must be supplied. The destinies of the country, if I may use a language which sounds rather mystical, but which every one, I believe, understands, — the destinies of the country run East and West. Intercourse between the mighty interior West and the seacoast, is the great principle of our commercial prosperity and political strength. Nature, in the aggregate, has done every thing that could be desired, to promote this intercourse, and art has done much to second her; but, as far as the single State of Massachusetts is concerned,

the course of the rivers from North to South, and of the mountains between which they flow, deprives us of the share of the benefits of this intercourse which we should otherwise enjoy. And this operation of natural causes has been aided by several important works of artificial communication, enumerated in the able report of the committee. The consequence is, that a very considerable part of the territory of Massachusetts has its commercial interests in one direction, and its political and social relations in another; so much so, that, as we all, I am sure, heard with pain from the distinguished gentleman from Springfield, (Mr. Calhoun,) the feeling of State pride, which ought of all feelings that end in temporal affairs, to be among the dearest and deepest in the bosom of a Massachusetts man, was daily growing weaker among the people of one of the most intelligent and substantial portions of the State.

"This commercial alienation has gone to a length, which I suspect the citizens of Boston are not generally aware of. The entire region west of the hills of Berkshire communicates with New York through the Hudson, — and the whole valley of the Connecticut, in and out of Massachusetts, communicates with Long Island Sound. I am afraid to say, in how large a part of Massachusetts I think a complete non-intercourse reigns with the capital; but I will state to you a fact, that lately fell beneath my personal observation. Having occasion, last week, to go to Deerfield, I took the north road from Worcester, through Templeton, Athol, and the country watered by Miller's river. If there is a spot in Massachusetts where one would feel himself entrenched, shut up, land-locked, in the very bosom of the Commonwealth, Athol Green, surrounded with its rising grounds, is that spot. And what, Mr. President, do you think I saw? We had scarce driven out of the village, and were making our way along through South Orange and Erving's Grant, when I saw two wagons straining up a hill, — the horses' heads to the east, — the wagons laden with crates, casks, and bales of foreign merchandise, which had come from Liverpool, by the way of Hartford, from New York! I hold that, Sir, a little too much for a Massachusetts man to contemplate without pain.

"Now, Mr. President, this is the matter which we wish to put to rights. We do not wish to deprive New York of her trade; but to regain our own. It is the object of this meeting to remedy principally this evil. To open a great route of communication between the East and the West, by means of a railroad from Boston to Albany, which with lateral routes, afterwards to be constructed, shall replace Boston in its natural position toward the trade of the interior.

"And here, perhaps, we shall be met by the general vague objection, that it is impossible, by artificial works, to divert commerce from its *great natural channels.* Abstractions prove nothing. There are two kinds of natural channels, — one sort made directly by the hand which made the world; the other, constructed by man, in the intelligent exercise of the powers which his Creator has given him. It is as natural for a civilized man to make a rail-way or canal, as for a savage to descend a river in a bark canoe, or to cross from one fishing-place to another, by a path through the woods.

"The city of New York, no doubt, owes much to the noble river that unites her to Albany; but she owes vastly more to her great artificial works of internal communication. The Hudson and the Mohawk, of themselves, unaided by art, so far from gathering in the commerce of the far West, would not monopolize that of one half the region west of Albany, within the State of New York. How far is it from the head waters of the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, in Otsego lake, to the Mohawk? Perhaps fifteen miles! I have stood on the high grounds, that overlook Harrisburgh in Pennsylvania, at a season of the year before the Hudson was open, and seen the rafts, the flatboats, the canoes, the batteaux, the craft of undescribed shapes and unutterable names, following each other, on the broad bosom of the Susquehannah, from morning to night, bearing the produce of the interior of New York, to a market in Chesapeake Bay! The same holds of the southwestern corner of New York, which naturally is drained by the tributaries of the Ohio. I recollect that at New Orleans, I saw a flat-bottomed boat loaded with shingles. I asked its steersman whence he came. He answered, from Olean. Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to confess, that, at that time, I did not know where Olean was. I found, to my astonishment, it was a settlement in Cattaraugus county, New York, on the Alleghany river, a hundred and seventy or eighty miles northeast of Pittsburgh! But, Sir, to bring this wandering commerce back to herself, New York has constructed her great artificial works. In this respect, Massachusetts is naturally little, if any, worse off than New York. If New York has a great navigable river, Massachusetts has, what New York wants, a vast seacoast. What both wanted was a great line of artificial communication, running inward to the West. New York has constructed hers, and has other mighty works of the same character in progress; and all that Massachusetts needs is, by a work of very moderate extent, not merely to recover the trade of her own territory, but

to acquire a fair share, a large, a growing share, of the commerce of the boundless West." — pp. 629 – 632.

If we were called upon to assign the palm of superiority to any one of the discourses in this volume, we should find it a difficult task. Some of them we like for one kind of excellence, and some for another ; and some of his shorter and apparently less carefully prepared efforts, we read with as much pleasure as his longer and more elaborate productions. His Phi Beta Kappa oration, delivered at Cambridge in 1824, is the most celebrated of his occasional discourses, and probably comprehends the greatest amount of intellectual power. In point of style, argument, and illustration, it is lavish and splendid in the highest degree, and it contains passages which may safely challenge a comparison with any thing of the kind in the English language. The concluding paragraphs are magnificent, stirring the blood like the sound of a trumpet ; and the closing one, the well-known address to Lafayette, is full of a simple grandeur, resembling the life and character of the eminent man, of whom, and to whom, it was spoken. The full and ripe scholarship, too, displayed in this discourse, is not among the least of its charms. But with all its various and admirable merits, it is open to the criticism of being the production of a rhetorician, rather than a philosopher ; an advocate rather than a judge ; and of assuming rather more, in favor of the orator's views, than either truth or history will warrant. We may venture to assert, however, without much fear of contradiction, that this oration, together with those delivered at Plymouth and at Concord, (being the first three in the volume,) stand in the first rank of his occasional productions. They were his earliest efforts, and they are characterized by a richness and vigor of conception, a fulness of illustration and a luxuriance of imagery, not surpassed, if equalled, by any of his later ones.

But it is altogether unnecessary to assign any relative rank to these discourses. We like to think of the volume as a whole, and look upon any comparisons as being particularly odious, when applied to its component elements. We acknowledge a feeling of pride in the thought, that in the tasteful and elegant contents of this book, our country has made such large amends for the quantities of nonsense, sublime and ridiculous, which her sons have inflicted upon the community

in the shape of orations and speeches of all sorts. We venture to pronounce it a permanent accession to the treasures of English literature. We cannot but think, that there is that in it which men will not willingly let die, and that another generation will value it even more highly than we do. The truth is, that Mr. Everett would have more consulted his own fame, if he had been less good-natured, and, imitating the policy of Eastern monarchs, permitted himself to be seen and heard more rarely. For the last eight or ten years, we have so often enjoyed the opportunity of first listening to, and afterwards reading, his beautiful and finished discourses, that we have grown insensible to their merit, and have learned to look upon them as things to be expected of course, like roses in June and apples in October. We have not sufficiently reflected that there is not any one of Mr. Everett's printed discourses, which would not materially add to the reputation of almost any other man in the community, and that he has, in a great measure, created the taste by which he himself is judged. He has ennobled and dignified the employment of oration-making, and sustains somewhat the same relation to that branch of literature with us, which Homer did to Epic poetry in Greece. If any one will attempt, at the present time, to write an oration, he will perceive the extent of Mr. Everett's influence, by the unconscious imitation of him, into which he will fall. Much of the improvement which has been, of late, discernible in this class of productions, is to be fairly ascribed to the spirit which he has awakened, and to the models which he has afforded. He has made it easier to write a good oration than it formerly was, and has also made the public less tolerant of indifferent ones.

Mr. Everett's orations are nearly faultless, as literary efforts, and the only serious objection which we have to urge against them, (which we shall state as fully and as frankly as we have expressed our admiration of them,) is of a different kind, and partaking rather of a moral nature. We allude to the language of extravagant commendation, which he so frequently applies to our country, to our political institutions, to the events of our history, and to the great men who have shared in them. We are well aware that a good deal of this is expected from all public speakers, and it is reasonable and proper that audiences should be indulged to some considerable extent, in this respect. We believe too, that it is the duty of every man to

cherish a deep respect for the institutions of his country, for upon that respect must their value in a great measure depend; and we would urge this duty the more strongly, because we apprehend that a considerable portion of our most cultivated and gifted men do not entertain any such respect, but, on the contrary, feel either indifference or distrust. Nor have we the slightest doubt of Mr. Everett's entire sincerity in all that he says. But what we regret is, not that he praises generously, for that we like; nor that he praises indiscriminately, and without qualification, for that he does not; but that he does not sufficiently temper his eulogiums with the voice of warning and rebuke, and press home upon his hearers the solemn and stern truth, that of those to whom much is given, much will be required. He is too apt to feed that overweening national vanity, for which we are so conspicuous, and which makes us equally uneasy under the mild reproof of a judicious, and the ill-natured gibe of a prejudiced witness. We deem it to be the imperative duty of our great men to urge upon their countrymen, on all possible occasions, that if they are freer, happier, and more prosperous than others, therefore they ought to be wiser and better. The most striking thing to be observed of our institutions is, that they are, in themselves, so *characterless;* that is, that they take their character so entirely from the community for whose benefit they are intended. They have in themselves, no conservative principle, to save us from those destructive consequences, which must result from sins of omission or commission on our part. Mr. Everett is by no means the only person, against whom the above charge can, with justice, be sustained; for the remark applies to nearly all our public speakers, and it is because he is so eminent a man and his opinions are justly entitled to so much weight, that we deem it especially important that he should set a good example in this respect.

Mr. Everett is betrayed, occasionally, though very rarely, by his luxuriant stores of imagery, into the use of ornaments, either not in themselves in perfect good taste, or not appropriate to the subject, which they are designed to embellish. In the Eulogy upon Adams and Jefferson, we have the following paragraph.

"Our jubilee, like that of old, is turned into sorrow. Among the crumbling ruins of Rome, there is a shattered arch, reared by the emperor Vespasian, when his son Titus returned from the

destruction of Jerusalem. On its broken pannels and falling frieze are still to be seen, represented as borne aloft in the triumphal procession of Titus, the well-known spoils of the second temple, the sacred vessels of the holy place, the candlestick with seven branches, and, in front of all, the silver trumpets of the jubilee, in the hands of captive priests, proclaiming not now the liberty, but the humiliation and the sorrows of Judah. From this mournful spectacle, it is said, the pious and heart-stricken Hebrew, even to the present day, turns aside in sorrow. He will not enter Rome, through the gate of the arch of Titus, but winds his way through the by-paths of the Palatine, and over the broken columns of the palace of the Cæsars, that he may not behold the sad image of the trumpets of the jubilee, borne aloft in the captive train." — p. 125.

Nothing can be more beautiful or touching than the above paragraph ; but what has it to do with Adams and Jefferson ? It seems to have been introduced for its own sake, and not for the sake of the illustration ; and, though the writer could not have drawn his pen through it, without a sigh of regret, we think it would have been the more judicious course for him to make the sacrifice. In the same Eulogy, he says, "the humblest sod of Independent America, *with nothing but the dew-drops of the morning to gild it*, is a prouder mausoleum than kings or conquerors can boast." This sentence would be improved, it strikes us, by the omission of the words in Italics. In the discourse delivered at Lexington, speaking of Samuel Adams's knowledge of liberty, he has the following sentence. "He knew it was no gaudy May-day flower, peeping through the soft verdant sods of Spring, and opening its painted petals as a dew-cup for midnight fairies to sip at." This might have been judiciously spared, as being in itself a "*dulce vitium*," and as particularly inappropriate when applied to that stern man of iron, Samuel Adams, the last person in the world, with whom one could associate flowers and fairies. The above are slight blemishes, and would not be noticed, were not the discourses so nearly faultless as literary productions.

We have spoken warmly of these orations of Mr. Everett, but not more warmly than sincerely. We are glad of the opportunity to offer our humble tribute of admiration to one, on whose eloquent lips we have so often hung delighted, and who, before he had left his academic bowers, filled our boyish conceptions of what a ripe and accomplished scholar ought to be. We feel that our literature owes much to him,

and that a considerable portion of what he has written will take rank with the best efforts of the American mind. Especially do we honor him for his untiring industry, and that love of labor for its own sake, not often found united with powers so brilliant. Few men have done more in the same time than he has, though many of his efforts have passed away and left no memorial, owing to the ephemeral character of the objects upon which they were lavished. His contributions to this journal, had he done nothing else, would have earned him the praise of an industrious man; but, as it is, they form but one item in the crowded list of his labors, in his various functions of orator, scholar, and statesman. Besides his literary and political toils, of which the evidence remains in black and white, no man has more conscientiously performed all those petty personal and official duties, which "die and make no sign," and which are such consumers of time, that most eminent men make their eminence an excuse for neglecting them altogether. Mr. Everett finds time to do every thing, and to do it well. In his preface to this volume, he gives us to understand, that another may hereafter be forthcoming, to comprehend the speeches, essays, and other miscellaneous compositions not contained in this. We hope that its appearance will not long be delayed, and we are sure that Mr. Everett can glean from his various miscellaneous writings, much that deserves a permanent place in the library and on the book-table.

In taking leave of a volume, so rich in all sorts of excellence that we have found it difficult to avoid falling into a monotonous tone of commendation, may we venture, unblamed, to exercise that privilege, which reviewers have claimed for themselves, time out of mind, of giving advice, whether they are qualified for it, or not? We would respectfully recommend to Mr. Everett, to devote himself, hereafter, to some continued work, in which his reputation can be more surely trusted, than in orations and articles, however brilliant and successful. We know of no one, who has higher qualifications for an elaborate historical or biographical enterprise, than he; his style is so finished, his taste so pure, his habits of investigation so thorough. He is in the prime of his life, and in the full possession of his fine powers; and may anticipate, with as much confidence as we can rely upon any thing, so uncertain as the life of man, many valuable and hard-working years, before he arrives at that period, when the easy-chair is coveted

before dinner. He has given enough of his time and powers to occasional efforts; let him devote the prime of his manhood to some theme, to which he may address himself with the full strength of his mind, and bestow upon us a work, which shall be, in the language of Thucydides, a κτῆμά τε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν. For his own sake, and for his country's sake too, we hope that this suggestion, made in the spirit of respectful deference, may find favor with him.

ART. IX. — *History of the Reformation in Italy.* By T. MACRIE, D. D. Edinburgh. 1827.*

THE history of the Reformation is naturally divided into several distinct branches, which vary in interest and in importance according to the literary, or religious, or political influence subsequently exercised by the nations among which they extended. While the pious ardor of Luther found support in the political interests of a portion of Germany, the free principles of Swiss government favored the reception and extension of the doctrines of Zuinglius. And when the brutal passions of Henry were affording an opening for the introduction of Protestantism into England, the seeds of religious liberty were, in despite of royal persecution, taking root throughout the whole of France. Nor was the spirit of reform confined to those nations, among which its success has proved permanent; but in Spain, where the supremacy of Catholicism might have seemed least likely to be disturbed, and in Italy itself, the seat and strong hold of papal power, the doctrines of Protestantism spread for a while with sure and rapid progression, and long withstood the combined attacks of secular and inquisitorial violence. In each of these countries the rise of the new opinions was marked with all the peculiarities of national character; and even long after the great dispute had been irrevocably decided, the political movements of each continued to be more

* Besides the work of Macrie, we have availed ourselves of the important details, which have been given by Botta with that sincerity and independence which distinguish all the productions of his pen, and some of the most important of which had escaped the attention of Macrie.

or less influenced by the feeling developed during their respective struggles for reform.

But notwithstanding the extent and variety of this subject, and the rich harvest which it affords of all the lessons which render the study of history important, one of the most interesting portions of it has been strangely neglected, and its real character alternately exposed to the satires of ignorance and the misrepresentations of calumny. The attention of most writers, and even of those from whom we derive the clearest and justest views of this epoch, has been confined to those nations in which the first efforts at reform were followed by a full and permanent religious independence; while the fate of others, whose struggles in the same cause were pursued with equal devotion, and attended with an equal degree of intellectual developement, has been passed over in silence. So true is this, that a distinguished writer of the last century hesitated not to assert, that the Italians, devoted to intrigue and pleasure, had no part in the trials of the Reformation; and this too of a period, in which hundreds were wearing out an agonized existence in the dungeons of the Inquisition, and the snows of the Alps were stained with the tracks of multitudes of others, who blessed an exile that secured them from torture and the stake. *

The blame of these errors, however, does not fall exclusively upon those, who traced the history of this dreadful period. The historian must be guided by his materials, and his search of these is for the most part directed by the views of writers contemporary with the events that he attempts to describe. Facts, therefore, whose importance was not understood by those who witnessed them, are long hidden from posterity by the short-sightedness which first represented them under a false point of view, and the subsequent negligence which failed to place them in a truer light while their proximity rendered the undertaking comparatively easy. But when in the course of time the accomplishment of some great change, or the developement of some important principle, calls the attention of the philosopher to the causes by which it was produced, and the circumstances under which it originated, it

* This is not exaggeration; the dungeon of the Inquisition in Rome overflowed to such a degree, as to require the erection of new prisons, and in Locarno upwards of two hundred persons of both sexes and all ages were compelled to abandon their homes and cross the Alps for shelter.

becomes necessary to follow back the current of history with slow and cautious steps, and unite the distant occurrences and apparently trifling manifestations of the character of different periods, which alone can lead us to the real source. A vast field is thus opened not only for research, but for disputation; systems are formed; schools are established; and the mind which was in the onset animated by the desire of establishing the truth, is, in the end, too often heated by the passion of acrimonious controversy.

But it was not by ordinary causes alone, that some portions of the history of the Reformation were rendered obscure. Various concurring events exerted a strong influence, not only upon the Reformation itself, but upon the materials which contained its history. Ecclesiastical history is less a narrative of actions than a record of opinions. Its revolutions are changes in doctrine and creed, accompanied by a greater or less approach to purity of manners, in exact proportion to the influence of the true spirit of Christianity. But it comprises few of those great occurrences, which excite attention by their direct action upon the physical or political condition of the human race; and its progress can only be traced by the writings of those who took part in the corruption or reform of each epoch. During the course of the Reformation, the attacks of the Catholic Church were directed no less against the writings than the persons of the reformers; and the flames, which could not always be extended to the unhappy object of persecution, were fed with the volumes from which his heresy had emanated, or to which his forbidden researches had given rise. Thus while the progress of Reformation was effectually checked, the records of its existence were destroyed; and the scanty materials for history which escaped this war of extermination, were scattered, like their authors, throughout distant parts of Europe, and often lost by a neglect no less fatal than persecution itself.* The history of the progress of the Reformation, in those countries where the Catholic Church still retains its supremacy, can only be formed by a long and minute study of scattered documents, differing widely both in

* To these causes must be added the jealousy, with which many precious documents are still withheld from the public eye by their suspicious guardians; and we have before us at this moment additional proofs of the ridiculous timidity, which endeavours to conceal from view what can at the utmost be considered as but an additional confirmation of facts irrefragably established.

character and in form, and often less calculated to lead to clear and satisfactory conclusions, than to bewilder by the obscurities and perplexities with which they abound. Directing our attention more particularly to Italy, we find that the same causes which led to the suppression of the Reformation, and of the works by which it was recorded, continued to act, although in various degrees, upon the native historians, and either mislead their judgment or check their pens whenever they approach this delicate part of their subject. Allusions, sketches, and insulated facts are scattered through their works; the progress of the reform is acknowledged with more or less hesitation; but the independent rank which it deserved in the annals of Italy, has never been fully accorded it by the Catholic, nor till lately claimed by Protestant historians. The conduct of the former is easily accounted for; but it is impossible to refrain from astonishment at the neglect of the latter. They were bound by every species of motive to claim for their Protestant brethren of Italy, the respect and the commiseration of the rest of the world. They were bound by the principles of interest, which forbade them to let pass so strong a proof of their favorite assertion, that their cause was universal and universally felt. They were bound by the principle of morality which bids us judge, as far as we can, by motives and efforts, not by actions and appearances alone. They were bound by the principle of true philosophy, which teaches us that almost as much is to be learnt by studying the causes that have prevented, as those that have secured success.

But, notwithstanding the motives, which might have been supposed sufficiently powerful to attract toward this important subject a share, at least, of that attention, which has been assiduously devoted to inquiries of far less general interest; it was not until towards the middle of the last century, that it began to be studied upon a scale somewhat better suited to its real importance. The first circumstance (at least as nearly as we have been able to ascertain) which excited the general attention of the students of ecclesiastical history to the progress made by the Lutheran Reformation in Italy, was the publication of the documents relative to ecclesiastical and literary history collected by the learned Schelhorn, near the middle of the last century. The controversy which followed this publication not only served to awaken the curiosity of the historical inquirer, with regard to this subject, but wrested from

the defenders of the Catholic cause much curious and precious information relative to the contested points. The *Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ* of Gerdes contained a still more extensive collection of facts, and was the first effectual step towards a complete history. Many facts and circumstances, which had, till then, been passed over in silence by those who undertook to treat the general history of Italy, were from that time necessarily made the subjects of at least passing remark; and the difficulties, which had encumbered this field, were thus gradually lessened or removed. At last after the interval of half a century from the appearance of the work of Gerdes, Macrie, whose name stands at the head of our paper, gave to the world in one body, a full and laborious history of the rise, the progress, and the fall of the "Protestant Reformation in Italy."

Without entering into a detailed examination of this work, it will be sufficient to observe, that while we respect the zeal with which Macrie engaged in this difficult undertaking, and the patient courage and unwearied industry with which he has examined the innumerable and scattered documents which form his materials, we feel deeply his deficiencies in that enlarged and candid philosophy, without which no one can fulfil the part of a liberal and eloquent historian. In many places the tone of his work would be more becoming to a martyrology than to a dignified history; and, as often happens, his skepticism with regard to the testimony of Catholic writers, is more than counterbalanced by the credulity with which he receives the statements of their adversaries. Some facts of a remarkable character seem to have wholly escaped his attention, and the sympathy which we would gladly grant to others, is checked by the tone in which he demands it. We are willing to acknowledge that truth, abstractly considered, admits not of division; but it is a sad though common mistake to suppose, that all the members, or even the majority of one party, are guilty of hypocrisy and deceit, because the other is in the right. These defects, however, for the most part do not extend beyond the general tone of the work; and though they detract greatly from its interest, and require a great degree of caution in the reader, it must still be considered a learned and instructive history of the great events which it records.

We confess that we feel no ordinary interest in this history. We have studied it not as an insulated fact, but as a continuation of the spirit of that period, when Italy, though torn with

discord, was free from the stranger, and was cherishing, in the turbulent existence of her republics, those seeds of freedom and political wisdom, which she, and she alone, first planted in Europe. It has been for us a connecting link with the boldness and daring of her first glorious dawn of literature; and as we look around upon the apparently torpid inhabitants of her lovely fields, we see the same spirit strengthened by long patience, chastened by long suffering, nerved and formed for action by the long and bitter experience of four centuries of foreign subjection, ready to arise with the irresistible energy of union and patriotic devotion, and realize the provident design with which nature

"dell' Alpi schermo
Pose fra lor e la tedesca rabbia."

We trust that we have not been misled by our own interest in this subject, in supposing that a brief sketch of this remarkable portion of Italian history would prove acceptable to our readers.

The origin of the Reformation in Italy extends far beyond the proper limits of modern history.* The valleys of Piedmont were occupied from time immemorial by the Waldenses, whose simple worship and purity of manners were a constant reproach to the pride and pretensions of the church. It was from hence, if the supposition of some modern writers be correct, that the first advocates of reform derived their doctrines; and while other nations were struck with wonder and conviction at the superior purity of these, they had long been familiar to the simple inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys.† But however this question may be decided, it cannot be denied that the pretensions of the Church of Rome nowhere encountered a more bitter opposition than within the limits of Italy, and that also at a period when the other nations of Christendom were bowed in implicit submission to its power. The independence of the bishopric of Milan was long maintained in open violation of the doctrines of Rome, and the decrees of Hildebrand were found inefficient until supported by

* Botta, Storia d' Italia. Vol. I. p. 368, et seq.

† "Serbavano e tuttavolta serbano i Valdesi insin dai primi secoli della chiesa opinioni conformi a quelle che ora turbavano il mondo. Giovanni Huss e Viclefeo già le avevano abbracciate; Lutero stesso non fece altro che ripetere quello che i Valdesi già da molti secoli indietro pubblicavano." — Ibid.

the arms of Estimbold. But although no physical opposition could be formed, of sufficient power to resist the forces which the Popes of that age could bring to their assistance, yet no efforts could effectually check the growth of that spirit which prepared the way for the reception of the Reformation, and, under more favorable circumstances, might have accomplished it. When the different churches of Italy had been united by art or by force under the more immediate dominion of the Roman see, the vices and arrogance of the latter were assailed by weapons of another description, and the wounds which it received, though less apparent in the commencement of the struggle, continued to wear upon the debilitated system until the fatal blow was given by the arms of Luther. These adversaries were the Troubadours and the early poets of Italy; a class whose enmity is the more to be dreaded, as its attacks are unrestrained by the usual checks of time and of place. The volume of controversy may be forgotten although supported by the soundest reasoning, but the song of the satirist continues to circle in constantly extending bounds, until the spirit that animates it has become familiar to every mind.

The first place in point of time belongs to the Troubadours, and the manner in which their poems were composed and made public must have contributed greatly to the extension and effect of their satires. With the song of love and hymn of triumph, were mingled reproaches against the luxury and power of Rome, and the same lyre that responded to the description of female loveliness, kept time to the details of priestly corruption. However elevated the notes of triumph, however soft and winning the strain of love, the verse of the Troubadour seems to flow with greater warmth and redoubled energy, when the vices of the church become his theme. "If God," says Raimond de Castlenau, whose verses we must beg leave to give in nearly literal prose, "if God saves those whose sole merits consist in loving good living and handsome women, if Friars, the black, the white, and Templars and Hospitlars win the joys of Paradise, great fools, in sooth, were St. Peter and St. Andrew, who suffered so much for what these win so easily."*

No less bitter was the language of the great father of Italian poetry. Without adopting the theory of Rossetti, the opinion

* Raynouard, Choix des Poésies orig. des Troubadours, Tom. IV. p. 383.

in which the Roman court was held by Dante, is clearly apparent even to the most superficial reader of his great poem.* Not contented with placing some of the highest dignitaries of the church among the hopeless wretches of his Inferno, he goes beyond the simple bounds of satire, and, mingling theological interpretation with the fictions of verse, describes Rome as the predicted Babylon of the Apocalypse.† This doctrine, indeed, so fondly adopted by all Protestants, is said to have been anterior even to the age of Dante, and to have been supported in the eleventh century by extensive comparison and direct application. But this circumstance becomes still more striking, when the severe and inflexible spirit of Dante is found reflected in the verses of the mild and pious Petrarca. Member of the ecclesiastical body, intimate and favored resident of the Papal court, bound by the ties of interest and gratitude to some of the most distinguished prelates of the age, the vices and corruptions of the church were laid open to his observant eye without the slightest hesitation or veil. The effect of this scene upon his mind was deep and lasting. Ambition, although more than once awakened, friendship, though all-powerful over him in every other situation, even love itself, whose control over his whole life is so closely connected with every portion of his history, were unable to bind him to a spot, where he saw the crime of religious usurpation heightened by the open abandonment of every moral virtue. From his retreat in the valley of Vaucluse, his revered

* This is, as far as we know, the most recent theory upon the plan proposed to himself by Dante in the composition of the "Divina Commedia." The ingenious commentator supposes Dante to speak, not of the kingdom of the dead, but of the living; that by a bold but complex allegory he has represented the Emperor in the Deity, the Pope in Lucifer; that life signifies the Ghibelline faction, and death the Guelf. The Emperor, chief of the Ghibellines, is the protector of Italian liberty, and the Pope, head of the Guelfs, its oppressor. A part, however, has been evidently borrowed from other writers.

† The nineteenth canto of the "Inferno" contains a very striking illustration of Dante's manner of interpreting some parts of Scripture, as well as of the light in which he viewed the Roman Church. He makes a clear distinction between the church of Christ and the vices of his "vicars upon the earth," and seems to have wished for the species of reform which has been so ardently desired by many excellent Catholics of different times. For he would seem to seek rather to limit and reduce the Papal power, than subvert it. And while he points out some Pontiffs as those "di cui s' accorse 'l Vangelista," yet here and elsewhere he expresses his "riverenzia delle somme chiave."

and dreaded voice was raised against the corruptions of the "impious Babylon." The first of his sonnets in which his views of the Roman church are clearly recorded, commences thus;

> "From impious Babylon, from whence all shame
> Hath fled, and every good is gone,
> Mother of errors, dwelling-place of grief,
> I 've fled this fragile being to prolong."

Still stronger are the 105th, beginning;

> "May flames from heaven upon thy tresses fall!"

and the 106th, which contains a vehement prophecy of the fate of the offending city;

> "Her idols on the ground shall scattered be,
> And her proud towers."

But of all the Italian poems directed against the church of Rome, the following sonnet, the 107th of Petrarca's *Canzoniere*, is the most powerful that we know of.

> "Fontana di dolore, albergo d' ira,
> Scola d' errori, e tempio d' eresìa,
> Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria;
> Per cui tanto si piagne e si sospira:
> O fucina d' inganni, o prigion dira;
> Ove 'l ben more, e 'l mal si nutre, e cria;
> Di vivi inferno; un gran miracol fia,
> Se Cristo teco al fine non s' adira.
> Fondata in casta ed umil povertate,
> Contra tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,
> Putta sfacciata; e dov' hai posto spene?
> Negli adulteri tuoi, nelle mal nate
> Ricchezze tante? or Constantin non torna;
> Ma tolga il mondo tristo, che 'l sostene."

> "Fountain of sorrow, dwelling-place of ire,
> Temple of heresy, of error school,
> Once Rome, now Babylon the false.
> * * * * *

O forge of treachery, O prison dire,
Death-place of virtue, nurse of every ill,
Hell of the living, great the miracle,
If Christ rouse not at length his tardy ire.
Founded in chaste and humble poverty,
Thy very founders have become thy scorn,
Unblushing wretch! what hope remains for thee?
In thy adulteries, riches evil born?
Think not another Constantine to see!
But on the world that bears them may thy deeds return."

The sentiments thus uttered with the warmth of verse are confirmed by the energy with which he inveighs against the same vices, in his familiar correspondence; * and the supposition which might otherwise have arisen, that they were but the exaggerations of poetry, is thus fully and satisfactorily contradicted. To these illustrious names others might be added of almost equal weight, were any other testimony required, to show that the clear minds of the Italians were, as in every thing else, foremost in discovering and laying bare the vices and corruptions of the church.

Neither are there wanting proofs of another and perhaps even stronger kind, to show how the pretensions of the Holy See were estimated by those who, from their vicinity to Rome, were most exposed to its aggressions. The history of Italy abounds with instances of a bold and independent conduct towards the church, and a resolute contempt of its censures, when employed in merely political contests.† Nor were these, like the writings of which we have been speaking, the manifestations of the opinions of a few individuals, whose

* "Nunc me occidentalis Babylon habet, qua nihil informius sol videt. In nomine Jesu, sed in operibus Belial. — Oramus flentes, ne tradas bestiis animas confidentes tibi. Nos zelo domûs tuæ, Christe Jesu, jam satis evecti sumus."—*Epistolarum sine Titulo Liber.* Ed. Basileæ, passim.

† One instance will suffice. Machiavelli thus describes a war against the Pope in the fourteenth century. "Questa guerra dall' ambizione del legato incominciata fu dallo sdegno de' Fiorentini seguita. — Durò la guerra tre anni, nè prima ebbe, che con la morte del pontefice, termine; e fu con tanta virtù e tanta soddisfazione dell' universale amministrata, che agli Otto ogni anno fu prorogato il magistrato, ed erano chiamati Santi ancorachè eglino avessero stimato poco le censure, e le chiese de' loro beni spogliate, e forzato il clero a celebrare gli uffizii: tanto quelli cittadini stimavano allora più la patria che l' anima; e dimostrarono alla Chiesa che come prima suoi amici l' avevano difesa, suoi nimici la potevano affliggere." — *Storie Fior.* Lib. III. p. 181, ed. di Padova, 1832.

minds had been raised by superior cultivation above the standard of their age. They were the unanimous actions of whole communities. Old and young, the ignorant and the learned, the aspiring statesman, who might be supposed willing to sacrifice his religious belief to the interests of his ambition, and the humble citizen, who only sought to pursue in tranquillity the labors of his trade, all united in an unwavering resistance against the threats of ecclesiastical censure, when carried beyond the legitimate bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Without drawing a subtile distinction between the temporal and the spiritual authority of the Pope, the Italians often resisted the encroachments of the former, while they acknowledged in appearance the claims of the latter. But the constant collision between these interests, could not but diminish the veneration, which, during the most calamitous times of Italian history, was actually felt for the religious character of the Pontiffs; and the period in which Rome was apparently the religious sovereign of Europe, was also that in which it felt, most sensibly, the inconveniences arising from the conflicting elements that composed its power. Rome may thank the divisions of Italy, rather than her own skill, for the preservation of her political dominion; and it is a curious subject of reflection, that the city, which, with the power of her arms, formed, for the first and only time, one united and independent nation of Italy, has, when the doctrines of a mild and peaceful religion have been substituted for the maxims of a rigid policy and the dominion of the sword, contributed more than any other cause, or than all other causes taken together, to keep up the spirit of discord and local animosity, which seems almost to defy every effort employed for its removal.

It would evidently carry us beyond the limits of a single article, were we to attempt to trace with accuracy the various steps, by which the way was opened for the reception of the Protestant doctrines in Italy. The ground may be considered as having been prepared, long before its appearance attracted the attention of history; and in reading the chronicles of the different republics, or the lives of their distinguished citizens, we meet, at every step, the most striking proofs of the existence of an anti-Roman if not of an anti-Catholic spirit, from the earliest periods of its modern history. We shall briefly mention a few of the most remarkable steps of its progress towards a more perfect developement.

No truth has been more strikingly confirmed by modern history, than that the progress of intellectual freedom is inevitable, however mighty the power by which it is opposed. The foresight of tyranny and the terrors of superstition have been employed against it, and in vain. It has often yielded in appearance, while secretly gaining strength for the contest; and even the most cunning and expert of its opponents, have been repeatedly deceived by the difficulty of distinguishing among the various causes in action around them, those which were calculated to facilitate, from those which were adapted to check its career.

The ardor with which the Italians engaged in the study of classic literature at the first revival of letters, was surely unconnected with any views of theological reform. But the action of polite pursuits upon the spirit of a nation, which has always been distinguished for energy and acuteness of intellect, prepared the way for the reception of religious as well as intellectual freedom. The subtile disputes which arose concerning the interpretation of Grecian philosophy, while they fomented the passion, extended also the field of controversy. But, when the attention of those, who had been formed in this school, became directed to the dogmas and doctrines of the church, their discoveries were not always accompanied by a sincere wish for the correction of abuses. Many of the bright intellects of that age, were, like Erasmus, willing to see, but unwilling to expose themselves to the penalties which follow the communication of forbidden knowledge. With others, the labors which should have led to a candid acknowledgment of the truth, terminated in a full though unacknowledged skepticism. It is well known, that, at the epoch of the Reformation in Germany, not only the universities, but the churches of Italy were filled with men, whose shining talents and profound learning had not proved sufficient to preserve them from infidelity.

Yet from sources like these, the stream of reform was to rise. The attention, which, at first, had been confined to profane literature, was gradually extended to the study of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects. An acquaintance with these, as with the Latin and Greek, became an object of literary ambition. The refinement which had been introduced into the study of Pagan authors, was then directed to the explanation of the sacred. Manuscripts were collected and collated.

Editions of different portions of the Scriptures were from time to time prepared in the various presses of Italy. Doubts were suggested concerning the correctness of the authorized versions. While correcting the barbarisms of language, the pen was inadvertently carried to the errors of interpretation. These studies were encouraged, not only by the learned and the patrons of learning, but received new vigor from the approbation of the church itself.

Nor was this ardor confined to the learned languages. Italian versions of the New Testament had long circulated among those, who, from a love of the truths of Scripture, or a partiality for their native language, were disposed to read them. At first, the productions of men who ventured not to depart from the readings of the Vulgate, they contributed but little to the discovery or correction of errors. Still, the fact, that the Scripture existed in the vulgar idiom, and the perusal of it was not forbidden by the guardians of the Roman dogma, facilitated the introduction of exacter translations, and gave a plausible coloring to the arguments of those by whom they were made. The science which had been so successfully directed to the original texts, was, in the sequel, zealously applied to the correction of the Italian translations; and the number of the laborers who engaged in this field during the last half of the fifteenth and the first of the sixteenth centuries, prove not only the zeal of the teacher, but the ardor with which his lessons were received.

Literary curiosity, once excited, soon breaks through all restraint, and the mind which would have been the first to shrink back in the beginning of the research, is often the most ardent in the prosecution of it, when its confidence has been once shaken in its old convictions, and it is then hurried on by that necessity for belief, which forms the very basis of our intellectual nature. It cannot go calmly back to the views, which have once proved insufficient to satisfy its longings. It cannot throw off that sense of responsibility, which seems to acquire new force from every candid exertion of reason. And as, one by one, its early convictions fall from around it, it still moves on, more ardent than ever for something that it can believe, trust, cling to, in the cold and boundless space that expands to its view.

Thus, the studies which had been so warmly engaged in, in Italy, received a new impulse from the breaking out of the

Reformation in Germany. Many Italians began to frequent the universities of that country, where the doctrines of reform were taught with all the fervor which arises from newly awakened conviction, and the boldness which accompanies security from persecution. The new views of theology usurped, for many, the place of every other pursuit, and the minds of the students became inflamed with the same zeal that animated their masters. Nor was the knowledge of these doctrines confined to those who imbibed them in the schools of Germany. The works of Luther, and Melancthon, and Zuinglius were circulated, with greater precautions, it is true, but with nearly the same success which had attended them beyond the Alps. Studied in the convents, in the schools, in Rome itself, they were often read and applauded by those, who, when they became aware of their real import, directed against them the attacks of the bitterest persecution. From the study of the writings of the Reformers, the transition to a correspondence with the writers themselves was both easy and natural. Some sought them out as men of great learning; others, as teachers of the true principles of theology. Thus, a new and broad path was opened for the introduction of the Reformation.

While the doctrines of Luther were thus gaining ground within the hallowed domains of the Church, the attention of the court of Rome, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of many of its devoted followers, had hardly been excited by the rapid progress of the danger that threatened it. And, when, at length, arousing from its lethargy, it began to examine the means and forces of its adversary, and seek out the measures best adapted to check or to crush them, its first steps were made with a rashness and precipitation, which can be discovered in no previous epoch of its annals. Political causes, of unprecedented weight, then came to unite their influence against the will of the Pontiff, and paralyse his efforts. The greater part of Italy was overrun by the Imperial troops. Rome was taken by assault, and the Pope was compelled to fly from the impotent thunders of the Vatican, to the narrow fortress of St. Angelo. An army, composed in a great measure of Protestants, was thus triumphant within the walls of the capital of Catholicism; and the praises of Luther and of Melancthon resounded, where, for ages, had been celebrated the proudest ceremonies of the Church. The arms of the Emperor were

at length withdrawn, and Rome once more returned to the yoke of her ancient sovereigns; but years of watchful tyranny could alone destroy the seeds, which had spread and taken root in the compass of a few short months.

While the power of the Pope was thus shaken by the arms of an Emperor, who pretended to be the most ardent defender of the Catholic faith, the eyes of all Christendom were fixed upon Rome with doubt and amaze. It seemed as if the fatal hour of that ancient and dreaded monarchy had come. The voice of reproach and reclamation, so long neglected, had at length been heard; and the throne, from which so many bold decrees, so many daring enterprises, so many dreaded anathemas had proceeded, seemed shaken from its foundations. Some rejoiced in the prospect of approaching freedom; some trembled at the thought of the rich sources of gain which were to be for ever closed. Princes gazed with varying sensations of hope and fear, according to the fluctuations of their individual interests; the people, with joy or horror, as they recognised the hand of an avenging Providence, or feared that the face of the Almighty had been turned from them for ever. "Whence," cried the Bishop of Lipari, struck with a conviction, that not even the presence of the Pope and Cardinals could repress, "whence come these ills? Why are we subjected to so many misfortunes? It is for the corruption of the human race; it is, because we are no longer the citizens of Rome the holy, but of Babylon, the city of wickedness. The words of Isaiah have been fulfilled, 'How has the faithful become a wanton!'"

In the mean while, the progress of reform, no longer restrained by the opposition of the Roman Church, increased in extension and rapidity in every part of Italy; and the minds of many began to yield, whom a sincere attachment to Catholicism had hitherto embittered against the doctrines of Luther.

The first in the list of the protectors of Reform was a member of the royal house of France, who had been placed by marriage upon the ducal throne of Ferrara. The princess Renata had imbibed the principles of Luther, in the court of the king of Navarre; and, upon her removal to Ferrara, she extended her patronage towards them with the spirit and zeal which marked her character. Those of her countrymen, whom the rigor or dread of religious persecution had driven from

France, were received and protected at her court. Clement Marot, distinguished both as a Protestant and a poet, was elevated to the rank of her private secretary. Many others were met with a judicious patronage, which, while it won their affections, and consoled them amid the sorrows of exile, secured them, at the same time, from the attacks of courtly jealousy or ecclesiastical persecution. Calvin, under an assumed name, passed several months at Ferrara, in free and confidential communication with the Duchess. The propagation of her favorite doctrines was rendered still more sure, by the introduction into the principal chairs of the University, of many who had secretly adopted or warmly favored them; and, while these contributed to the extension of their principles by their public lessons, the minds of the future rulers of Ferrara were prepared to view them with favor by the instructions of their private tutors. Ferrara was the school of Protestantism in Italy; and there was scarcely one of its distinguished partisans, who was not for a greater or less period, a sharer in the protection of Renata.

Nor was the success of the Reformation less rapid in the neighbouring city of Modena. It was not secured here, as in Ferrara, by the protection of a princess, but was owing, in a great measure, to the free discussions of a society of men distinguished for their attainments in science and literature. The study and interpretation of the Scriptures occupied every mind; and the teachers of the Reformed religion, venturing beyond the bounds which had restrained their brethren of Ferrara, united their auditors into regular assemblies, and enjoyed for a time the open exercise of their rights, with all the advantages of a free religious communion.

In a sketch like the present, it would be useless to trace the course of the reform from city to city, as it extended with various degrees of success through the different states of Italy. Subject to the influences of political and individual interest, encountering at times the firm opposition of sincere conviction, at others, the virulent attacks of selfish hatred, it moved in some places with the boldness of a successful revolutionist, in others, with the cautious secrecy of a determined but prudent reformer. In Bologna it embraced in its ranks many of the brightest names of the University, as well as some of the most distinguished citizens. A correspondence was warmly carried on with the Reformers of Germany; and, had the

struggle between the two sects broken out into open warfare, one of the new converts was prepared to defend his faith with the swords of six thousand men, raised and supported at his own expense. Among the early converts of Naples, we meet the names of Ochino, a monk of the austere order of Capuchins, and one of the most renowned preachers of his age; of Mollio and Martire, who in the silence of the cloister had stored their minds with the profoundest erudition; and of Valdes, who in the public capacity of viceroy to the kingdom, possessed the means of protecting those whom his arguments and persuasions had converted. And here we may remark, that if the alleged corruptions of the church were nowhere carried to so great an excess as within the walls of its convents, it was from the quiet repose of the same institutions that arose the noblest advocates of reform. Strange and mysterious contradiction! that the source which had corrupted, should be the foremost to purify; that the same soil which had produced the poison, should raise up the antidote by its side!

Of all the states of Italy, there was none from which the friends of reform might have so justly looked for encouragement and protection, as the republic of Venice. This wonderful nation, the course and principles of whose government differed so widely from those of every other, seldom allowed any consideration of regard for foreign powers to influence its domestic policy. Innumerable had been the artifices, unwearied the efforts of the Roman pontiffs, to extend their control over the state of Venice, as they had succeeded in doing throughout the rest of Europe. But the Venetian senate, with an equal share of constancy, and a boldness not diminished by any excess of superstition,* had from the earliest periods

* In fact, no government was less superstitious; and the only question that could arise, would be whether it did not incline too evidently to the opposite extreme. Such, at least, was the opinion of some of the popes. The following anecdote was related to us by *the* great Italian historian of our age, and may serve in corroboration of the above statement. During one of the numerous contests between the Venetian Senate and the Holy See, the ambassador of the republic, in a private audience, so far excited the indignation of the Pope, that he at last broke through all bounds, and accused the Venetians of being nearly infidels. "Voi altri signori Veneziani appena credete alla santissima Trinità," gridò il pontefice. "E le par poco, Santità?" was the reply of the ambassador. "*You Venetians hardly believe in the Holy Trinity!*" "*And does your Holiness think that little?*"

of their history, met the efforts of the Roman court, with a firm and successful opposition. This long and varied struggle was carried on with greater or less animosity, in proportion to the concurrent action of other causes; but never so far subsided, as to give room for a durable union, or a communication, free from suspicion and jealousy. When, therefore, the Protestant reform first began to attract the attention of the Italians, it was to the Venetians that the eyes of all the friends of religious freedom were directed, and the motives of that cautious and independent government were observed with an interest proportioned to the importance of the question which was at stake. The works of the Reformers formed a fruitful source of gain for the booksellers of the republic, and her presses were employed in multiplying the copies of the Scriptures, which were considered by all parties as the principal support of the Protestant cause. The doctrines of Germany and Switzerland soon began to spread among the Venetians. In the course of a few months, the capital contained an extensive society of learned men, who openly avowed the principles of Luther. The effect of their influence and example was soon felt in other parts of the same dominions. Every day gave new strength to the party. From individual profession, they gradually advanced to public unions; and their cause was supposed to have excited more than usual interest in the senate. Nor in fact, could the important political advantages, that might have been secured by means of a religious reform, have escaped the observation of men, trained by long practice to consider every thing with a view to the aggrandizement or additional security of their possessions. But little seems to have been wanting, in order to throw into the Protestant scale the powerful political interest of Venice; that interest, before which every other consideration was made to bend. So confident of success were the Protestants of Germany, that Melancthon addressed a letter to the senate, in which he congratulated them upon what they had done, and urged them to further action. But the unsettled state of her relations with the court of Constantinople, rendered the favor of Rome essential to the safety of Venice; and the adherence of this mighty power to the Catholic religion may be attributed, in some measure, to the greatest enemy of that faith.

The change, which might have been naturally expected from the government of Venice, was nearly upon the point of

being accomplished in Lucca, by the daring and enthusiasm of a single individual. The Reformation which had taken such strong hold in different sections of Italy, had nowhere found a more ready welcome than among the citizens of Lucca. Extending there, with the same rapid progress which we have already observed in Venice, and Naples, and Ferrara, its principles were soon embraced by a considerable portion of the most respectable among the inhabitants. Political motives united their influence with the love of religious liberty; and Lucca was upon the point of becoming the theatre of one of the greatest revolutions, that ever changed the face of a state.

Among the citizens whom the free principles of this government had elevated to a rank apparently inconsistent with the humble profession which he exercised, was Francis Burlamaqui, an artisan of the middle class. Endowed by nature with a studious and reflective cast of mind, this man had constantly united with the necessary labors of his trade, the study of ancient history, and particularly of those portions, in which the exertions of private individuals, in favor of their native cities, have been embellished by the eloquence of the great historians of Greece and Rome. From a constant meditation of these enticing examples, the humble artisan of Lucca was led to seek, for his own name, a renown like theirs; and the situation which he then held, of Gonfaloniere, or chief magistrate of the republic, seemed to give new facilities for the accomplishment of his views. But Burlamaqui united with the warm imagination of a reformer, the coolness of judgment and political sagacity, essential to the success of reform. And while his patriotism was kindled by the prospect of restoring Tuscany to her ancient grandeur, he grounded his hopes of success upon the political situation of Italy and of Europe. Florence, not yet formed to the yoke of an artful and ambitious tyrant, was fondly, although secretly, cherishing the remembrance of her lately lost freedom. Pisa, desolated by war, deprived of commerce, her once fertile fields vanishing beneath the accumulating masses of stagnant water, her municipal pride and glorious recollections lost in the degrading consciousness of an odious dependence; Siena, torn by divisions, and ready to fall a prey to the same insatiable ambition; Perugia, Bologna, every portion of Italy, hesitating between the desire of freedom and the dread of increasing the yoke that already weighed too heavily; these were the circumstances,

in the situation of his own country, which nourished the hopes and inflamed the zeal of Burlamaqui. Nor was the prospect less encouraging, when considered from another point of view. The Emperor, whose activity was the most to be apprehended, was engaged in the war against the Protestants of Germany, in support of which he had drawn away from Italy the greater part of his own troops, together with those of his allies, the Pope and Cosimo of Tuscany. Thus the defence of all the important posts in the country was intrusted to the hands of a few soldiers, and those none of the best, while the great distance of the papal and ducal armies from the points which were first to be attacked, rendered it impossible for them to be recalled, in time to prevent the effects of a sudden assault on the part of the conspirators. The progress of the Emperor, moreover, in his German war, was not calculated to inspire his adherents with very ardent hopes of a successful issue; while, on the contrary, the firm resistance and rapid movements of the Protestants had filled the minds of their partisans with the most cheering confidence. But one of the most encouraging circumstances in the political aspect of the moment, was the deep-rooted hostility, that subsisted between the Emperor and the French, and which led them to embrace every species of alliance, and resort to all kinds of expedients, in order to gratify their mutual animosity.

In order, however, to unite the feelings of those whom he wished to liberate, it was necessary to raise a new standard, as well for religion as for their political state. This was supplied by the progress of the Lutheran Reformation, and the favor with which the advocates of religious freedom were viewed in Italy. Thus the revival of the old Etruscan league, and the introduction of the Protestant religion, or, in other words, the full establishment of religious and political liberty, was the vision that constantly floated before the mind of the enthusiastic Lucchese.

The plan which he had conceived with so much boldness, he prepared for execution with cool and cautious judgment. By habitually making the original felicity of Tuscany the topic of his conversation, he familiarized the minds of the friends, whom he designed to employ, with the subject of his desires, and prepared the way for a more direct and explicit avowal of his plans. His first confidant was a member of his own family, whose faith and zeal he had fully tested. The number of

the conspirators was gradually enlarged with all the precautions which so dangerous an undertaking required, and soon comprised the principal refugees of Florence and Siena, and other states, together with the wealthy and daring Strozzi, who were to bring with them the favor and aid of France. Already confident in his numbers, Burlamaqui urged to immediate action; and had not his wishes been overruled by the authority of the Strozzi, so well arranged were all the plans of the conspiracy, and so well timed the moment for its breaking out, that its success would in all probability have been complete. Compelled by his companions to delay, he still continued to strengthen his party by new accessions, chiefly made among the exiles, when an unfortunate communication of one of his companions defeated all the labors of his prudence, and consigned him to the hands of the executioner.

The desire to comprise in one sketch the principal events, which distinguished the rise of the Protestant religion in Italy, has led us a few years in advance of the first efforts of the Roman court for the suppression of it. Notwithstanding the severe shock which the papal power had received from the arms of Bourbon, the attachment of the Emperor to the religion in which he had been educated, or, as seems more probable, the close connexion between his political interests and those of the Roman See, had bound him by a tie of which he always acknowledged the force, to exert all his power for the preservation of Catholicism. And thus, although in the course of his subsequent operations, great and dangerous disputes frequently arose between him and the popes, and he was more than once induced to threaten an open rupture, yet the preservation of the Catholic religion always continued to form a favorite point of his policy, and was pursued even at the hazard of important parts of his dominions. Had the same unity of motive prevailed in the minds of the pontiffs, who, during his long reign, were successively called to the papal throne, the progress of the reform in Italy would have been checked at a much earlier period of its course. But the disadvantages inherent in the union of spiritual with temporal power, were never more apparent than during the period which we are considering. The exertions which should have been solely directed to one object, were enfeebled by a division of interests. Of one kind were the views of the temporal, of another those of the spiritual ruler. The attention of the pontiff was con-

stantly divided between schemes for the aggrandizement of the papal supremacy, and others, no less warmly pursued, for the extension of the dominions of the church. Thus while, urged on the one hand by his pastoral duties, he courted the favor of a particular sovereign, he was on the other, as a temporal prince, often constrained to oppose the same monarch by skilful negotiations, and sometimes even by open war. If to these we add the further embarrassments of family ambition, and the disputes and wars which were frequently excited for, or by, the pope's relations, we shall be convinced, that, if Rome surpassed all other courts in the refinement of her policy, nothing short of that perfection could have held together the conflicting elements which composed her power.

There were two periods in the struggle between the Protestant and Catholic religion, in which the friends of a peaceful union were cheered with the prospect of a termination of the great question of reform, by mutual concessions of the contending parties. The first was upon the elevation of Adrian to the chair, made vacant by the death of Leo X.; the second, at the accession of Marcellus II. But the opposition which the first of these sincere and pious men encountered among the members of his court, and the premature death of the other, effectually closed the door against all reconciliation, by placing upon the throne a series of pontiffs, who cared less for the interests of religion, than for the enlargement of their temporal dominions. So strongly in fact, were they attached to the latter, that the repeated reclamations of several zealous Catholics upon the rapid extension of the Protestant opinions, were received with a degree of coldness, which it is difficult to account for, in a power so jealous of its prerogative. But when these reports began to thicken and assume the tone of warning and remonstrance, Rome was at length aroused from its lethargy, and began to seek out the most efficient means of defence. The remedy was the more terrible for having been so long delayed.

The Inquisition, that terrific tribunal, whose movements neither power nor pity could affect, which was blinded by ambition to the real interests of its order, and hardened by fanaticism against the voice of compassion, was the first object towards which the court of Rome directed its attention, in the hope of reëstablishing its shattered authority. The success which had attended the operations of this institution in Spain,

and the dread which it everywhere inspired, increased the ardor with which its erection was called for by those, who believed all means holy which were employed for the preservation of the Catholic religion. But the same circumstances which contributed to strengthen its power, increased the difficulties which attended its erection. The opposition arose not from the people alone, but in many instances from their rulers also, who looked upon the Inquisition rather as an instrument for the confirmation of the Roman prerogative, than as a useful means of preserving the Roman dogma.

In Rome itself, where the spiritual and temporal power were united, the establishment of the "Holy Office" was comparatively easy. But the frightful tumults and wild excesses which followed the death of Paul IV., its warmest advocate, are sufficient to show in what light it was viewed by the immediate subjects of the church. In Venice, its action was generally more or less subject to the control of the civil authority, and it was rarely left free to follow its own relentless course. But in Naples, the authority of the Emperor, although supported by the cool barbarity of his viceroy, and the strong arm of a powerful garrison, was nearly overthrown, by the simple proposal for its establishment. And even when the Neapolitans, abandoned by all those to whom they had looked for succor, and intimidated by the near approach of an overwhelming force, were constrained to submit to the will of their sovereign, so strong had been the expression of popular feeling, that the Emperor gladly renounced all thoughts of the odious tribunal.

But the dread, which was so justly entertained of the Roman court, was founded rather upon its profound artifice, than its real power; and the designs, which it was apparently compelled to abandon, were often no less successful than those which it openly pursued. Neither the fears of the people, nor the jealousy of government, availed to prevent the erection of the Inquisition. In some of the minor states, it was received from respect to the papal power. Others were led to accept its jurisdiction, by means of advantageous offers or judicious flattery. While they who viewed it with most abhorrence, were induced to submit to its control, by the artful distinction which was made between the Inquisition of Italy, and that of Spain. Rome was alike triumphant over prejudice and power, over the people and their rulers.

The consequences of this triumph were soon apparent throughout every portion of Italy. Neither wealth, nor rank, the privileges of republics, nor the favor of kings, were a safeguard against the arms of the Inquisition. The timid convert who confined his belief to the privacy of his own bosom, and the enthusiastic proselyte who boldly courted the crown of martyrdom, were equally exposed to accusation and trial. The cassock and the cowl were no longer a protection; monks were drawn forth from the secrecy of their cloisters, the learned from the seclusion of their studies; the sanctity of domestic life was violated, and even the throne itself only served to mitigate the punishment of its suspected occupants. Suspicion and fear usurped the place of that free communication which constitutes the chief charm of society; each unguarded expression gave rise to accusation; and private enmity often sought its vengeance under the cloak of religious zeal. A deep and voiceless terror pervaded the whole of Italy.*

Nor was it an empty dread of some indefinite evil. Ochino was compelled to fly for life, and take refuge in Geneva; Martire to abandon the church which he had so fondly planted in Lucca. Carnesecchi, the confidant and friend of princes, was sent from the table of Cosimo, to the stake prepared for him by Paul IV. One by one the Protestant leaders were subjected to the attacks of the Inquisition; and happy were they, who, by prompt and painful flight, were able to exchange the sweets of home, and the security of independent fortunes, for a foreign land, and the bitter bread of a stranger's compassion. The racks and dungeons of the Inquisition were soon found insufficient to satisfy the rage of persecution. The flames of the stake were again kindled in the same spots, where, but a little more than a thousand years before, the foundations of the church had been laid amid the bones and ashes of its martyrs. At the same time the sword was laying waste those portions, which the slower arm of the Inquisitor could not reach.†

Happy were the subjects of Venice; for there, instead of the stake, and the robe of pitch, and the applause of an im-

* Botta, Lib. xii. p. 181.

† We would refer our readers, for a perfect description of one of the modes of torture, to the eloquent story in "Outre Mer," entitled the "Baptism of Fire."

placable multitude, the depths of the Adriatic and the silence of midnight, were the means and the scene of martyrdom. Happy too were they, who, through the intercession of powerful friends, were kept back from the flames, until life had been destroyed by the cord or the sword of the executioner. And although we may shudder to think of those, who, in the flower of life, were brought out to die a death of torture in the presence of their fellow men, and in the pure light of day, happy too were they, when compared with the far greater proportion, whose fate is still concealed in the dark archives of the Inquisition.

We have already alluded to the Waldenses of Piedmont. Colonies from these secluded valleys had long been established in southern Italy; and the fruits of their industry were everywhere to be seen, in the populous towns which they had founded, and the fertile fields which they had redeemed from the forests and marshes of Calabria. Devoted to agriculture, and industrious as much from habit as by necessity, their sober and secluded lives had never attracted much of the attention of their Catholic neighbours. Contented with the privilege of enjoying their own opinions, they cared not to inquire into those of others, and confined themselves to that quiet and unpretending mode of life, which is the only safeguard of those whose existence is rather tolerated than acknowledged. But when the fame of the religious revolution in Germany reached them, the sectarian pride which had so long lain dormant, was raised to a dangerous pitch. Calling to their assistance teachers from the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, they first reformed the abuses which had insensibly crept into their own worship, and then began to venture upon the dangerous task of reforming their Catholic neighbours. We are far from believing that, amid the general persecutions of Italy, they would have been suffered to escape, even if they had not abandoned the course which they had so long followed in safety. But it certainly could not be expected, that the Catholic party should view their efforts at proselytism without opposing them. Tremendous in fact was the persecution that ensued, and they who escaped the snares, and withstood the persuasions of their adversaries, were driven for shelter to the forests and mountains, where, hunted like beasts of prey, some fell by the sword, and others, less happy, perished by famine, in the desolate caverns that had given

them a last asylum. The greater portion being thus cut off, the few who had fallen alive into the hands of their enemies were reserved for every species of torture, perishing by the knife, at the stake, precipitated from the summits of lofty towers, or stifled by the foul air of damp and crowded dungeons.

Thus fell the Protestant religion in Italy. Its end was everywhere attended with the same horrors, and its history is but a repetition of racks, and dungeons, and stakes. Terrible period! when the powers of the human mind seem to have acquired a greater developement, only in order to open a broader field of suffering; and the convictions which should inspire sentiments of calm and beneficent philanthropy, served as stronger stimulants to ferocious persecution. Bitter, and even more humiliating than bitter, are the scenes that we have traced; but bitterer still is the reflection, that the spirit which distinguished them is still alive, and that in our own, as in every other age, the persecuted but awaits a moment of success, to seize, for his own use, the arms of the persecutor. Happy are we, not that our passions are milder, but that our laws are better; and that persecution, from being a moral, has become also a political crime.

ART. X.—1. *A Discourse on the Studies of the University*, by ADAM SEDGWICK, M. A., F. R. S., Woodwardian Professor and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Fourth Edition. Cambridge, 1835. 8vo. pp. 157.

2. *Alma Mater, or Seven Years at the University of Cambridge.* By a Trinity Man. London; Black & Torry & Torry. 1827. Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 323 and 272.

3. *The Cambridge University Calendar for the year* 1830. Cambridge. 18mo. pp. 464.

THE spirit of English reform has not spared the two great Universities, the pride and glory of the United Kingdom. Their close connexion with church and state has naturally turned the sharpest scrutiny of Reformers and Radicals to their real or supposed abuses; and many violent attacks have

been made upon these time-hallowed seats of learning. As is common in such cases, the unjustifiable harshness which has been dealt upon them, has been met by an uncompromising spirit of resistance on the part of their friends. There appears to be a great deal of wilful blindness on both sides. The wants of different ages require changes in great institutions, which their governors are not always willing to permit; and there are difficulties in the way of changing long-established usages and methods, for which heated reformers make no allowance. Let us hope, that the resultant of these two clashing forces will be in the direction of wisdom and common sense. One thing is pretty certain, that the most violent clamorers for alterations in long-established systems of education, are those who know least about any system; and the remark is true both of England and the United States. It is no uncommon thing to find beardless boys, under the inspiration of this precocious age, passing bold and unhesitating judgments upon institutions founded by the wisdom, and cherished by the zeal, of our sturdy ancestors; weighing systems of study, in the scales of their puny understandings, and finding them wanting, though the sagacity, learning, and experience of men grown gray in the high places of church and state, have been exhausted in devising them. We venture to say, there never was a period in which speculations on the subject of liberal education were so abundant in showy confidence of assertion, accompanied by real and disgraceful ignorance.

We strongly suspect that all sound thinkers will, sooner or later, settle down in the conviction, that the great principles of university education, as established in England and among us, are the true ones. They are true, because they are founded in the nature of man. Unquestionably the basis of all just thinking, in literature, science, art, and philosophy, must be laid in a knowledge of the ancient classics, the mathematics, and intellectual philosophy. Moral philosophy and theology are concerned with the everlasting interests of man, and belong to every form of education. These are the branches of study, which the greatest minds of England and the United States have decided to be the most important for intellectual discipline, and the formation of taste. Is not their decision just? The histories of both countries, the great men to whom English liberty and English literature owe their support,

the heroes and statesmen to whom we owe our national existence, and our constitution its perpetual illustration and defence, what are they but so many standing witnesses to the deep wisdom, in which our institutions for the education of young men have been founded ?

But our present purpose is not to go into a discussion upon the great principles of university education. In this paper, we propose merely to give a brief account of the University of Cambridge, in England. We shall offer a concise description of its government ; its course of studies, with the forms and methods of examination ; its degrees and other honors ; and, in conclusion, a few sketches of college life, which appear to us to be worthy of notice, as compared with college life in this country.

The University of Cambridge is a society of students in all the liberal arts and sciences, incorporated by the name of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge. It consists of seventeen colleges, each of which is a body corporate, and bound by its own statutes ; but they are all subject to the paramount laws of the University. Each college furnishes members both for the executive and legislative branches of the government. The legislative branch of the government consists of the two divisions of the Senate, and a council called the Caput. The senate consists of all who are masters of arts, or doctors in either of the three faculties, divinity, civil law, or physic, having their names on the college boards, holding any office in the University, or being resident in the town of Cambridge. They generally number about two thousand. They are divided into two classes, called the regents and the non-regents. The regents, or members of the upper house, or white-hood house, as it is called from the members wearing hoods lined with white silk, are masters of arts of less than five years' standing, and doctors of less than two. The non-regent or lower house, called also the black-hood house, from the members wearing black silk hoods, includes all the rest. But doctors of more than two years' standing, and the public orator of the University, may vote in either house.

The council, called the Caput, consists of the vice-chancellor, a doctor in each of the faculties, divinity, civil law, and physic, and two masters of arts to represent the regent and non-regent houses. The vice-chancellor is a

member of the caput, by virtue of his office. The other members of this council are chosen as follows. The vice-chancellor and the two proctors nominate severally five persons; and out of these fifteen, the heads of colleges, doctors, and scrutators elect five, commonly honoring the vice-chancellor's list with the appointment. Every proposition of a university law, or grace, must be approved by the caput, every member having a negative voice, before it can be presented to the consideration of the two houses of the senate.

Meetings for the transaction of university business, called congregations, are held about once a fortnight, and a list of the days of such meetings is published by the vice-chancellor at the beginning of each term. The vice-chancellor may call the senate together for the despatch of extraordinary affairs, at other times, by causing a printed notice, specifying the business, to be hung up in the halls of the several colleges, three days before the time of assembly. Any number of the senate, not less than twenty-five, including the proper officers, constitute a quorum, and may proceed to business. Besides these meetings, there are others called statutable congregations, or days of assembly enjoined by the statutes, for the ordinary routine of university affairs, such as conferring degrees, electing officers, &c., for which no special notice is required. A congregation may also be held without three days' notice, provided forty members of the senate be present. Every member has a right to bring any proposition or grace before the senate, if it has been previously approved by the caput. When it has passed the caput, it is read in the non-regent house by one of the scrutators, and in the regent house by the senior proctor. It is read in like manner at the second congregation. If a *non placet* is put in by a member of the non-regent house, the vote is then taken. If the number of *non placets* equals or exceeds the number of *placets*, the grace is thrown out. If the *placets* are more than the *non placets*, it is carried up to the regent house, and there undergoes the same process. If it passes through both houses, it is considered a regular act of the senate, and if the subject be of a public nature, it becomes a statute. No degree is conferred without a grace, which passes through the process above described. A grace of this kind is called a *supplicat*. Those for bachelor of arts, honorary degrees, and masters of arts of King's College, require to be read at one congregation only.

The executive of the University consists of the following officers:

The chancellor. This officer is the head of the University, and has sole authority within the precincts, except in cases of mayhem and felony. He seals the diplomas and letters of degrees, &c. given by the University, defends its rights and privileges, convokes assemblies, and administers justice to the members under his jurisdiction.

The high steward, who has the power of trying scholars impeached of felony within the limits of the University, and to hold and keep a leet according to the established charter and custom. He appoints a deputy by letters patent, which are confirmed by a grace of the senate.

The vice-chancellor. This officer is elected annually by the senate, on the 4th of November, and, as his title indicates, has the power of the chancellor, in the government of the University, and the execution of the statutes, when the chancellor is absent. He is required, by an order made in 1587, to be the head of some college; and he acts as a magistrate for the University and county.

The commissary is an officer under the chancellor, and holds a court of record for all privileged persons and scholars under the degree of M. A. for the trial of causes by the civil and statute law, and by the custom of the University.

The public orator writes, reads, and records the letters to and from the body of the senate, and presents to all honorary degrees with an appropriate speech.

The assessor is an officer specially appointed by grace of the senate, to assist the vice-chancellor *in causis forensibus et domesticis*.

The two proctors are peace officers, annually elected. They must be masters of arts, of at least two years' standing, and are regents by virtue of their office. Their duty is to watch over the discipline of all persons *in statu pupillari*, to search houses of ill fame, and take into custody loose and abandoned or suspected women. They are also required to be present at all congregations of the senate, to stand in scrutiny with the chancellor or vice-chancellor, to take the suffrages of the house, both by word and writing, to read them and declare the assent or dissent accordingly, to read the graces in the regent house, to take secretly the assent or dissent, and openly to pronounce the same.

The librarian's duties are designated by his title. The registrary is required, either by himself or deputy, to attend all congregations, to direct the form of the graces to be propounded, and to enter them on the university records, when they have passed both houses. He also registers the seniority of such as proceed annually in any of the arts and faculties, according to the schedules furnished him by the proctors. — The two taxors are masters of arts, and regents by virtue of their office. They regulate the markets, examine the assize of bread, the lawfulness of weights and measures, and call the abuses thereof into the commissary's court. — The scrutators are non-regents. Their duty is to attend all congregations, to read the graces in the lower house, to take the votes secretly or openly, and to declare the assent or dissent of that house. — The moderators are nominated by the proctors, and appointed by a grace of the senate. They superintend the exercises and disputations in philosophy, and the examinations for the degree of bachelor of arts, in the place of the proctors. — The three esquire bedells are required to precede the vice-chancellor with silver maces, upon all public occasions and solemnities. They bring the doctors present in the regent house to open scrutiny, there to deliver their suffrages by word or writing; they receive the graces from the vice-chancellor and caput, and deliver them first to the scrutators in the lower house, and, if they are granted, carry them to the proctors in the upper house. They attend the professors and respondents in the three faculties, from their colleges to the schools, and during the continuance of the several acts. They collect fines from the members of the University, and summon the members of the senate to the chancellor's court. — The university printer, the library-keeper, the under library-keeper, and the school-keeper, are elected by the body at large; the yeoman bedell is appointed by letters patent under the hand and seal of the chancellor; and the university marshal, in the same manner, by the vice-chancellor.

The University has two courts of law, the consistory court of the chancellor, and the consistory court of the commissary. The former is held by the chancellor, or in his absence, by the vice-chancellor, assisted by some of the heads of colleges, and one or more doctors of the civil law. All pleas and actions personal, as of debts, accounts, contracts, &c., or of any injury begun or grown within the limits of the University,

and not concerning mayhem and felony, are heard and decided in this court, and the manner of the proceeding is according to the civil law. An appeal lies from this court to the senate. The latter is held by the commissary, acting by authority deputed to him under the seal of the chancellor. He takes knowledge and proceeds in all causes, as above, except that causes and suits to which the proctors or taxors, or any of them, or a master of arts, or any other of superior degree is a party, are reserved to the jurisdiction of the chancellor or vice-chancellor. The manner of proceeding is the same in this as in the other court; and the party aggrieved is allowed, by statute, an appeal to the chancellor's court, and from thence to the delegates, if the cause and grief of the party render such application necessary.

The two members sent by the University to Parliament are chosen by the senate. The university counsel are appointed by grace of the senate, and the solicitor is appointed by the vice-chancellor. The syndics are members of the senate, chosen to transact all special affairs of the University. The professors have stipends allowed from various sources, from the university chest, from government, or from estates left for that purpose. The annual income of the university chest is about £16,000, and the annual expenditure about £12,000. The funds are under the management of the vice-chancellor, and the accounts are examined by three auditors, appointed annually by the senate. The terms of the University are three. The October or Michaelmas term begins on the 10th of October, and ends on the 16th of December; Lent, or January term, begins on the 13th of January, and ends on the Friday before Palm Sunday; Easter or Midsummer term begins on the 11th day after Easter day, and ends on the Friday after commencement, which is always the first Tuesday in July.

The seventeen colleges of the University were founded by different individuals, all of whom enjoined, first, the cultivation of religion, and then of polite literature and the sciences. The statutes of some of the colleges require the fellows to be born in England, in particular counties, &c. The fellowships at Trinity, St. John's, Sidney, Downing, Clare Hall, and Trinity Hall, are open to all competitors, and there is the following law with regard to all; "Whosoever hath one English parent, although he be born in another country, shall be

esteemed as if born in that county to which his English parent belonged. But if both parents were English, he shall be reckoned of that county to which his father belonged." Stat. Acad. p. 268.

The orders in the different colleges are, 1. A head of a college or house, who is generally a doctor in divinity; excepting of Trinity Hall, Caius College, and Downing College, where they may be doctors in civil law or physic. The head of King's College is styled Provost; of Queen's, President; all the rest, Master. 2. Fellows, generally doctors in divinity, civil law, or physic; bachelors in divinity; masters or bachelors of arts; a few bachelors in civil law or physic, as at Trinity Hall and Caius College. The number of fellowships in the University is 408. 3. Noblemen graduates; doctors in the several faculties, bachelors in divinity, who have been masters of arts, and masters of arts, not on the foundation, but whose names are kept on the boards for the purpose of being members of the senate. 4. Graduates, neither members of the senate, nor *in statu pupillari*, are bachelors in divinity, denominated four-and-twenty men, or ten-year men, so called because persons admitted at any college, when twenty-four years of age and upwards, are allowed to take the degree of bachelor in divinity after their names have remained on the boards ten years. During the last two years they must reside in the University the greater part of three several terms, and perform the exercises required by the statutes. 5. Bachelors in civil law and physic, who sometimes keep their names on the boards till they become doctors. 6. Bachelors of arts, who are *in statu pupillari*, and pay for tuition, whether resident or not, and keep their names on the boards, for the purpose of becoming candidates for fellowships, or members of the senate. 7. Fellow commoners, generally younger sons of the nobility or young men of fortune, who have the privilege of dining at the fellows' table. 8. Pensioners and scholars. The number of scholarships and exhibitions in the University is upwards of 700. 9. Sizars, men of inferior fortune, who usually have their commons free, and receive various emoluments.

Such is a brief sketch of the government and orders of the University of Cambridge, for which we are mainly indebted to the University Calendar, a work of great interest and value. It contains a vast variety of other particulars, such as

lists of professors, and the subjects of their lectures, together with a number of examination papers, to which we shall have occasion again to refer. The course of studies is admirably adapted to task the intellectual powers of young men, and the honors awarded to superior merit excite the young men of England to astonishing efforts. The Discourse of Professor Sedgwick, on the Studies at Cambridge, is a very remarkable work. He takes a comprehensive view of the Cambridge course, in a spirit of wide philosophy and perfect candor. He does not allow his connexion with the University to blind him to its defects, or check him from freely exposing them.

This discourse was pronounced by Professor Sedgwick, in the chapel of Trinity College, on the annual commemoration day, in December, 1832, and was published at the request of the junior members of that society. It has gone through at least four editions already, and has gained for its author a high reputation, as a vigorous thinker and an admirable writer. He examines the Cambridge studies under the three divisions of, 1. The study of the laws of nature, comprehending all parts of inductive philosophy. 2. The study of ancient literature, as furnishing examples and maxims of prudence, and models of taste. 3. The study of ourselves, considered as individuals and as social beings.

Under the first head, Mr. Sedgwick enters into an elaborate description of the objects to which the study of nature is directed, and the effects which that study must produce on the well-balanced mind. He shows, with great ingenuity of argument, and force and beauty of language, the connection between physical science and natural theology. This study furnishes subjects of lofty contemplation, and gives the mind a habit of abstraction, most difficult to acquire by ordinary means, but of inestimable value in the business of life. It tends to repress a spirit of arrogance and intellectual pride, and leads to simplicity of character and love of truth. It teaches man to see the hand of God in the works of nature, and gives him an exalted conception of his attributes, by showing the beauty, harmony, and order of creation, as manifested in the remotest consequences of the laws, by which material things are bound together, and act upon each other. The external world proves the being of God by addressing the imagination, and informing the reason. It is so fitted to our imaginative powers as to give them

some perception of the attributes of God, and this adaptation is a proof of his existence. But the proofs which appeal to the reasoning faculties are stronger and more direct. The contrivance manifested in the bodily organs of every being possessed of life, — organs produced by powers of vast complexity, and understood only in their effects, — proves design, and is a display of an intelligent superintending power. The conclusion leads to the inevitable belief that inanimate nature is the production of the same overruling Intelligence. This structure of organic bodies proves design, and the proof becomes more striking and impressive, when we view the adaptation of their organs to the condition of the material world. We thus link together all nature as one harmonious whole. The concluding part of this branch of the discussion is devoted to the science of geology, in which Mr. Sedgwick very ably describes the surprising views, which that science unfolds, of the history of our earth and the various revolutions it has undergone. He refutes the theory, that the present state of things, and the existence of the human race, are simply the result of organic changes, as held by some philosophers; and attempts to prove that the successive races of beings, which have dwelt upon the earth, ending with mankind, are the production of an immediate creative energy.

In the second branch of the discussion, Mr. Sedgwick examines the claims of classical learning to be made a part of early and of university education. He shows that the study of language is peculiarly fitted to childhood, on account of the wonderful facility with which words are acquired and remembered at that period of life. But this readiness of verbal acquisition begins to fail with most persons, when the memory has become stored with words, and the mind accustomed to their application. The study of languages, therefore, has been wisely made a part of early discipline, and the student gains access by it, to those magazines of thought, in which the intellectual treasures of a nation are collected, as soon as he is capable of comprehending their value and turning them to good account. And as the body gains strength and grace by exercise, so the imaginative powers are strengthened, and the taste improved, by the study of models of high excellence. If it be objected, that life is too short, and the multitude of things pressing on our attention too great, to allow the classics to be made a leading part of academic

education, it may be briefly replied, that the best literature of modern Europe is drawn from classic sources, and cast in the classic mould; and cannot be felt and understood, as it ought to be, without a previous knowledge of the classics. If this reply is not sufficient, then it may be further and unanswerably urged, that the classics are a necessary help to the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, in which the moral destinies of men are written. But, though Professor Sedgwick is satisfied with the strength of the argument in favor of classical learning, he doubts whether those studies have been wisely pursued in the University of Cambridge. While he speaks with becoming respect of the great names of Bentley and Porson, in whose hands the science of verbal criticism, generally so trifling and fruitless, was made to illuminate obscure points in history, and detect sophistry, yet even in their case he thinks there is reason to regret, that so little of their time was employed upon objects worthy of their gigantic powers. He believes that for the last fifty years, the classical studies of Cambridge have been too critical and formal, and that the imagination and taste might be more wisely cultivated, than by giving so much time and labor to pursuits which, after all, end in mere verbal imitations. Mr. Sedgwick proceeds to point out the advantages of one department of verbal criticism, which, he says, has often been overlooked, or set at naught. As words are the signs of thought and the expression of feelings, if we find in the ancient writers those which describe virtue and vice, honor and dishonor, guilt and shame, &c., coupled with epithets of praise or condemnation, we may be sure that these things existed as realities before they became words, at least in the minds of those who built up the ancient languages. By studying languages in this spirit, we find at every step of our progress a series of moral judgments, which have been forced upon men by the very condition of their existence. Mr. Sedgwick is of opinion, that the ethical writings of the ancients are deserving of more study and attention than they have hitherto received; that many of the writers of antiquity had correct notions on the subject of natural religion, and that the argument for the being of a God, derived from final causes, is as well stated in the conversations of Socrates, as in the Natural Theology of Paley. Mr. Sedgwick's remarks on the study of history are full of wisdom, and we should gladly quote them did our limits allow.

The third and largest division of the discourse is an elaborate discussion of several points in intellectual and moral philosophy. The author's remarks are almost confined to Locke's "Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding," and Paley's "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy." He points out the defect in Locke's theory of the mind, and describes strongly the consequences which have followed from it. But he does full justice, at the same time, to the independence and masculine vigor of the great philosopher. The criticism on Paley, particularly the refutation of Paley's theory of utility, is a very able piece of philosophical argument; and here, too, he awards a full measure of praise to the transparent clearness of Paley's style, and the admirable cogency of his reasoning. The discourse closes with a fervent strain of eloquence, in which the dictates of sound philosophy and rational piety are enforced in a highly impressive manner.

We have been the more particular in considering this discourse, because it contains the best account of the studies at Cambridge we have ever seen, and the best exposition of the grounds of university education. We do not find any very original speculations, or arguments; but the whole subject is handled with masterly vigor, and all that has been thought and said before, in parts and fragments, is brought together in lucid order, and adorned with a style of commanding dignity. A large portion of the observations apply to the state of education in this country, and we hope the discourse may be republished and widely circulated among us. It would set right the minds of many people, whose notions on the subject of academic education are at present quite wrong.

The requisitions for the several degrees are, briefly, as follows. A bachelor must be a resident the greater part of twelve terms, the first and last excepted. In order to take this degree at the regular time, he must be admitted at some college before the end of the Easter term of the year in which he proposes to come into residence. The mode of admission is either by a personal examination, or by a certificate signed by some master of arts of the University. If the certificate be satisfactory, the person's name is immediately entered on the boards, which are suspended in the butteries of the several colleges. A master of arts must be a B. A. of three years' standing. A bachelor in divinity must be a M. A. of seven years' standing. A doctor in divinity must be a

B. D. of five, or M. A. of twelve years' standing. A bachelor in civil law must be of six years' standing, complete, and must reside the greater part of nine terms. A doctor in civil law must be of five years' standing from the degree of B. C. L., or a M. A. of seven years' standing. A bachelor in physic must reside the greater part of nine several terms, and may be admitted any time in his sixth year. A doctor in physic is bound to the same regulations as a doctor of civil law. A licentiate in physic is required to be a M. A. or M. B. of two years' standing. A bachelor in music must enter his name at some college, and compose and perform a solemn piece of music before the University. A doctor in music is generally M. B., and his exercise is the same. The following persons are entitled to honorary degrees, by an interpretation of May 31st, 1786; viz. Privy counsellors, bishops, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, sons of noblemen, persons related to the king's majesty by consanguinity or affinity, provided they be also honorable, their eldest sons, baronets, and knights. By a grace of the senate, passed March 18th, 1826, they are to be examined and approved like others, but have the privilege of being examined after having kept *nine* terms, the first and last excepted. They are then entitled to the degree of master of arts. The University also confers degrees, without residence or examination, on persons illustrious for their services to the state or to literature.

The ordinary course of study before taking the degree of B. A. is comprehended under the three heads of Natural Philosophy, Theology and Moral Philosophy, and the Belles Lettres. The undergraduates are examined in their respective colleges yearly, or half yearly, on the subjects of their studies, and arranged in classes, according to these examinations. Those who are placed in the first class receive prizes of books of different values. The students are thus prepared for the public examinations and exercises, which the University requires of all candidates for degrees. The public examinations are, the previous examination, and the examination for honors, in the senate house. All business affecting the University is here transacted. On public occasions the lower part is appropriated to the higher orders of the University, and the undergraduates occupy a spacious gallery.

During the last six weeks, preceding the senate-house examination, the students are termed questionists. The sub-

jects of the previous examination are, one of the four Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, in the original Greek, Paley's Evidences of Christianity, one of the Greek, and one of the Latin classics; and every person, when examined, is required to translate some portion of each of the subjects; to construe and explain passages of the same; and to answer printed questions relating to the evidences of Christianity. The Greek and Latin examinations occupy the forenoon, and the Greek Testament and Paley's Evidences, the afternoon. Of the persons examined, two classes are formed; those who have passed their examination with credit, and those who are *only not refused* their certificate of approval by the examiners. Those who are not approved must attend the examination of the following year. Four examiners are elected at the first congregation after the 10th day of October, by the senate, for the succeeding year, and each examiner receives £20 from the university chest.

The student has next to perform the exercises required for the degree which he has in view. In the beginning of January, the proctor's servant goes to every college except King's, and receives from the tutors a list of the students called sophs, who intend to offer themselves for the degree of bachelor of arts. Their names are then delivered to the moderator. The moderator gives notice on the second Monday in Lent term, to one of the students in his list, to appear in the schools, and keep an act, on that day fortnight, in this form,

"Respondeat A. B., Coll. ———, Martii 5°, 18—.
C. D., Mod'r."

This person, called the respondent or act, soon after presents to the moderator three propositions or questions, which he is to maintain against any three students of the same year, nominated by the moderator, and called opponents. The first question is commonly taken from the *Principia*, the second from some other work in mathematics and natural philosophy, and the third, called the moral question, from Locke, Paley, or Butler. When the fortnight has expired, the respondent enters the school at one o'clock. The moderator, with one of the proctor's servants, appears at the same time, and, taking the chair, says, "Ascendat Dominus Respondens." The respondent mounts the rostrum and reads a thesis generally upon the moral question. The moderator then says, "Ascendat opponentium Primus." He immediately mounts a rostrum oppo-

site the respondent, and opposes the thesis, in the syllogistic form. Eight arguments, each of three or four syllogisms, are offered by the first, five by the second, and three by the third opponent. The distinguished men of the year appear eight times in this manner, twice as acts, and six times as opponents.

The senate-house examination lasts seven days. The moderators form the questionists into classes, according to their performances in the schools, and the first four are publicly exhibited before examination day. The questionists enter the senate house about nine o'clock, on the Friday before the first Monday in Lent term, preceded by a master of arts, who, for this occasion, is styled the father of the college to which he belongs. The classes to be examined are called out, and proceed to their appointed tables, the first and second at one, and the third and fourth at another. The examination of the fifth and sixth classes, not candidates for honors, takes place at the same time. The examinations are mostly on written papers, which are drawn up in such a manner as to give a searching test of the attainments and talents of the persons examined. A series of these papers for one year, is given in "Alma Mater," Vol. II. pp. 63–92. The labor of the examiners is extreme. Besides attending the examination through the day, they are obliged to spend the greater part of the night in inspecting the papers, and affixing to each its degree of merit. On the morning of the last day of the examination, a new arrangement of the classes, called the brackets, is made out, according to the merits of the papers, expressed in the sum total of each man's marks. These brackets are hung on the pillars of the senate house, and a great rush immediately takes place of the junior members of the University, who are naturally eager to learn the destinies of the combatants. The examination of the last day is conducted according to the order of the brackets, and the final contest is carried on with the greatest ardor. At five o'clock the examination is completed, and the moderators retire with the papers, to decide the honors, that very night. A select number, of at least thirty, who have most distinguished themselves, are then recommended to the proctors for approbation, and classed in three divisions according to merit. These divisions are, wranglers, senior optimes, and junior optimes, and these are the three orders of honors. The first in the list is called the senior wrangler, the next, the second wrangler; the last of the

optimes is styled, in the elegant phraseology of the Cambridge men, the "wooden spoon." All after the optimes are οἱ πολλοὶ, the first of whom is denominated, in the abovementioned dialect, the "captain of the poll," and the last twelve, the "Twelve Apostles." The next day after the conclusion of the examination, the ceremonies of the admission of the questionists takes place. A congregation is called in the senate house, and two papers, containing a list of the questionists, according to their merits or seniority, are hung up on the pillars. The senior moderator makes a Latin speech, the vice-chancellor in the chair, with the moderator on his left hand. The junior proctor delivers to the vice-chancellor a list of honors and seniority, subscribed "Examinati et approbati a nobis," meaning the proctors, moderators, and other examiners. The caput passes the supplicats of the questionists, and receives a certificate, signed and sealed by the master of the college, that each has kept his full number of terms; if not, it is mentioned in the supplicat, and a certificate, explaining the cause, is given in by the father. The vice-chancellor reads them to the caput, and they are then carried by one of the bedells to the non-regent house, to be read by the scrutators. If they are all approved, the scrutators walk, and the senior says, "*Omnes placent.*" If any are disapproved, he says, "A. B. &c. non placent; *reliqui placent.*" The supplicats are then carried into the regent house, to be read by the senior proctor. If all are approved, the proctors walk, and the senior says, "*Placent omnes? Placeat vobis ut intrent.*" They are then delivered to the registrary, who writes on them, "*Lect. et concess. die Jan.*"

The father of the senior wrangler, preceded by a bedell, and accompanied by the senior wrangler, approaches the vice-chancellor, and presents him, in ascending, a formulary in Latin; he then takes the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The senior proctor then reads to him another oath, in Latin, respecting various matters pertaining to the interior regulations of the University. He then kneels down before the vice-chancellor, who, taking his hands between his own, admits him in these words, "Auctoritate mihi commissâ, admitto te ad respondendum questioni. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, Amen." The others are then presented by the fathers of their respective colleges, and the senior proctor administers to them the same oath, which had been taken by

the senior wrangler. When all have been sworn, they are admitted by the vice-chancellor, in the order of the list signed by the proctors and examiners, and the admissions being concluded, the congregation is dissolved.

There are similar proceedings in civil law and physic, the particulars of which must be omitted. There is also a special examination, called the East-Indian examination of candidates for writerships in the service of the company, who have not resided in the college at Haileybury. This examination includes the classics, with the collateral studies, the mathematics, modern history, and Paley's "Evidences of Christianity." It is conducted by two examiners appointed by the vice-chancellor and the regius professors, with an annual stipend of £80.

The *tripos* is a list of those who have obtained honors on commencing bachelor of arts; and there are two public days, called the first and second tripos days. On the first day, the wranglers and the senior optimes are publicly honored with appropriate ceremonies; and, on the second, the junior optimes; but the unfortunate *οἱ πολλοὶ* are addressed in a body by the junior moderator, "Reliqui petant senioritatem suam e registro." The ceremonies are closed in these words, "Auctoritate quâ fungimur, decernimus, creamus, et pronunciamus omnes hujus anni determinatores finaliter determinasse, *et actualiter esse, in artibus Baccalaureos.*"

Besides these honors, there are prizes awarded for excellence in the various branches of learning, scholarships of different values, and two pensions for travelling bachelors, worth £100 each, annually. These are all the objects of the most strenuous competition; but they are too numerous to be more particularly specified.

In most of the colleges the fellowships are taken, as they fall vacant, by the wranglers in the order of seniority; the greater part of the bachelors, all the *οἱ πολλοὶ*, and most of the junior and senior optimes having left the University to prepare themselves for the active business of life. At St. John's and Trinity College, the fellowships require a very severe examination. In Trinity College, the examination lasts two days and a half, the candidates spending about eight hours a day in hard writing. On the first morning they are occupied from nine to twelve, in translating some difficult piece of Greek and Latin into English, and some piece of idiomatic English

into Greek iambics, or Latin heroics, Sapphics, or Alcaics, as may suit the subject. In the afternoon, from three till dark, they are occupied on a mathematical paper. The second day is devoted entirely to the classics. The exercises are translations from the Greek and Latin poets, historians, and orators, and from the English into Greek and Latin, with a paper of questions upon Roman and Grecian history. The third morning is devoted to a paper on metaphysics. Of all the papers used at this examination, the mathematical is the most important, for the number of marks given to these questions is so much greater than those given to the others, that a man may become a fellow by that paper alone. The decision upon the claims of the candidates is made on the first day of October, by the "seniority," who meet in the chapel, read the reports of the examiners, and finally settle the question by vote. The anxiety to obtain the honors and emoluments of a Trinity fellowship is so great, as frequently to impair the health and entirely break down the strength of the candidate; a successful struggle bringing, besides the honor, a handsome competence for life. The scene that passes during the deliberations of the seniority is described as one of great bustle and anxious foreboding; not only the personal friends of the candidates, but the *gyps*,* bed-makers, shoe-blacks, and scullions, taking a lively interest in the result. The latter respectable individuals, it is stated, often lay wagers of a leg of mutton, a new hat, or some other equally important stake, upon the literary success of the several candidates.

"Alma Mater" is a very curious book. It gives a lively narrative of the incidents of a student's life, during a residence of seven years at Cambridge. Mr. Wright, a gentleman well known in the literary circles of London, is understood to be its author. The various scenes of university life, from the innocent blunders of the freshman, to the last mortal struggle for the fellowships, are described in an easy and witty style. For common readers, there is too much perhaps of college slang, and too many bad puns. But still these are curious as indications of the tone and style of college society, and students' talk. Every body of men, set apart from their fellow men by peculiarity of pursuits, readily form a set of

* Another elegant term in the Cantab. dialect, meaning *servants* or *waiters*.

terms, intelligible only to themselves and the initiated. Every profession has its slang, every college has its slang, and horse-jockeys have theirs. In point of elegance, these dialects or jargons are about upon a par. The phraseology of the Trinity men, and their abominable puns, bring up vividly our recollections of college life at home; and our only surprise is, how so large a majority of students survive these desperate doings, and turn out respectable members of society. It is astonishing how much good health is enjoyed at college, in spite of them. College frolics are pretty much the same in the mother country and here. Mr. Wright gives us some edifying scenes at chapel, which bear a strong resemblance to certain proceedings in a New England college, not half a century ago. Dissipation finds its way to the haunts of science at old Cambridge, as well as at her namesake. Students divide off into gay-men, and reading-men, corresponding to our old classes, the geniuses and digs; and on particular occasions these classes intermingle for mutual consolation and support. But though scenes of a painful and even disgusting description sometimes occur, with riotous drinking and intoxication, there is no doubt that, in proportion to the numbers, the young men in universities, both at home and abroad, are as little given to sensual indulgence, as any other class of young men whatever.

From the foregoing brief sketch, the points of difference and resemblance between an English and American university may be readily perceived. In England, a university is a perfectly-organized community, for religious and literary purposes. Its enormous wealth, and the great number of persons resorting to it, require and enable it to have a strong government, with power sufficient to enforce academical discipline, and the laws of the land. An injury to persons or property may be promptly redressed, and violated law avenged. Our colleges are similar communities in some respects, but on a much smaller scale. Their government is simply academical. They were established in the days of small things, when money was scarce, and students few. But the country has gone rapidly forward, in population, resources, and refinement. The governments of colleges remain substantially the same as they were at first. They have few means, beyond the terrors of academical discipline, to enforce obedience, while in some colleges the students number their hundreds. With such

large bodies government ceases to be paternal, and academical discipline is not always a shield against outrages, both on persons and property. A college government may, indeed, have its remedy by appealing to the laws of the land. But it has no remedy within its immediate control, except mere college punishment, and the consequence often is, that high crimes and misdemeanors escape the notice of the law. A college becomes, like some pagan temples, to a certain extent an asylum for transgressors. In times of high excitement, and even at other times, deeds of violence are perpetrated, which would send the offender, in other walks of life, to the county jail, or the State Prison. But the young gentleman at college meets only a college punishment, in the shape of a rustication, dismission, or expulsion. There have been exceptions to this course of things; but they are merely exceptions; the rule is unquestionably the other way. We are persuaded the circumstances of the country will soon demand a more effectual organization of the government of our universities, and that young gentlemen, surrounded by all the blessings of liberal learning, will not be allowed much longer to set the laws of their country at defiance, by perpetrating outrages, which draw down upon all other persons the heaviest vengeance of society.

As we have before remarked, the basis of liberal education is the same in England and the United States. It is laid in the mathematics, the classics, and philosophy. But the methods of securing a due degree of study, on the part of the young men, are widely different. In the English universities, the student is left much more to himself, and his studies are more directed to general results than with us. He attends upon the stated instructions of the Professors of his college; but the greater part of his work is done by himself, or under the eye of his private tutor, and with reference to a distant examination. The consequence is, that his learning is profound, and integral. He has made himself, so far as his powers permit, thoroughly master of it, and can command all his resources at a moment's warning, before he ventures to enter the lists for university honors. His ambition is addressed by motives of almost irresistible strength. He is in the midst of a society, consisting of the flower of British youth, in rank, wealth, and talent. He is under the protection of an institution, venerable for its age, and illustrious for the

mighty names that adorn its records. If he becomes a senior wrangler, that honor places him for a year at the head of English students; if he gains a fellowship, he is ranked, for life, in an illustrious body of scholars, free from the cares of the world, and at leisure to cultivate every branch of letters, in the fullest exercise of his genius. On the other hand, the inviting distinctions of church and state open in brilliant perspective. What more does he want? But the British universities are, no doubt, too scholastic in their course of study and modes of instruction. Changes, required by the spirit of the times, are not readily introduced, and some exclusive regulations, originating in an unenlightened age, still remain to disgrace the present. The requisition of a subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the exclusion of Dissenters, are foolish, unjust, and absurd. They can be defended upon no principle of necessity, policy, or expediency, and the sooner they are done away with, the better.

In our universities, the honors are awarded according to daily recitations, and examinations have but a slight effect on the general results, by which the scale of rank is formed. This method secures a degree of punctuality and prompt attention to daily duties, which leads to habits of mind of the highest importance in the business of life. But it does not secure a profound knowledge of the subjects taught, or give the power of taking broad and general views in science and literature. It makes the mind adroit, rather than powerful, and fills it with fragments of the body of knowledge, rather than with the noble spirit of knowledge. Books are thought too much of, and subjects too little. The time we give to academic studies is too short, and the studies themselves are too many. If English universities are too tenacious of old methods and antiquated courses, ours are too ready to yield before the "march of mind." The fantastic experiments made by some of our colleges, in obedience to what is respectfully denominated public sentiment, remind us of the fable of the old man, his son, and ass.

A word or two more about the government of students at college, and we have done. The young man at college is a very peculiar being. Apart from the general characteristics of his age, he is subject to several influences that belong to his condition alone. He has arrived at a period, when he is neither boy nor man. His voice has lost the treble of the

child, without deepening into the bass of manhood. His passions are beginning to sweep over him with tremendous energy. He has noble, but undisciplined, impulses. He is capable of generous attachments, and is a boisterous friend to liberty; whence there is danger, that his love of liberty will sometimes get the better of his love of order. If he has brought with him tendencies to perverseness and folly, their developement now becomes extremely active. The days have come for him, which a friend of ours once called "the agonizing days of puppyhood." His vanity puts forth with a vigorous growth. Having been all his life before completely controlled, he thinks he ought now to be exempted from all control, and, by a process of juvenile logic, he comes to regard all who are placed over him as his natural enemies. He takes offence at something done by his tutor, and he magnanimously breaks the tutor's windows at midnight. His love of liberty is so tetchy, that a new study, or an additional exercise, rouses him to rebellion, and he forthwith proceeds to combine against the constituted authorities, and proclaim the rights of man. His credulity at such times is absolutely incredible. Tell him the Faculty amuse themselves at every meeting by devouring a roasted freshman with trimmings, and he believes it. Nothing is too monstrous for his rabid capacity of faith. Reasoning with him at such times is vain. A syllogism addressed to a northeaster would be quite as cogent. In dealing with such people, the times of trouble come round pretty often; so that we have heard the wish expressed, that boys, unless of special sobriety and promise, might be put to sleep at fourteen, and not wake up till twenty-one. But as that is impossible, they must be trained up by other means. This brings us round again to the necessity of some adequate control. The subjects of college tutelage will not be regarded as boys; and they ought to be treated as men, as gentlemen. But they ought then to be subjected to all the responsibilities of men, of gentlemen. They must be made to feel that they have no immunity from the penalty of violated rights, but that the strong arm of law is over them, as over the rest of the world, and its sleepless eye upon their doings.

ART. XI. — *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.* By WASHINGTON IRVING. In Two Volumes. 8vo. Philadelphia; Carey & Lea. 1836.

THE object of this work, as the name imports, is to narrate the history of the enterprise undertaken by Mr. Astor, to establish the fur trade at the mouth of the Columbia River. This enterprise, considered as a private undertaking, was equally marked with sagacity and commercial courage. In its connexion with public interests, it bid fair to be of vast political importance. Had it proceeded as prosperously as it was happily conceived, it would have laid the foundation of the settlement and colonization, under the auspices of the United States, of the mighty empire drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries. A most disastrous succession of events, both of a private and public nature, defeated the hopes and anticipations, with which the enterprise was undertaken. As a commercial adventure, it resulted in the almost total loss of the vast capital which had been embarked in it; and as a commencement of the settlement of the country, it was equally abortive. But this topic may demand more of our attention in the sequel of the article.

The ingenious avarice of civilization finds temptation everywhere; and no zone of the new-found regions of the East or the West but afforded scope for the pursuit of wealth, by the agency of the improved arts of Europe. It would not perhaps be an abuse of language, to pronounce the age, in which America was discovered and colonized, and a path opened to the East Indies, as the age of plunder; and man, we fear, might, among the other definitions, be not inaptly described as a stealing animal. The discovering nations, at the outset, appropriated to themselves the new-found regions, — continents and Archipelagoes coextensive with Europe, — and on this primitive and comprehensive robbery, they founded in detail the system of rapine, by which all the individual sources of wealth were turned into their coffers. Thus the adventurers of Europe swarmed out in pursuit of the gold and silver of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, the spices of the Moluccas, the silks of India, and the men of Africa. The kindred blood of common humanity formed no exemption; and benevolence instituted her plunder, (the most iniquitous of all others,)

in order to alleviate the misery caused by the plunders of avarice. Men were stolen from Africa, in the philanthropic purpose of mitigating the hardships inflicted by the gold-stealers of America on the oppressed natives of the new world!

A curious dissertation might be written on the ingenuity, which has been applied to the work of pillage, by the great nations of modern times. The various modes under which the one great end has been pursued, the instruments which have been employed, the pretences which have been pleaded, the institutions which have been gradually organized for this purpose, form a new text of international law, — a sort of anti-constitutional system of politics, a code of ethics founded on the scorn of morality, and a religious faith clothed in Christian language and breathing a spirit hot from Pandemonium. It is not in the Arabian Nights, but in the sober history of Europe, that we read of a proclamation of the Pope, giving to the Portuguese all on one side of a certain meridian, and to the Spaniards, all on the other. It is a fact equa ly well authenticated, that the entire native population of Cuba, an inoffensive, gentle race, amounting, it is said, to millions, were exterminated as idolaters, by a band of refined, high-spirited, and Christian conquerors. They were exterminated, because the island was of convenient dimensions to be immediately reduced to plantations, cultivated with tropical products; and the African race was found more patient of labor than the Indian. The natives of Mexico and Peru, after the sword of the conquerors had reaped the first bloody harvest of desolation, were enslaved and preserved. It was found that a degraded native caste was the most efficient instrument for the mineral enterprises of the Spanish nobility, to whom the country had been granted. So that under the auspices of one and the same power, and in the same hemisphere, we see in one quarter a native population exterminated, in another preserved; exterminated through zeal for religion; — preserved to be enslaved. The element of force is, of course, a component part of this monstrous system of politics, and this is furnished by the veteran troops of Castile. Africa, entrenched in her pestiferous marshes, — guarded from conquest by her contagious fevers and blasted deserts, invincible beneath the fevers of her vertical sun, and strong in her myriads of fierce and unsubdued barbarians, — she too is soon

linked in with frightful ingenuity, into the all-grasping system of gainful violence. Her savage princes are stimulated to eternal wars, and America is thrown open as one great slave-market for their prisoners; and thus, without an attempt to take possession of any part of the African continent, beyond a few spots on the coast, occupied for the purposes of the traffic, this entire quarter of the globe has been subjugated by nations, that never set foot upon it, — wasted by a distant foe, — ravaged by powers that sit quietly at home, in a distant quarter of the globe, — desolated without hostile navies or armies, and made herself the eager instrument of her own ruin. But even these strange combinations of vice and misery, of crime and woe, do not exhaust the ingenuity of modern civilization. With substantially the same results, a totally different method of procedure is pursued in the East. The miner subdues some ores by roasting them in vast fires; others are pounded into dust by mighty trip-hammers; and in others a curious process of amalgamation draws out the precious metal from its native compound. So the colonizer, (if we may be pardoned so formal a comparison,) by turns lays waste with fire and sword; — with the heavy mace of oppression, crushing, but not quite destroying; — and with a subtler interference of civilized arts and power in native policy, which conquers empires, without abating an epithet from the grandiloquent titles of their native sovereigns. This last is the policy, with which Great Britain has conquered and holds Hindostan. It was a matter of curiosity to see how, in the last half of the eighteenth century, by a nation of Protestant Christians, of constitutional politicians, the metropolis of philanthropy, the citadel of liberty, the problem of subjugating a hundred and thirty millions of unoffending and unwarlike fellow beings would be solved. In the middle of the last century, the British empire in America and in India, formed a curious contrast. In America, Quebec fell in 1759, before a handful of brave men, led by an adventurous young officer, and the entire continent from the Gulf of Mexico to the North Pole, passed under the British sceptre, in consequence of a victory, in which were sowed the seeds of a revolution, destined shortly to deprive Great Britain of almost all that was valuable in her American empire. In India, in 1756, the British empire was shut up, by the barbarous subaltern of an Indian prince, in the black hole of

Calcutta; and now, eighty years only have passed away, and from the foot of the Himala Mountains to the southernmost point of Ceylon, — from the Indus to the Irrawaddy, — a territory equal to the entire domain of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, receives the law from the India House, in London. Talk of Alexander and Cæsar, of Napoleon and Wellington; the British East India Company, the incorporate hero, the chartered despot of modern days, outshines them all. Paragon indeed of policy, prowess, and fortune! Wonderful in itself as a political phenomenon; momentous in its probable influence on a fifth or sixth portion of the human race; — but truly astounding as the work of British power, achieved under the sanction of British laws; — as if it had been the object of her statesmen, out of her free institutions of constitutional liberty at home and her stupendous tyranny at the Antipodes, to build up the grandest political dualism the world has ever seen; — a temporal Manichæism, only less extensive and terrific, than that to which ancient philosophers subjected the moral universe.

We are not quite so far from Astoria, in these discursive suggestions, as might at first be thought. When the British colonies on the American continent were, by the peace of 1783, separated from the territory recently conquered from France, that territory, the only remaining possession of Great Britain on the continent, still constituted a mighty empire, about equal, in geographical extent, to the United States of America or the continent of Europe. This territory too has been penetrated and colonized, by a process still going on, peculiar in its character and (thanks to the climate) with less offence to the laws of humanity, than any other, with which the march of colonial empire has ever been marked. This whole mighty region, from the eastern shores of Labrador to the mouth of the Columbia River, is traversed by a chain of hunting posts. A mighty despotism exists; but it is one of peltry, — the sea otter and the beaver have been the principal victims. The human population has found safety, by entering into the alliance against their four-footed neighbours of the woods; and we understand, there are actually regions, within the chain of posts belonging to the North-west Company, where both Indians and beavers are on the increase. What will be the future character of this grand venatical empire, it is impossible to foresee. From a considerable portion of the hunted territory,

the rigors of the climate will for ever exclude a dense civilized population. Whether the hunting stations, in many parts, will not eventually prove so many centres of communities subsisting by such agriculture, as the soil and climate admit, by the commerce of exchange and supply, required by the wants of the company's establishments, and by the mechanic arts, may be a matter of doubt. We incline to think they will, and that by degrees, the interior of the continent north of the United States will in this way become settled. The progress, however, will be slow. Better land in a more tolerable climate will for a long time give a more southerly direction to the current of adventure; and hunting posts are very far from being the establishments most disposed to invite a permanent neighbourhood. We have heard dark suggestions, that an interloping squatter is very apt at dusk to fall in with a chance rifle-bullet, travelling the same road, and with too short notice, to turn out of its way. Mr. Irving inclines to regard the fur trade as the instrument, by which this part of the continent will eventually be settled, "leading the way to remote regions of beauty and fertility, that might have remained unexplored for ages, and beckoning after them the slow and pausing steps of agriculture and civilization."

Mr. Irving observes in the Introduction to his work, that, in the course of occasional visits to Canada, many years since, he became acquainted with some of the principal partners of the great North-west Fur Company, who at that time lived in genial style at Montreal, and kept almost open house for the stranger. At their hospitable boards he occasionally met with partners, and clerks, and fur traders from the interior posts; men who had passed years remote from civilized society, among distant and savage tribes, and who had wonders to recount of their wild and wide peregrinations, their hunting exploits, and their perilous adventures and hair-breadth escapes among the Indians. "I was then," continues Mr. Irving,

"I was then at an age, when the imagination lends its coloring to every thing, and the stories of these Sinbads of the wilderness made the life of a trapper and a fur trader perfect romance to me. I even meditated at one time a visit to the remote posts of the company, in the boats which annually ascended the lakes and rivers, being thereto invited by one of the partners; and I have ever since regretted that I was prevented

by circumstances from carrying my intention into effect. From those early impressions, the grand enterprises of the great fur companies, and the hazardous errantry of their associates in the wild parts of our vast continent, have always been themes of charmed interest to me; and I have felt anxious to get at the details of their adventurous expeditions among the savage tribes, that peopled the depths of the wilderness." — pp. 3, 4.

Thus prepared to engage with enthusiasm in the subject, Mr. Irving gladly availed himself of the opportunities, which the friendship of Mr. John Jacob Astor afforded him, to learn the history of the enterprise projected by that gentleman, for the establishment of the fur trade west of the Rocky Mountains. The journals of the persons in Mr. Astor's employment, and their correspondence with the projector of the establishment, furnished the materials of the inquiry; the publications of contemporary travellers across the American *steppes*, from Lewis and Clarke down, supplied additional illustrations; and the volumes before us are the result.

We have read them with interest and profit. The anecdotes they relate are many of them of a spirit-stirring character, as we shall presently show by some specimens. Considerable valuable information relative to the enterprise of Mr. Astor, the North American fur trade, and the Indian tribes, on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, is placed in a highly attractive form. The whole work bears the impress of Mr. Irving's taste. A great variety of somewhat discordant materials is brought into a consistent whole, of which the parts have a due reference to each other; and some sketches of life and traits of humor come fresh from the pen of Geoffrey Crayon. If it be necessary to find any fault with the work, we might object to some of the details of the overland journeys across the Rocky Mountains, as being, after the publications already given to the world, deficient in the interest of novelty, and for that reason, less entitled to the space they occupy. They are, however, as well worth reading as nine tenths of the personal narratives of travellers, even of the most respectable class; and nothing can be objected to them, but their want of claim to the honor of being recorded by Mr. Irving's classical pen. We cannot forbear remarking, that we presume it is merely by accident, that the unfinished map in the second volume has found admission into the work.

The first chapter relates the rise and progress of the fur

trade in Canada; and a highly graphic account is given of the personages by whom it was carried on. The following is the description of one class of them, called "*Coureurs des bois.*"

"A new and anomalous class of men gradually grew out of this trade. These were called *coureurs des bois*, rangers of the woods; originally men who had accompanied the Indians in their hunting expeditions and made themselves acquainted with remote tracts and tribes; and who now became, as it were, pedlars of the wilderness. These men would set out from Montreal with canoes well stocked with goods, with arms and ammunition, and would make their way up the mazy and wandering rivers that interlace the vast forests of the Canadas, coasting the most remote lakes, and creating new wants and habitudes among the natives. Sometimes they sojourned for months among them, assimilating to their tastes and habits with the happy facility of Frenchmen; adopting in some degree the Indian dress, and not unfrequently taking to themselves Indian wives.

"Twelve, fifteen, eighteen months would often elapse without any tidings of them, when they would come sweeping their way down the Ottawa in full glee, their canoes laden down with packs of beaver skins. Now came their turn for revelry and extravagance. 'You would be amazed,' says an old writer already quoted, 'if you saw how lewd these pedlars are when they return; how they feast and game, and how prodigal they are not only in their clothes, but upon their sweethearts. Such of them as are married have the wisdom to retire to their own houses; but the bachelors act just as an East Indiaman and pirates are wont to do; for they lavish, eat, drink, and play all away as long as the goods hold out; and when these are gone, they even sell their embroidery, their lace and their clothes. This done, they are forced upon a new voyage for subsistence.'*

"Many of these *coureurs des bois* became so accustomed to the Indian mode of living, and the perfect freedom of the wilderness, that they lost all relish for civilization, and identified themselves with the savages among whom they dwelt, or could only be distinguished from them by superior licentiousness. Their conduct and example gradually corrupted the natives, and impeded the works of the Catholic missionaries, who were at this time prosecuting their pious labors in the wilds of Canada." — Vol. I. pp. 15–17.

"* La Hontan, Vol. I. Let. 4."

The following is also a highly spirited sketch.

"To behold the North-west Company in all its state and grandeur, however, it was necessary to witness an annual gathering at the great interior place of conference established at Fort William, near what is called the Grand Portage, on Lake Superior. Here two or three of the leading partners from Montreal proceeded once a year to meet the partners from the various trading posts of the wilderness, to discuss the affairs of the company during the preceding year, and to arrange plans for the future.

"On these occasions might be seen the change since the unceremonious times of the old French traders; now the aristocratical character of the Briton shone forth magnificently, or rather the feudal spirit of the Highlander. Every partner, who had charge of an interior post, and a score of retainers at his command, felt like the chieftain of a Highland clan, and was almost as important in the eyes of his dependents as of himself. To him a visit to the grand conference at Fort William was a most important event; and he repaired there as to a meeting of parliament.

"The partners from Montreal, however, were the lords of the ascendant; coming from the midst of luxurious and ostentatious life, they quite eclipsed their compeers from the woods, whose forms and faces had been battered and hardened by hard living and hard service, and whose garments and equipments were all the worse for wear. Indeed, the partners from below considered the whole dignity of the company as represented in their persons, and conducted themselves in suitable style. They ascended the rivers in great state, like sovereigns making a progress; or rather like Highland chieftains navigating their subject lakes. They were wrapped in rich furs, their huge canoes freighted with every convenience and luxury, and manned by Canadian voyageurs, as obedient as Highland clansmen. They carried up with them cooks and bakers, together with delicacies of every kind, and abundance of choice wines for the banquets which attended this great convocation. Happy were they, too, if they could meet with some distinguished stranger, above all, some titled member of the British nobility, to accompany them on this stately occasion, and grace their high solemnities.

"Fort William, the scene of this important annual meeting, was a considerable village on the banks of Lake Superior. Here, in an immense wooden building, was the great council hall, as also the banqueting chamber, decorated with Indian arms and accoutrements, and the trophies of the fur trade. The house

swarmed at this time with traders and voyageurs, some from Montreal, bound to the interior posts; some from the interior posts, bound to Montreal. The councils were held in great state, for every member felt as if sitting in parliament, and every retainer and dependent looked up to the assemblage with awe, as to the House of Lords. There was a vast deal of solemn deliberation, and hard Scottish reasoning, with an occasional swell of pompous declamation.

"These grave and weighty councils were alternated by huge feasts and revels, like some of the old feasts described in Highland castles. The tables in the great banqueting room groaned under the weight of game of all kinds; of venison from the woods, and fish from the lakes, with hunters' delicacies, such as buffaloes' tongues and beavers' tails, and various luxuries from Montreal, all served up by experienced cooks brought for the purpose. There was no stint of generous wine, for it was a hard-drinking period, a time of loyal toasts, and bacchanalian songs, and brimming bumpers.

"While the chiefs thus revelled in hall, and made the rafters resound with bursts of loyalty and old Scottish songs, chaunted in voices cracked and sharpened by the northern blast, their merriment was echoed and prolonged by a mongrel legion of retainers, canadian voyageurs, half-breeds, Indian hunters, and vagabond hangers-on, who feasted sumptuously without on the crumbs that fell from their table, and made the welkin ring with old French ditties, mingled with Indian yelps and yellings.

"Such was the North-west Company in its powerful and prosperous days, when it held a kind of feudal sway over a vast domain of lake and forest. We are dwelling too long, perhaps, upon these individual pictures, endeared to us by the associations of early life, when, as yet a stripling youth, we have sat at the hospitable boards of the 'mighty North-westers,' then lords of the ascendant at Montreal, and gazed with wondering and inexperienced eye at their baronial wassailing, and listened with astonished ear to their tales of hardships and adventures. It is one object of our task, however, to present scenes of the rough life of the wilderness, and we are tempted to fix these few memorials of a transient state of things fast passing into oblivion; — for the feudal state of Fort William is at an end; its council chamber is silent and deserted; its banquet hall no longer echoes to the burst of loyalty, or the 'auld world' ditty; the lords of the lakes and forests have passed away; and the hospitable magnates of Montreal — where are they?" — Vol. I. pp. 23–25.

Having sketched the history of the Canadian fur trade, Mr. Irving proceeds to the more immediate subject of his work, the enterprise of Mr. Astor, which had for its object to divert a portion of this lucrative traffic into a new channel. The following brief biographical notice of this eminent person will give pleasure to our readers, and afford them a sufficient idea of the general character of the project, of which the history is written in the present work.

"John Jacob Astor, the individual in question, was born in the honest little German village of Waldorf, near Heidelberg, on the banks of the Rhine. He was brought up in the simplicity of rural life, but, while yet a mere stripling, left his home, and launched himself amid the busy scenes of London, having had, from his very boyhood, a singular presentiment that he would ultimately arrive at great fortune.

"At the close of the American Revolution he was still in London, and scarce on the threshold of active life. An elder brother had been for some few years resident in the United States, and Mr. Astor determined to follow him, and to seek his fortunes in the rising country. Investing a small sum which he had amassed since leaving his native village, in merchandise suited to the American market, he embarked, in the month of November, 1783, in a ship bound to Baltimore, and arrived in Hampton Roads in the month of January. The winter was extremely severe, and the ship, with many others, was detained by the ice in and about Chesapeake Bay for nearly three months.

"During this period, the passengers of the various ships used occasionally to go on shore, and mingle sociably together. In this way Mr. Astor became acquainted with a countryman of his, a furrier by trade. Having had a previous impression that this might be a lucrative trade in the new world, he made many inquiries of his new acquaintance on the subject, who cheerfully gave him all the information in his power as to the quality and value of different furs, and the mode of carrying on the traffic. He subsequently accompanied him to New York, and by his advice, Mr. Astor was induced to invest the proceeds of his merchandise in furs. With these he sailed from New York to London in 1784, disposed of them advantageously, made himself further acquainted with the course of the trade, and returned the same year to New York, with a view to settle in the United States.

"He now devoted himself to the branch of commerce with which he had thus casually been made acquainted. He began his career, of course, on the narrowest scale; but he brought to

the task a persevering industry, rigid economy, and strict integrity. To these were added an aspiring spirit that always looked upward; a genius bold, fertile, and expansive; a sagacity quick to grasp and convert every circumstance to its advantage, and a singular and never-wavering confidence of signal success.*

"As yet, trade in peltries was not organized in the United States, and could not be said to form a regular line of business. Furs and skins were casually collected by the country traders in their dealings with the Indians or the white hunters, but the main supply was derived from Canada. As Mr. Astor's means increased, he made annual visits to Montreal, where he purchased furs from the houses at that place engaged in the trade. These he shipped from Canada to London, no direct trade being allowed from that colony to any but the mother country.

"In 1794 or '5, a treaty with Great Britain removed the restrictions imposed upon the trade with the colonies, and opened a direct commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States. Mr. Astor was in London at the time, and immediately made a contract with the agents of the North-west Company for furs. He was now enabled to import them from Montreal into the United States for the home supply, and to be shipped thence to different parts of Europe, as well as to China, which has ever been the best market for the richest and finest kinds of peltry.

"The treaty in question provided, likewise, that the military posts occupied by the British within the territorial limits of the United States, should be surrendered. Accordingly, Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other posts on the American side of the lakes, were given up. An opening was thus made for the American merchant to a trade on the confines of Canada, and within the territories of the United States. After an interval of some years, about 1807, Mr. Astor embarked in this trade on his own account. His capital and resources had by this time greatly augmented, and he had risen from small beginnings to take his place among the first merchants and financiers of the country. His genius had ever been in advance of his circumstances, prompting him to new and wide fields of enterprise beyond the scope of ordinary merchants. With all

"* An instance of this buoyant confidence, which no doubt aided to produce the success it anticipated, we have from the lips of Mr. A. himself. While yet almost a stranger in the city, and in very narrow circumstances, he passed by where a row of houses had just been erected in Broadway, and which from the superior style of their architecture, were the talk and boast of the city. 'I'll build, one day or other, a greater house than any of these, in this very street,' said he to himself. He has accomplished his prediction."

his enterprise and resources, however, he soon found the power and influence of the Michilimackinac (or Mackinaw) Company too great for him, having engrossed most of the trade within the American borders.

"A plan had to be devised to enable him to enter into successful competition. He was aware of the wish of the American government, already stated, that the fur trade within its boundaries should be in the hands of American citizens, and of the ineffectual measures it had taken to accomplish that object. He now offered, if aided and protected by government, to turn the whole of that trade into American channels. He was invited to unfold his plans to government, and they were warmly approved, though the executive could give no direct aid.

"Thus countenanced, however, he obtained in 1809, a charter from the legislature of the State of New York, incorporating a company under the name of 'The American Fur Company,' with a capital of one million of dollars, with the privilege of increasing it to two millions. The capital was furnished by himself,—he, in fact, constituted the company; for, though he had a board of directors, they were merely nominal; the whole business was conducted on his plans, and with his resources; but he preferred to do so under the imposing and formidable aspect of a corporation, rather than in his individual name, and his policy was sagacious and effective.

"As the Mackinaw Company still continued its rivalry, and as the fur trade would not advantageously admit of competition, he made a new arrangement in 1811, by which, in conjunction with certain partners of the North-west Company, and other persons engaged in the fur trade, he bought out the Mackinaw Company, and merged that and the American Fur Company into a new association, to be called 'The South-west Company.' This he likewise did with the privity and approbation of the American government.

"By this arrangement Mr. Astor became proprietor of one half of the Indian establishments and goods which the Mackinaw Company had within the territory of the Indian country in the United States, and it was understood that the whole was to be surrendered into his hands at the expiration of five years, on condition that the American company would not trade within the British dominions.

"Unluckily the war which broke out in 1812 between Great Britain and the United States suspended the association, and after the war, it was entirely dissolved; Congress having passed a law prohibiting British fur traders from prosecuting their enterprises within the territories of the United States."—Vol. 1. pp. 27–31.

In carrying his project into effect, Mr. Astor proposed to send a vessel round Cape Horn, with two of the partners of his enterprise, and a portion of the clerks and *employés*. They were to establish a post at the mouth of the river and commence their operations, while another party should proceed, by an overland route, following substantially the course of Lewis and Clarke. The adventures of this party fill a considerable portion of the work, and it is partly to them, that a remark which we have above hazarded applies. We would also observe, (being wise after the event,) that we do not perceive the motives of expediency in which this portion of the enterprise was planned. The fate which befell it was such, it seems to us, as might, with reasonable certainty, have been foreseen. Two things were to be done; to found an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia River, and to connect that establishment with a system of hunting posts in the interior. But it was not, as far as we comprehend, intended to establish a chain of stations from the Pacific to St. Louis. The furs were to be taken up by Mr. Astor's vessels at the mouth of the river, and carried to a market. Nor, if the project had embraced a chain of posts across the country, does it appear to us that Mr. Hunt's journey, with a party of hunters, contributed in any degree to effect that object. It would seem as if it would have been safer and simpler, with the ample means at the disposal of the founder of the enterprise, to send the whole of the adventurers round Cape Horn, and let them work their way gradually eastward, from the mouth of the river.

The first step taken by Mr. Astor was to despatch the Tonquin by sea. A very amusing account of the voyage is given by Mr. Irving. The heterogeneous composition of the ship's company, and the rather unaccommodating temper of its commander, Jonathan Thorn, caused it to be a succession of vexations and troubles, somewhat ominous of the fate of the enterprise. On the 8th of September, 1810, the vessel put to sea, and on the 11th of February following, came in sight of Owyhee. An interesting account is given of the Sandwich Islands, of king Tamaahmaah, of his favorite Governor John Young, and of Captain Thorn's vexations and worryings, in consequence of the erratic dispositions of his company. At length, however, he got them safely to sea on the 28th of February, and on the 22d of March, made the

mouth of the Columbia River. The entrance of this river is, at certain periods, exceedingly difficult, in consequence of the bars and sand-banks, with which the passage is obstructed, and a heavy surf which rolls in from sea. Here the disasters of the Tonquin commenced. Her first mate, with an experienced seaman and three Canadian voyageurs, were sent by the captain, (against the presentiments of the mate, whose father had perished some years before on this coast,) to sound the passage into the river. No tidings were ever heard of the crazy whale boat, in which he was despatched upon this dangerous service, nor of her ill-fated crew. The next day another boat with the armorer and four other persons, two of whom were Sandwich islanders, taken on board at Owyhee, was sent on a similar errand. This boat perished in the furious surf, and the armorer and one of the Sandwich Islanders alone escaped. A deep gloom, of course, was cast over the very commencement of the enterprise, by the loss of eight men at the outset. The brief account of the humble ceremonial, at the burial of the Sandwich islander, is truly pathetic.

"Towards night the Sandwich islanders went on shore, to bury the body of their unfortunate countryman who had perished in the boat. On arriving at the place where it had been left, they dug a grave in the sand, in which they deposited the corpse, with a biscuit under one of the arms, some lard under the chin, and a small quantity of tobacco, as provisions for its journey in the land of spirits. Having covered the body with sand and flints, they kneeled along the grave in a double row, with their faces turned to the east, while one who officiated as a priest sprinkled them with water from a hat. In so doing he recited a kind of prayer or invocation, at which, at intervals, the others made responses. Such were the simple rites performed by these poor savages at the grave of their comrade on the shores of a strange land; and, when these were done, they rose and returned in silence to the ship, without once casting a look behind." —Vol. i. pp. 87, 88.

A beginning was made of a post near the mouth of the river, and the name *Astoria* given to the establishment. Friendly relations were formed without difficulty with the Chinooks, the tribe of Indians occupying this part of the territory. Their one-eyed chief, Concomly, proved, from the first, a good friend to the new comers, and in the course of

time this amicable understanding was cemented by a marriage, as Mr. Irving calls it, between his daughter and Mr. McDougal, one of the partners in the concern, who had come out in the Tonquin. Parties were sent into the interior to explore the country ; a post was established on one of the tributaries of the Columbia, at some distance from its mouth, and progress made in carrying into effect the purposes for which the enterprise was undertaken. On all these matters Mr. Irving's book contains interesting details.

After a short time passed at the river, the Tonquin sailed for the ulterior objects of her voyage along the coast. She had twenty-three men on board, when she left the river, on the 5th of June ; and in one of the outer bays, she picked up, from a fishing canoe, an Indian named Lamazee, who had already made two voyages along the coast, and knew something of the languages of the various tribes. He agreed to accompany them as an interpreter. Steering to the north, Captain Thorn arrived in a few days at Vancouver's Island, and anchored in the harbour of Neweetee, very much against the advice of the Indian interpreter, who warned him against the perfidious character of the natives of this part of the coast. Captain Thorn, irritated by the shrewdness and pertinacity which the natives manifested in their traffic, (in what school they learned those qualities, it is not necessary to state), seized an otter-skin from the hands of a cunning old chief, who was higgling about its price, rubbed it in his face, and kicked him over the ship's side. A son of Wicananish, the chief of all the neighbouring tribes, was present, when the trade was thus ceremoniously broken up, and with the other natives on board followed the insulted chief to the shore, breathing vengeance.

After this occurrence the interpreter and others of the ship's company begged Captain Thorn to stand out to sea, by way of placing himself in safety from any attempt at savage vengeance. He derided their fears, and pointed to his cannon and muskets as a sufficient defence against a horde of naked savages. Further remonstrances only produced taunting replies from Captain Thorn. The day passed without any signs of hostility, and the captain retired to his cabin at night, without taking any unusual precautions. The residue of the tragical story must be told by Mr. Irving.

"On the following morning, at day break, while the captain and Mr. M'Kay were yet asleep, a canoe came alongside in which were twenty Indians commanded by young Shewish. They were unarmed, their aspect and demeanour friendly, and they held up otter skins, and made signs indicative of a wish to trade. The caution enjoined by Mr. Astor, in respect to the admission of Indians on board of the ship, had been neglected for some time past; and the officer of the watch, perceiving those in the canoe to be without weapons, and having received no orders to the contrary, readily permitted them to mount the deck. Another canoe soon succeeded, the crew of which was likewise admitted. In a little while other canoes came off, and Indians were soon clambering into the vessel on all sides.

"The officer of the watch now felt alarmed, and called to Captain Thorn and Mr. M'Kay. By the time they came on deck, it was thronged with Indians. The interpreter noticed to Mr. M'Kay that many of the natives wore short mantles of skins, and intimated a suspicion that they were secretly armed. Mr. M'Kay urged the captain to clear the ship and get under way. He again made light of the advice; but the augmented swarm of canoes about the ship, and the numbers still putting off from shore, at length awakened his distrust, and he ordered some of the crew to weigh anchor, while some were sent aloft to make sail.

"The Indians now offered to trade with the captain on his own terms, prompted, apparently, by the approaching departure of the ship. Accordingly a hurried trade was commenced. The main articles sought by the savages in barter, were knives; as fast as some were supplied they moved off, and others succeeded. By degrees they were thus distributed about the deck, and all with weapons.

"The anchor was now nearly up, the sails were loose, and the captain in a loud and peremptory tone, ordered the ship to be cleared. In an instant a signal yell was given: it was echoed on every side, knives and war-clubs were brandished in every direction, and the savages rushed upon their marked victims.

"The first that fell was Mr. Lewis, the ship's clerk. He was leaning, with folded arms, over a bale of blankets, engaged in bargaining, when he received a deadly stab in the back, and fell down the companionway.

"Mr. M'Kay, who was seated on the taffrail, sprang on his feet, but was instantly knocked down with a war-club and flung backwards into the sea, where he was despatched by the women in the canoes.

"In the mean time Captain Thorn made desperate fight against fearful odds. He was a powerful as well as resolute man, but he had come upon deck without weapons. Shewish, the young chief, singled him out as his peculiar prey, and rushed upon him at the first outbreak. The captain had barely time to draw a claspknife, with one blow of which he laid the young savage dead at his feet. Several of the stoutest followers of Shewish now set upon him. He defended himself vigorously, dealing crippling blows to the right and left, and strewing the quarterdeck with the slain and wounded. His object was, to fight his way to the cabin, where there were fire-arms; but he was hemmed in with foes, covered with wounds, and faint with loss of blood. For an instant he leaned upon the tiller wheel, when a blow from behind, with a war-club, felled him to the deck, where he was despatched with knives and thrown overboard.

"While this was transacting upon the quarterdeck, a chance medley fight was going on throughout the ship. The crew fought desperately with knives, handspikes, and whatever weapon they could seize upon in the moment of surprise. They were soon, however, overpowered by numbers, and mercilessly butchered.

"As to the seven who had been sent aloft to make sail, they contemplated with horror the carnage that was going on below. Being destitute of weapons, they let themselves down by the running rigging, in hopes of getting between decks. One fell in the attempt, and was instantly despatched; another received a death blow in the back as he was descending; a third, Stephen Weekes, the armorer, was mortally wounded as he was getting down the hatchway.

"The remaining four made good their retreat into the cabin, where they found Mr. Lewis, still alive, though mortally wounded. Barricading the cabin door, they broke holes through the companionway, and, with the muskets and ammunition which were at hand, opened a brisk fire that soon cleared the deck.

"Thus far the Indian interpreter, from whom these particulars are derived, had been an eyewitness of the deadly conflict. He had taken no part in it, and had been spared by the natives as being of their race. In the confusion of the moment he took refuge with the rest, in the canoes. The survivors of the crew now sallied forth, and discharged some of the deck guns, which did great execution among the canoes, and drove all the savages to shore.

"For the remainder of the day no one ventured to put off to the ship, deterred by the effects of the fire-arms. The night passed away without any further attempt on the part of the

natives. When the day dawned, the Tonquin still lay at anchor in the bay, her sails all loose and flapping in the wind, and no one apparently on board of her. After a time, some of the canoes ventured forth to reconnoitre, taking with them the interpreter. They paddled about her, keeping cautiously at a distance, but growing more and more emboldened at seeing her quiet and lifeless. One man at length made his appearance on the deck, and was recognised by the interpreter as Mr. Lewis. He made friendly signs, and invited them on board. It was long before they ventured to comply. Those who mounted the deck met with no opposition; no one was to be seen on board; for Mr. Lewis, after inviting them, had disappeared. Other canoes now pressed forward to board the prize; the decks were soon crowded, and the sides covered with clambering savages, all intent on plunder. In the midst of their eagerness and exultation, the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion. Arms, legs, and mutilated bodies were blown into the air, and dreadful havoc was made in the surrounding canoes. The interpreter was in the main chains at the time of the explosion, and was thrown unhurt into the water, where he succeeded in getting into one of the canoes. According to his statement, the bay presented an awful spectacle after the catastrophe. The ship had disappeared, but the bay was covered with fragments of the wreck, with shattered canoes, and Indians swimming for their lives, or struggling in the agonies of death; while those who had escaped the danger remained aghast and stupefied, or made with frantic panic for the shore. Upwards of a hundred savages were destroyed by the explosion, many more were shockingly mutilated, and for days afterwards the limbs and bodies of the slain were thrown upon the beach.

"The inhabitants of Neweetee were overwhelmed with consternation at this astounding calamity, which had burst upon them in the very moment of triumph. The warriors sat mute and mournful, while the women filled the air with loud lamentations. Their weeping and wailing, however, was suddenly changed into yells of fury at the sight of four unfortunate white men, brought captive into the village. They had been driven on shore in one of the ship's boats, and taken at some distance along the coast.

"The interpreter was permitted to converse with them. They proved to be the four brave fellows who had made such desperate defence from the cabin. The interpreter gathered from them some of the particulars already related. They told him further, that, after they had beaten off the enemy, and cleared

the ship, Lewis advised that they should slip the cable and endeavour to get to sea. They declined to take his advice, alleging that the wind set too strongly into the bay, and would drive them on shore. They resolved, as soon as it was dark, to put off quietly in the ship's boat, which they would be able to do unperceived, and to coast along back to Astoria. They put their resolution into effect; but Lewis refused to accompany them, being disabled by his wound, hopeless of escape, and determined on a terrible revenge. On the voyage out, he had repeatedly expressed a presentiment that he should die by his own hands; thinking it highly probable that he should be engaged in some contest with the natives, and being resolved, in case of extremity, to commit suicide, rather than be made a prisoner. He now declared his intention to remain on board of the ship until daylight, to decoy as many of the savages on board as possible, then to set fire to the powder magazine, and terminate his life by a signal act of vengeance. How well he succeeded has been shown. His companions bade him a melancholy adieu, and set off on their precarious expedition. They strove with might and main to get out of the bay, but found it impossible to weather a point of land, and were at length compelled to take shelter in a small cove, where they hoped to remain concealed until the wind should be more favorable. Exhausted by fatigue and watching, they fell into a sound sleep, and in that state were surprised by the savages. Better had it been for those unfortunate men had they remained with Lewis, and shared his heroic death: as it was, they perished in a more painful and protracted manner, being sacrificed by the natives to the *manes* of their friends with all the lingering tortures of savage cruelty. Some time after their death, the interpreter, who had remained a kind of prisoner at large, effected his escape, and brought the tragical tidings to Astoria." — Vol. i. pp. 117 – 122.

The loss of the Tonquin was a grievous blow to the infant establishment of Astoria, and one that threatened to bring after it a train of disasters. It took place, in consequence of the violation, by the commander, of Mr. Astor's positive instructions to him at parting, by no means to confide in the apparent friendship of the savages, "nor to admit more than a few on board his ship at one time." The intelligence of the loss of the vessel was not received in New York, till many months afterwards. Mr. Astor felt it in all its force, and was aware that it must cripple, if not entirely defeat the great object of

his ambition. In his letters written at the time, says Mr. Irving, he speaks of it as "a calamity, the length of which he could not foresee." He indulged, however, in no weak and vain lamentation, but sought to devise a prompt and efficient remedy. The very same evening, he appeared at the theatre with his usual serenity of countenance. A friend, who knew the disastrous intelligence he had received, expressed his astonishment, that he could have calmness of spirit sufficient for such a scene of light amusement. "What would you have me do?" said he. "Would you have me stay at home, and weep for what I cannot help?"

Mr. Irving's narrative of the proceedings at Astoria conducts the reader to the commencement of the year 1812. At this point he leaves the adventurers on the coast, to give an account of the overland expedition, which proceeded from St. Louis across the Rocky Mountains. The public were already in possession of some information relative to this expedition, derived from the travels of Mr. Bradbury, an English naturalist, who, together with Mr. Nuttall, was for some time attached to the party. It was led by Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, of New Jersey, to whom the chief direction of the establishment, at the mouth of the Columbia River, was confided by Mr. Astor. The narrative of the march of this party, of their perils among the Sioux, and other warlike Indians, and of their extreme sufferings in the Rocky Mountains, forms a highly interesting tale, but one which we have not space to follow, at length. We have room only for a few brief extracts. The first shall be the *finale* of an individual, whose adventurous name will live for ever in the annals of border civilization, the illustrious Daniel Boon.

"On the afternoon of the third day, January 17th, the boats touched at Charette, one of the old villages founded by the original French colonists. Here they met with Daniel Boon, the renowned patriarch of Kentucky, who had kept in the advance of civilization, and on the borders of the wilderness, still leading a hunter's life, though now in his eighty-fifth year. He had but recently returned from a hunting and trapping expedition, and had brought nearly sixty beaver skins as trophies of his skill. The old man was still erect in form, strong in limb, and unflinching in spirit; and as he stood on the river bank, watching the departure of an expedition destined to traverse the wilderness to the very shores of the Pacific, very

probably felt a throb of his old pioneer spirit, impelling him to shoulder his rifle and join the adventurous band. Boon flourished several years after this meeting, in a vigorous old age, the Nestor of hunters and backwoodmen; and died, full of sylvan honor and renown, in 1818, in his ninety-second year." — Vol. I. p. 154.

The prodigious numbers of wild pigeons, which perform their annual migrations over the American continent, has often been the subject of marvellous and almost incredible narrative, on the part of naturalists. The following curious account of the manner in which each portion of one of these immense flocks secures to itself a reasonable share of the spoils, is given on the authority of Mr. Bradbury.

"The pigeons too were filling the woods in vast migratory flocks. It is almost incredible to describe the prodigious flights of these birds in the western wildernesses. They appear absolutely in clouds, and move with astonishing velocity, their wings making a whistling sound as they fly. The rapid evolutions of these flocks, wheeling and shifting suddenly as if with one mind and one impulse; the flashing changes of color they present, as their backs, their breasts, or the under part of their wings are turned to the spectator, are singularly pleasing. When they alight, if on the ground, they cover whole acres at a time; if upon trees, the branches often break beneath their weight. If suddenly startled while feeding in the midst of a forest, the noise they make in getting on the wing is like the roar of a cataract or the sound of distant thunder.

"A flight of this kind, like an Egyptian flight of locusts, devours every thing that serves for its food as it passes along. So great were the numbers in the vicinity of the camp, that Mr. Bradbury, in the course of a morning's excursion, shot nearly three hundred with a fowling-piece. He gives a curious, though apparently a faithful account of the kind of discipline observed in these immense flocks, so that each may have a chance of picking up food. As the front ranks must meet with the greatest abundance, and the rear ranks must have scanty pickings, the instant a rank finds itself the hindmost, it rises in the air, flies over the whole flock, and takes its place in the advance. The next rank follows in its course, and thus the last is continually becoming first, and all by turns have a front place at the banquet." — Vol. I. pp. 163 – 164.

The same chapter contains an animated account of Blackbird, a famous chief of the Omahas, whose superior talent

had given him a great ascendancy in his tribe ; to which was added the awful dread inspired by a supposed miraculous power of destroying his enemies. The secret of this power consisted in the possession of a quantity of arsenic, furnished him by some unprincipled trader, with a knowledge of its destructive properties. From this time he seemed to be endowed with supernatural powers, to possess the gift of prophecy, and to hold the disposal of life and death in his hand. Woe to any one who questioned his authority, or dared to dispute his commands ! The Blackbird prophesied his death within a certain time, and he had the secret means of verifying his prophecy. Within the fatal period, the offender was smitten with strange and sudden disease, and perished from the face of the earth. Every one stood aghast at these multiplied examples of his superhuman might, and dreaded to displease so powerful and vindictive a being ; and thus the Blackbird enjoyed a wide and undisputed sway. But a great "medicine" was at hand, against which the secret talisman of Blackbird afforded no protection, and to which, in common with the humblest of his awe-struck subjects, he fell a victim himself.

"He still retained his fatal and mysterious secret, and with it his terrific power; but, though able to deal death to his enemies, he could not avert it from himself or his friends. In 1802, the smallpox, that dreadful pestilence, which swept over the land like a fire over the prairies, made its appearance in the village of the Omahas. The poor savages saw with dismay the ravages of a malady, loathsome and agonizing in its details, and which set the skill and experience of their conjurers and medicine-men at defiance. In a little while, two thirds of the population were swept from the face of the earth, and the doom of the rest seemed sealed. The stoicism of the warriors was at an end ; they became wild and desperate ; some set fire to the village as a last means of checking the pestilence ; others, in a frensy of despair, put their wives and children to death, that they might be spared the agonies of an inevitable disease, and that they might all go to some better country.

"When the general horror and dismay was at its height, the Blackbird himself was struck down with the malady. The poor savages, when they saw their chief in danger, forgot their own miseries, and surrounded his dying bed. His dominant spirit, and his love for the white men, were evinced in his latest breath, with which he designated his place of sepulture. It

was to be on a hill or promontory, upwards of four hundred feet in height, overlooking a great extent of the Missouri, from whence he had been accustomed to watch for the barks of the white men. The Missouri washes the base of the promontory, and after winding and doubling in many links and mazes in the plains below, returns to within nine hundred yards of its starting place; so that for thirty miles navigating with sail and oar, the voyager finds himself continually near to this singular promontory as if spell-bound.

"It was the dying command of the Blackbird that his tomb should be upon the summit of this hill, in which he should be interred, seated on his favorite horse, that he might overlook his ancient domain, and behold the barks of the white men as they came up the river to trade with his people.

"His dying orders were faithfully obeyed. His corpse was placed astride of his war-steed, and a mound raised over them on the summit of the hill. On top of the mound was erected a staff, from which fluttered the banner of the chieftain, and the scalps that he had taken in battle. When the expedition under Mr. Hunt visited that part of the country, the staff still remained with the fragments of the banner; and the superstitious rite of placing food from time to time on the mound, for the use of the deceased, was still observed by the Omahas. That rite has since fallen into disuse, for the tribe itself is almost extinct. Yet the hill of the Blackbird continues an object of veneration to the wandering savage, and a landmark to the voyager of the Missouri; and as the civilized traveller comes within sight of its spell-bound crest, the mound is pointed out to him from afar, which still encloses the grim skeletons of the Indian warrior and his horse." — Vol. 1. pp. 174 – 176.

We are obliged to pass wholly over the adventures of the party, till they had reached the height of land which separates the waters that flow east and west respectively. At length they reached a desolate and broken region destitute of game, affording no natural indications of a practicable route, and impervious to horses. They were therefore obliged to abandon those animals, with which they had furnished themselves at great expense, among the Indians on the eastern side of the mountains, and, as a necessary consequence, to leave behind them every thing not absolutely necessary for their subsistence on the way. The following account of the mode in which articles are deposited for safe keeping under similar circumstances, may amuse the reader.

"Mr. Hunt now set to work with all diligence to prepare *caches*, in which to deposit the baggage and merchandise, of which it would be necessary to disburden themselves, preparatory to their weary march by land; and here we shall give a brief description of those contrivances, so noted in the wilderness.

"A cache is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word *cacher*, 'to conceal,' and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render these places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water-course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle-cloths, and other coverings are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot-tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from any thing that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be

attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage: all tracks are obliterated: the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way to conceal the amount of three tons' weight of provisions or merchandise, in the course of two days. Nine caches were required to contain the goods and baggage which Mr. Hunt found it necessary to leave at this place." — Vol. II. pp. 28 – 30.

When one contemplates the various scenes of hardship, to which men subject themselves not merely in pursuit of a subsistence, but from pure love of adventure and distaste for settled life, we should be almost led to the conclusion, against every thing but inspired authority to the contrary, that a part at least of the human race must have been Rousseau's forest-born wild men, to whom the mountain and the thicket are by nature more congenial than the crowded abodes of civilization.

There were some persons in Mr. Hunt's party, who joined it, as the boys say, for the fun of it; — after experience already had of the hardships incident to an excursion across the mountains, and the privations of the trapper's life. What but an innate propensity to the desert could induce such men voluntarily to encounter the sufferings of an expedition, of which the following is far from being one of the most deplorable scenes? —

"Forward then did he proceed on his tedious journey, which, at every step, grew more painful. The road continued for two days, through narrow defiles, where they were repeatedly obliged to unload the horses. Sometimes the river passed through such rocky chasms and under such steep precipices, that they had to leave it, and make their way, with excessive labor, over immense hills, almost impassable for horses. On some of these hills were a few pine trees, and their summits were covered with snow. On the second day of this scramble, one of the hunters killed a black-tailed deer, which afforded the half-starved travellers a

sumptuous repast. Their progress these two days was twenty-eight miles, a little to the northward of east.

"The month of December set in drearily, with rain in the valleys, and snow upon the hills. They had to climb a mountain with snow to the midleg, which increased their painful toil. A small beaver supplied them with a scanty meal, which they eked out with frozen blackberries, haws, and choke-cherries, which they found in the course of their scramble. Their journey this day, though excessively fatiguing, was but thirteen miles; and all the next day they had to remain encamped, not being able to see half a mile ahead, on account of a snow-storm. Having nothing else to eat, they were compelled to kill another of their horses. The next day they resumed their march in snow and rain, but with all their efforts could only get forward nine miles, having for a part of the distance to unload the horses and carry the packs themselves. On the succeeding morning, they were obliged to leave the river, and scramble up the hills. From the summit of these, they got a wide view of the surrounding country, and it was a prospect almost sufficient to make them despair. In every direction they beheld snowy mountains, partially sprinkled with pines and other evergreens, and spreading a desert and toilsome world around them. The wind howled over the bleak and wintry landscape, and seemed to penetrate to the marrow of their bones. They waded on through the snow, which at every step was more than knee deep.

"After toiling in this way all day, they had the mortification to find that they were but four miles distant from the encampment of the preceding night, such was the meandering of the river among these dismal hills. Pinched with famine, exhausted with fatigue, with evening approaching, and a wintry wild still lengthening as they advanced; they began to look forward with sad forebodings to the night's exposure upon this frightful waste. Fortunately they succeeded in reaching a cluster of pines about sunset. Their axes were immediately at work; they cut down trees, piled them up in great heaps, and soon had huge fires 'to cheer their cold and hungry hearts.'

"About three o'clock in the morning it again began to snow, and at daybreak they found themselves, as it were, in a cloud; scarcely being able to distinguish objects at the distance of a hundred yards. Guiding themselves by the sound of running water, they set out for the river, and by slipping and sliding contrived to get down to its bank. One of the horses, missing his footing, rolled down several hundred yards with his load, but sustained no injury. The weather in the valley was less rigorous than on the hills. The snow lay but ankle deep, and there was a quiet rain

now falling. After creeping along for six miles, they encamped on the border of the river. Being utterly destitute of provisions, they were again compelled to kill one of their horses to appease their famishing hunger." — Vol. II. pp. 41 – 43.

The following is still more distressing, and may serve as a *pendant* by land to the terrific picture of the loss of the Tonquin by sea ; —

"In a little while, it was found that Mr. Crooks and Le Clerc were so feeble as to walk with difficulty, so that Mr. Hunt was obliged to retard his pace, that they might keep up with him. His men grew impatient at the delay. They murmured that they had a long and desolate region to traverse, before they could arrive at the point where they might expect to find horses; that it was impossible for Crooks and Le Clerc, in their feeble condition, to get over it; that to remain with them would only be to starve in their company. They importuned Mr. Hunt, therefore, to leave these unfortunate men to their fate, and think only of the safety of himself and his party. Finding him not to be moved, either by entreaties or their clamors, they began to proceed without him, singly and in parties. Among those who thus went off was Pierre Dorion, the interpreter. Pierre owned the only remaining horse, which was now a mere skeleton. Mr. Hunt had suggested, in their present extremity, that it should be killed for food ; to which the half-breed flatly refused his assent, and cudgelling the miserable animal forward, pushed on sullenly, with the air of a man doggedly determined to quarrel for his right. In this way Mr. Hunt saw his men, one after another, break away, until but five remained to bear him company.

"On the following morning, another raft was made, on which Mr. Crooks and Le Clerc again attempted to ferry themselves across the river, but after repeated trials, had to give up in despair. This caused additional delay : after which, they continued to crawl forward at a snail's pace. Some of the men who had remained with Mr. Hunt now became impatient of these encumbrances, and urged him, clamorously, to push forward, crying out that they should all starve. The night which succeeded was intensely cold, so that one of the men was severely frost-bitten. In the course of the night, Mr. Crooks was taken ill, and in the morning was still more incompetent to travel. Their situation was now desperate, for their stock of provisions was reduced to three beaver skins. Mr. Hunt, therefore, resolved to push on, overtake his people, and insist upon having the horse of Pierre Dorion sacrificed for the relief of all hands. Accordingly, he left two of his men to help Crooks and Le Clerc

on their way, giving them two of the beaver skins for their support; the remaining skin he retained, as provision for himself and the three other men who struck forward with him." — Vol. II. pp. 47–49.

Even this is not the worst that was encountered; but we forbear to dwell on the painful detail. Mr. Hunt at length arrived with the wreck of his party at the falls of the Columbia River, on the 28th of January, 1812, and in a short time afterwards reached Astoria in safety.

The two or three subsequent chapters of the book contain many instructive notices and sketches of the Indian tribes. The following anecdote shows that we have something to learn of the savages at the mouth of the Columbia River; —

"In one thing, however, they showed superior judgment and self-command, to most of their race; this was, in their abstinence from ardent spirits, and the abhorrence and disgust with which they regarded a drunkard. On one occasion, a son of Comcomly had been induced to drink freely at the factory, and went home in a state of intoxication, playing all kinds of mad pranks, until he sank into a stupor, in which he remained for two days. The old chieftain repaired to his friend, McDougal, with indignation flaming from his countenance, and bitterly reproached him for having permitted his son to degrade himself into a beast, and to render himself an object of scorn and laughter to his slave." — Vol. II. p. 92.

It was a part of Mr. Astor's plan to furnish the Russian fur establishment on the northwest coast with regular supplies, so as to render it independent of the casual vessels, which cut up the trade and supplied the natives with fire-arms. This part of Mr. Astor's plan, like the rest, had been countenanced by our own government, and likewise by Count Pahlen, the Russian minister at Washington. A person was also sent to St. Petersburgh to make an arrangement there to carry into effect this branch of the undertaking. In the month of October, 1811, the ship Beaver, a fine vessel of four hundred and ninety tons, was despatched on this errand. She arrived in due season at the Sandwich Islands, and there received the first uncertain rumor of the fate of the Tonquin. This rumor left her company in a state of painful uncertainty, whether there was a factory in existence at the mouth of the Columbia. The apprehensions felt on this account were not wholly

removed till she reached her destination, on the 9th of May, 1812. The arrival of the Beaver infused new life and vigor into the operations of the establishment, and preparations were made for founding several interior trading posts. It was also proposed to send a party across the mountains, to convey to Mr. Astor intelligence of the state of things. This perilous duty was cheerfully undertaken by Mr. Robert Stuart, who, though a very young man and without experience in crossing the mountains, had given proofs of his competency for the task; and, nothing dismayed by the sufferings of Mr. Hunt's party, boldly addressed himself to the enterprise, in company with four trusty and well-tried men, one of whom, shortly after starting, became insane and was sent back. This party, with less hardship and privation than Mr. Hunt's, but with a full share of the trials of the wilderness, accomplished their journey successfully. They wintered on the upper waters of the La Platte, and arrived safely at St. Louis the following spring, after ten months spent in the journey. The "greatest luxury they met with on their return to the abodes of civilized man" — hear it, dyspeptics, who are daily tantalized by the sight of the loaded board smoking with viands ye dare not put to your lips;— hear it, *gourmands* and *gastronomes*, whose imaginations toil in vain for the invention of a new dish, capable of stimulating a sated appetite,— the greatest luxury which these adventurers found in the abodes of civilization, on their return from the desert, — "was BREAD, not having tasted any for nearly a year."

In the summer of 1812, the war with Great Britain commenced, an event ominous of disasters to the establishment at the mouth of the Columbia, from which as yet Mr. Astor had received no intelligence. In this state of things, he wrote a letter to Captain Sowle, commander of the Beaver, addressed to him at Canton, and directing him to proceed to the factory, with such articles as the establishment might need, and to remain there subject to the orders of Mr. Hunt. Another vessel also, the Lark, remarkable as a swift sailer, was sent from New York to the relief of the establishment. In the month of February, 1813, and while the Lark was still in port, preparing for the voyage, Mr. Astor received the news that the British North-west Fur Company were preparing to send out an armed ship of twenty guns, called the Isaac Todd, to form an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia. These

tidings gave him just alarm. A considerable portion of the persons in his employ were Scotchmen and Canadians, and several of them had been in the service of the North-west Company. The British government had already, as Mr. Astor was apprized, been urged by the North-west Company to send a force round Cape Horn to break up his establishment. In this emergency, Mr. Astor wrote to Mr. Monroe, then secretary of state, requesting that Astoria might be garrisoned by forty or fifty men; but under the pressure of other avocations, this subject received no attention from the government. After waiting in vain for a reply to his letter, the Lark was despatched in the month of March. It was not till two months after this period, that he received by Mr. Robert Stuart, whose arrival at St. Louis we have already mentioned, the only tidings connected with the establishment, except the disastrous intelligence of the loss of the Tonquin.

In the month of August, 1812, the Beaver left the Columbia River, with Mr. Hunt on board, to carry on that portion of the project, which related to a connexion with the Russian establishments, on the northwest coast. It was decided by the partners of the concern in Astoria, that, after having visited those establishments, he should be re-landed at the factory in October, by the Beaver, on her way to the Sandwich Islands and Canton. Untoward events, among the Russian establishments, delayed his return. November, December, and January passed away, but brought no tidings of Mr. Hunt, and the most gloomy apprehensions of what might have befallen him and the Beaver were entertained at Astoria. The alarm produced, by this state of things, was increased by the arrival of an unexpected visiter. Mr. George McTavish, a partner of the British North-west Company, made his appearance at the factory, with the unwelcome information, which he had received by express at Lake Winnepeg, that war with Great Britain had been declared. To this intelligence, he added the facts, that the North-west Company were making vigorous preparations to engage in a rivalry with the Astorian establishment, for the fur trade of the Columbia River, and that the Isaac Todd, the armed vessel already mentioned, would arrive there in the month of March, with a view to monopolize it, by the right of the strongest.

This intelligence produced great dejection in the councils of Astoria. Mr. McDougal, left in charge of the establish-

ment in the absence of Mr. Hunt, and already in affliction at the unpromising state of matters, was now, or pretended to be, in despair. The clerks were disheartened; and as the supposed loss of the Beaver took away all means of withdrawing themselves by water, it was hastily determined to fly before the dangers threatened from a state of hostility, break up the establishment, and retreat across the Rocky Mountains to the United States. In pursuance of this resolution, they suspended all further trading operations. These purposes were communicated to Messrs. Stuart and Clarke, two partners in the concern, stationed at successful hunting posts in the interior. They strongly disapproved the rash conclusions which had been adopted, and hastened to Astoria to oppose them. They soon found reason to suspect Mr. McDougal of disloyalty to the interests of the establishment. Their strenuous opposition occasioned the postponement of the projected desertion of the post, till the ensuing year; but the continued non-arrival of the Beaver, and the gloomy prospect of affairs, in other respects, induced even Messrs. Clarke and Stuart to unite in signing a manifesto, in which (agreeably to the articles of partnership) they announced their purpose of retiring from it, if, before June of the following year, relief was not received from Mr. Astor.

While things were proceeding in this train at Astoria, great alarm was felt by the founder of the enterprise at New York. He received certain intelligence, that the North-west Company had, by exaggerated statements of the importance of Astoria, urged a second time upon the British government to send a force to the Columbia River, and that the frigate Phœbe had, in consequence, been despatched to convoy the Isaac Todd. Mr. Astor once more applied to the government, and the frigate Adams was ordered to the Pacific.

He determined to send the Enterprise under her convoy, with supplies for the establishment. Before either vessel could be despatched, the exigencies of the public service were deemed to require that the crew of the Adams should be transferred to the lakes; and the port of New York being blockaded by a British squadron, the Enterprise was prevented from sailing.

In the mean time disaster had followed disaster in the Pacific Ocean. The Beaver had not been lost, but had been most unfortunately delayed on the coast. These delays had

so much retarded her movements, that instead of proceeding in her directly down to the Columbia River, according to his instructions, Mr. Hunt deemed it his duty to hasten her voyage to Canton, where she might dispose of the furs collected on the coast. Proceeding in her himself to the Sandwich Islands, he there left her. She held on her way to Canton; and instead of exchanging her cargo as she then might have done for a return cargo, which would have realized three hundred thousand dollars in the United States, Captain Sowle held on for a higher price for his furs, till the market declined, and he saw himself compelled, in consequence of "a pressure in the money market," which then prevailed in the celestial empire, to borrow money, on Mr. Astor's account, at eighteen per cent., and lay up his ship till the return of peace! Mr. Hunt, meantime, was delayed at the Sandwich Islands. He waited in vain for the arrival of the ship, which, according to the plan of the establishment, was annually to be sent. On the 20th of June, 1813, the Albatross arrived at the Sandwich Islands from China, with news of the war. This intelligence explained to Mr. Hunt the cause of the non-appearance of the annual vessel; and supposing that the factory at Astoria must be in great want of supplies, he chartered the Albatross to take him, with such articles as he was able to procure, to the mouth of the Columbia River. Here he arrived on the 20th of August, ten months later than the time he had fixed for his return in the Beaver. He found the settlement in the midst of the festivities, occasioned by the absurd marriage of Mr. McDougal to the daughter of the one-eyed Chinook chief Comcomly.

Mr. Hunt was not slow to perceive the depressed condition of affairs; and though at first shocked with the idea of abandoning the establishment, he found himself at last compelled to acquiesce in it, as an unavoidable calamity. He turned his thoughts, therefore, to the means of withdrawing from it with the least loss to Mr. Astor. To effect this object, he deemed it necessary to find somewhere in the Pacific a vessel, in which he could take the stock of peltries collected at Astoria to a market. The Albatross was bound to the Marquesas, and thence to the Sandwich Islands; and Mr. Hunt determined, after a visit of but six days at Astoria, to take passage in this vessel, in search of a ship for the service stated. He was to return by the 1st of January, 1814, and if any thing occurred

to detain him, Mr. McDougal was left in sole charge of the affairs of the factory. Arrived at the Marquesas, Mr. Hunt learned from Commodore Porter, who was at those islands in the Essex, that the Phœbe, Cherub, and Raccoon, British vessels of war, were on their way to the Pacific, bound as was supposed, for the mouth of the Columbia River. Mr. Hunt failed in all his attempts to obtain a vessel at the Marquesas, and after remaining there till the 23d of November, a prey to the most afflicting anxieties, he proceeded to the Sandwich Islands in the Albatross. While awaiting here in the long-deferred hope that a vessel despatched by Mr. Astor might arrive, he had the pain of witnessing the disastrous result of another voyage undertaken by that enterprising merchant. The Lark, whose departure from New York has already been mentioned, was cast on one of the Sandwich Islands, a perfect wreck, having all but foundered, a short time before, in a furious gale. She arrived with the loss of several of her men, a shattered hulk; and king Tamaahmaah took advantage of the distressed condition of the ship's company, to stipulate for the entire abandonment of the wreck to him, as the sole condition on which he agreed to dole out some scanty supplies to the survivors. Had even this unfortunate vessel accomplished her voyage in season and in safety, the entire ruin of Astoria might have been averted. Its fate, however, had by this time already been pushed to its crisis. In the month of October, Mr. McTavish appeared with a party of sixty or seventy men, in the employ of the North-west Company, and after some resistance on the part of the other partners at the post, Mr. McDougal took upon himself to sell out to this gentleman, as agent for the North-west Company, all the property of Mr. Astor, and the *good will* of the establishment. The terms of the bargain were dictated by the purchasers, and forty thousand dollars paid for furs worth one hundred thousand dollars.

These arrangements being concluded, on the 30th of November, the Raccoon, a British sloop of war, arrived in the river. Its officers were in high spirits. The agents of the North-west Company, (one of whom was on board the Raccoon,) had magnified the riches which were to fall into the hands of the captors of Astoria. This excitement had been kept up during the voyage by the agent on board, "so that not a midshipman but revelled in dreams of ample prize-money,

nor a lieutenant that would have sold his chance for a thousand pounds." Their disappointment therefore may easily be conceived, at finding that their warlike attack on Astoria had been forestalled in the way described ; — that their anticipated booty had been wrested from them by a trick, and that too by men who had been chiefly instrumental in causing them to be sent on a fool's errand. Mr. McDougal, one of the chief agents of these not very handsome arrangements, was received with pretty cold courtesy on board the Raccoon. In reading the account of this transaction, we have not been able wholly to suppress the query, — what would not have been the exclamations of the horror-struck critical press of Great Britain, over Yankee honesty, had this dexterous manœuvre been the work of brother Jonathan ?

On the 12th of December the British flag was hoisted upon the fort at Astoria. On the 28th of February, 1814, Mr. Hunt arrived in the Columbia on board the Pedlar, a vessel which he had chartered at the Sandwich Islands, and found the establishment transferred to its new masters, and Mr. McDougal *entered into partnership with them.* To show, however, their liberality, they offered to sell back to Mr. Astor his own furs, at fifty per cent. advance !

On the return of peace, in virtue of an article in the treaty of Ghent, Astoria, like all other captured places, reverted to the United States ; and Commodore Biddle was sent in a vessel of war to take formal possession of it. Mr. Astor, nothing disheartened by the repeated losses he had encountered, endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to induce the government of the United States to coöperate with him in occupying the country. The North-west Company was consequently left to fix itself firmly in the region watered by the Columbia.

This they have done. The spot where the fort of Astoria stood has been abandoned, but another called Fort Vancouver, in the neighbourhood and on the right branch of the river, has been erected by the agents of the North-west Company. The whole region watered by the Columbia is penetrated by their trappers. Hunting parties from the United States also occasionally visit the region from the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains ; but not having a *point d'appui* in any establishment, and greatly outnumbered by the British Canadian hunters, collisions are sometimes said to occur between them to the disadvantage of the Americans. The population indepen-

dent of the hunting business is, of course, small, but is said to be on the increase. Of the restless spirits, who swarm in every part of the country, or flock to it from Europe, a few are already trying their fortunes in this *ultima Thule*. What natural advantages it may offer as the residence of civilized man, cannot perhaps as yet be fully determined. Its climate, in accordance with the uniform analogy of all countries on the western coast of a continent, is much more mild and equable, than that of the same parallels on the eastern side of the continent. The most recent accounts authorize the opinion, that there is the usual average of fertile land, in those portions of the country, where, for geological or topographical reasons, good land is to be expected in any country. Its position at the outlet of the only large river, flowing into the sea, on the western coast of the continent, seems to mark it out as the centre of that great population, which will, in all probability, one day be supported by the commerce of the thousand islands of the Pacific Ocean.

The messengers of Christian benevolence have not been much in the rear of the adventurers, whom merely temporal interests have drawn to this distant spot. Two missionary stations have been taken up in the country west of the Rocky Mountains; one under the patronage of the Methodists, and one under that of the American Board of Commissioners. Interesting accounts from these establishments are in possession of the public.

In our number for October, 1828, we entered somewhat at length into the controversy between Great Britain and the United States, concerning the boundary between the two governments in this quarter. Like the controversy relative to the Northeastern boundary between the possessions of the two countries, it is destined, we fear, to bid defiance to amicable adjustment. By an article of the convention, negotiated in 1818, for ten years, it was left undecided, and the country declared open for hunting and habitation to both parties, but not subject to the exclusive occupation of either. When that convention expired in 1828, the article relative to the Columbia River was moulded into a separate convention, of indefinite duration,* leaving the matter on the same footing; but from which each party is capable of receding on giving

* Not expiring in 1838, as suggested by Mr. Irving.

twelve months' notice to the other. We are inclined to the opinion, that under the operation of this convention, by which the United States and Great Britain are nominally placed on the same footing, the country is rapidly passing, in reality, into British hands.

Propositions, it is well known, have, at different times, been submitted to Congress, to take some measure by way of appropriating to themselves that portion of the country, which is incontestably within the jurisdiction of the United States, and of bringing the question of boundary to a definitive settlement. Formal attempts to obtain the sanction of Congress, to the establishment of a territorial government, have been made in the House of Representatives; for the last time, in 1829, under the lead of Governor Floyd of Virginia. The project found, at that time, but little favor at Washington. Some of the objections to the territorial occupation were unquestionably of great weight; but not a little of the argument ran upon topics, one would have thought beneath the case. Thus, it was a consideration pretty strongly urged against the proposed measure, that, at some seasons of the year, owing to a heavy surf, the mouth of the Columbia was very difficult of entrance. This is an argument not unlike one, which might have been urged against making an effort for the acquisition of Louisiana, that the mouths of the Mississippi are obstructed by bars. The region watered by the Columbia is not much smaller than the United States, east of the Alleghany Mountains. While the settlements are confined to a few hunting posts near the mouth of the river, the surf that breaks on its bar is a matter of consequence, no doubt; but what is it to the ultimate character and importance of a country, equal in extent to the old United States, and stretching for nine or ten degrees of latitude, along the great ocean?

We do not know that we can better bring our article to a close, than by the concluding paragraphs, on this subject, from Mr. Irving's book.

"It is painful, at all times, to see a grand and beneficial stroke of genius fail of its aim. But we regret the failure of this enterprise in a national point of view; for, had it been crowned with success, it would have redounded greatly to the advantage and extension of our commerce. The profits drawn from the country in question by the British Fur Company, though of ample amount, form no criterion by which to judge of the

advantages that would have arisen, had it been entirely in the hands of citizens of the United States. That company, as has been shown, is limited in the nature and scope of its operations, and can make but little use of the maritime facilities held out by an emporium and a harbour on that coast. In our hands, besides the roving bands of trappers and traders, the country would have been explored and settled by industrious husbandmen; and the fertile valleys bordering its rivers, and shut up among its mountains, would have been made to pour forth their agricultural treasures to contribute to the general wealth.

"In respect to commerce, we should have had a line of trading posts from the Mississippi and the Missouri across the Rocky Mountains, forming a high road from the great regions of the West to the shores of the Pacific. We should have had a fortified post and port at the mouth of the Columbia, commanding the trade of that river and its tributaries, and of a wide extent of country and seacoast; carrying on an active and profitable commerce with the Sandwich Islands, and a direct and frequent communication with China. In a word, Astoria might have realized the anticipations of Mr. Astor, so well understood and appreciated by Mr. Jefferson, in gradually becoming a commercial empire beyond the mountains, peopled by 'free and independent Americans, and linked with us by ties of blood and interest.'

"We repeat, therefore, our sincere regret, that our government should have neglected the overture of Mr. Astor, and suffered the moment to pass by, when full possession of this region might have been taken quietly, as a matter of course, and a military post established, without dispute, at Astoria. Our statesmen have become sensible, when too late, of the importance of this measure. Bills have repeatedly been brought into Congress for the purpose, but without success; and our rightful possessions on that coast, as well as our trade on the Pacific, have no rallying point protected by the national flag, and by a military force.

"In the mean time, the second period of ten years is fast elapsing. In 1838, the question of title will again come up, and most probably, in the present amicable state of our relations with Great Britain, will be again postponed. Every year, however, the litigated claim is growing in importance. There is no pride so jealous and irritable as the pride of territory. As one wave of emigration after another rolls into the vast regions of the West, and our settlements stretch towards the Rocky Mountains, the eager eyes of our pioneers will pry beyond, and they will become impatient of any barrier or impediment in the way

of what they consider a grand outlet of our empire. Should any circumstance, therefore, unfortunately occur to disturb the present harmony of the two nations, this ill-adjusted question, which now lies dormant, may suddenly start up into one of belligerent import, and Astoria become the watchword in a contest for dominion on the shores of the Pacific." — Vol. II. pp. 261, 262.

ART. XII. — 1. *An Oration delivered on the Anniversary of the New England Society, Charleston, S. C., December 22d*, 1835 ; *in Commemoration of the Landing of the Pilgrims upon the Rock of Plymouth, December 22d*, 1620. By JOSHUA BARKER WHITRIDGE, A. M., M. D. Published at the request of the Society. Charleston ; E. J. Van Brunt. 1836. 8vo. pp. 62.

2. *Memoirs of a Nullifier. Written by Himself.* By a Native of the South. Columbia, S. C. Printed and published at the Telescope Office. 1832. 12mo. pp. 110.

3. *An Address delivered before the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, December 22d*, 1835. By Hon. PELEG SPRAGUE. Boston ; Light & Stearns. 1836. 8vo. pp. 32.

WHEN left to our own imaginations, we simpletons of New England fancy that we find very sufficient reason to be satisfied with our history, our condition, and one another. More than almost any other people, we are entitled to call our history our own. Almost as much as any other, we are a homogeneous race ; scarcely the Chinese more so. With the exception of a few Huguenot families who came over at the close of the seventeenth century, and who, from religious sympathy, and other causes, were easily grafted on the primeval vine, we are all descendants of English, established here within thirty years from the earliest settlement. We have not so much as a city, which is a *colluvies* of foreign and domestic elements. The interior feeds the seaports. In the principal of these are a few Irish, mostly arrived since the war, but not sufficient in number to be of any account in estimating the character of the population ; and of other

emigrants, or descendants of emigrants, not belonging to the original stock, we have almost literally none.

This history of our soil and society, which is at the same time the history of our own progenitors, we should be utterly unwilling (with all respect for the subjects of other histories) to exchange for any other which we read. Had our fathers come hither to secure a condition of more affluence or more ease, there would have been no fault to find with their enterprise. Had they come, because they had not succeeded in getting an honest living at home, this would have been no discreditable motive ; and other communities, founded in such a beginning, have risen afterwards to great respectability. But they came for a much better reason than either. They betook themselves to this "outside of the world," to secure to themselves and theirs the liberty of thought and worship. Is there any nobler impulse, under which men can make struggles and sacrifices, and does history tell of another society, which may boast of a similar origin ?

The founders of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts differed in some particulars ; the former being for the most part of the class of yeomen and artisans, while among the latter were many men of fortune, some belonging to noble families, and numbers educated in all the scholarship and refinements of the time. But, essentially, they were the same sort of men. They had been adherents at home of the same cause, and they came across the water under the same impulse. Arrived here, though independent of each other, both proceeded to build up a society in substantially the same manner ; for both went to work in the way which their Anglo-Saxon instincts prompted. They did not pitch their first tent in this chilly land of promise, till they had set up the safeguards of popular freedom. They had hardly looked to the necessities of life, when they provided for the necessities of learning and religion. Taking prudent care of the beginning, they looked steadily and hopefully on to the end. It is past a doubt, that the Massachusetts colonists contemplated, from the first, the establishment of an independent commonwealth. With this view they insisted on bringing their charter over with them, and neither they, nor their descendants, ever abandoned the design, till it was consummated by the war of the Revolution.

The progress of their institutions was the developement of

the capacities of an intelligent, industrious, religious, heroic race. They won upon the aborigines by their fair and liberal dealing, rather than through the resources of their superior civilization. "I think I can clearly say," said Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, in 1676, "that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors." Always watchful of the great interest, and prodigal of every other, now they are seen opposing an undismayed front to the aggressions of the parent country, and now beggaring their treasury, and lavishing their best blood, in the boldest expeditions against the common enemy, the French. Meanwhile, nothing diverts them, for a moment, from the pursuit, at home, of all measures for building up a strong and prosperous commonwealth. Not only is a competent education provided for every child, at the public cost, but his guardians are compelled, under a penalty, to accept for him the advantage thus afforded. The higher places of education are fostered with a liberal patronage. The town corporations, covering with their several jurisdictions the whole territory, are charged with whatever may be done, by municipal regulation, for the security and comfort of a neighbourhood, and are strictly held to their responsibility by the higher powers. The ministers of the law are made independent of official dictation and of popular caprice; and religion, by a sufficient but cautious provision for the maintenance of its institutions, is aided to enforce its sanctions on the public mind.

Under such auspices, a state of things has grown up, which a man must be querulous to complain of. Dwelling "among our own people" of these six States, we find them a very good people to dwell with. That Massachusetts, for instance, is not a decidedly ineligible home, might be partly conjectured from the fact, that it numbers eighty-seven inhabitants to the square mile, while the Ancient Dominion, blacks included, counts but twenty-five, and the most populous State out of New England, New York, gives to the same space a census of forty-six, little more than half that of the Bay State. With no natural wealth for exportation, except what consists in granite and ice, — "absolutely nothing but rocks and ice," as of late a distinguished southern statesman emphatically testified, — we yet make shift to keep the wolf, Want, from the door. We take good care

of those who cannot take care of themselves; but no one, among us, so he has but health, needs to fall into poverty. Most things that may be honestly done for a living, are done by one or another of us. We fish, we manufacture, we till ("credat Judæus!"), we trade, and we study. Our *swapping* transactions sometimes employ no little capital, and often carry us a long way from home. The commodore of a Russian exploring expedition lately fell into a fog, just as he had come to flatter himself that he had about reached the world's end, and written his name for immortality with the Vancouvers and Cooks. When it cleared away, he found himself in a fleet of Yankee craft, the commander of one of which offered to pilot him to an excellent roadstead hard by, the old familiar haven of himself and his compeers. Our colleges are in that condition, that, in addition to the granite and ice above commemorated, we find ourselves able to send into other States a few professional men, who, we learn, find a market, and every year, about commencement time, an assortment of teachers in the different ranks, from intructers in the common schools, to presidents and professors in the higher institutions. Each having enough to do of his own, people have the less reason to interfere with one another, except in the way of mutual kind offices, or joint action for public objects. Each being able to depend on himself, there is no motive for servility, and arrogance is awed by the certainty of a prompt and effective rebuke. Men know whom they are dealing with, as they cannot know in one of those recent communities, where a population is collected, not amalgamated; and so escape the tendency to that mutual distrust, which if not a virtue, is a necessity, where there is any strange companionship.

Wherever there is a combination of universal competence and moderate information, occasional wealth and habits of intellectual activity, it might be anticipated with confidence that there would grow up a taste for the elegances of art and literature, and all the refinements of the social state, even if the original stock were less propitious to such fruits than was that of New England. How we actually stand in these respects, it is clearly not for ourselves to judge; nor by any means do we covet to be the subjects of favorable comparisons with our fellow-citizens of other sections of the country. Still it is certain, that comparisons of this kind which are actually made

by strangers who visit us, to tell what they find, are not such as to distress our vanity. Captain Hall does not mince the matter. "Since coming to Boston," says he, "we have been more struck, and confessed ourselves to be so, with the degree of taste and luxury in all we saw, both in the external appearance of the houses, and in the good sense and good manners within, than with any thing we had before met in the United States." Mrs. Butler and M. de Tocqueville are scarcely less complimentary; and Captain Hamilton, well as he learned his lesson in some other respects, was fain to own that he found in Boston a circle of society, distinguished by "much taste for literature, much liberality of sentiment, a good deal of accomplishment, and a greater amount, perhaps, both of practical and speculative knowledge, than the population of any other mercantile city could supply."

All this looks very well on paper; but still there is reason to fear, that the character of the New England population does not stand altogether well with the multitude of their brethren. How any existing prejudice of the kind arose, it might not be difficult to conjecture; but it would be an invidious inquiry, and we decline it. That, having arisen, it has been perpetuated, is a fact that requires no explanation. An error capable of producing a political effect bears a charmed life. If such things are tolerably well nursed, — and this they are very likely to be, — so notoriously are they beyond the power of mere contradiction, that report says, a political tactician in Pennsylvania, in the canvass of 1828, observing what havoc was making among the votes of the foreign population by the story that the lady of Mr. Adams was a daughter of George III., advised not to waste breath in a denial of the statement, but to work a traverse by reporting that General Jackson had wedded two daughters of that monarch. But however originated or kept alive, the prevalence of the feeling in question, to some unhappy extent, is, we suppose, not to be denied. We learned as much from Captain Hamilton's own book. "The whole Union," says he, "is full of stories of Jonathan's cunning frauds." That traveller's swallow is quick and capacious, and we would rather not rely on him exclusively for such a statement; still its breadth and confidence attach to it a certain interest. Mr. Sprague, author of one of the addresses of which we have prefixed the title, (the late distinguished Senator from Maine,) knows better whereof he affirms, and he

goes so far as to say; "It has become so common with our brethren of other States, to talk of New England cupidity and fraud, that it is taken by the ignorant abroad to be characteristic of our community." Dr. Whitridge is a native of New England, long resident in the capital of South Carolina. His high station in society, accorded to him by the cordial respect of all to whom he is known, affords him the best opportunities for acquaintance with the state of prevailing sentiment. He too professes his endeavour to have been, in his address delivered on the anniversary of the disembarkation at Plymouth, "to rescue a section of our common country from unmerited reproach;" and specifies the nature of animadversions which have been made, as of the following flattering character.

"Yankees, it has been said, are like a rope of sand; that they have no sympathy for one another; that there is no adhesion among them, either at home or abroad; that they are mean and selfish in their disposition, sly, cunning, apt to overreach; in short, dishonest whenever they can get any thing by it; and that their motto virtually is, if not the avowed principle of action, 'Every man for himself, and God for us all.'"—p. 23.

Here is a pleasant accumulation of compliments to ring on an honest people's ear. One cannot but hope at first, that there is some mistake in the representation, and that single petulant expressions of accidentally prejudiced persons have been taken, by individuals conscious of their own character and jealous for that of their birth-place, for indications of a prevailing sentiment. But we believe it will not do to lay any such flattering unction to our souls. Respecting the authorship of the "Memoirs of a Nullifier," the second work of which we have prefixed the title, we have no knowledge nor ground for suspicion. We have never heard it ascribed to any one but an aged gentleman, who, we are sure from internal evidence, did not write it. The author also professes to be a native of the South, which the individual referred to is not; and that this is not a mere *nom de guerre*, appears from a few southern provincialisms, occurring in what is generally an extremely good style.* The work is "printed and pub-

* Such as *would*, for *should*, in the following sentences; "I found that I would miss the planet by about fifteen inches," and "I hoped that some time or other I would arrive at a stopping-place I saw;" and the use of *dear* so as to rhyme with *fair*, and *tear* with *repair*, in a copy of verses on page 36, indicating a well-known sectional peculiarity of pronunciation.

lished at the Office of the Telegraph," a journal of well-known ability and influence, edited at the seat of government of South Carolina. That the author has not made his observations on New England men at home, is to be inferred from his small success in representing the peculiarities of their speech. The caricature is not absolutely a bad one, but not nearly as good as a man of so much shrewdness, had he travelled into New England, might be expected to produce. For instance, "I reckon," is not Yankee, but Virginian cacology. "Stranger," as a form of address to a person whose name one does not know, belongs not to the Eastern, but to the Western dialect. *Get along*, when used at all, is used for, "to proceed," and never in the sense intended to be attached to it in the following sentence; "I calculate I 'll make a pretty tolerble considerable speck on what I 've got along." *Mighty*, we have supposed from Colonel Crockett's works, to be a Tennessean, certainly it is not a New England superlative. And "doos you," wherever else it may prevail, we will answer for it, was never heard between the Hudson and the St. Croix.

But wherever and however his studies into the New England character were prosecuted, the result is such as the following specimen may indicate. The work is in form an autobiography. The writer and hero, having occasion to visit the lower regions, falls in, on the way thither, with "the ghost of a Yankee pedlar, who was journeying to the other world with his cart of tin ware and other notions." This personage directly joined him, "and showed himself to be fully as impudent and inquisitive as if he were still alive." The passage of the party over the Styx is delayed half an hour, while the pedlar higgles with Charon for a reduction of the ferriage from twelve cents and a half, the usual fee, to ten cents;" and again, by his plunging into the river after a "cooter," from one of whose bones, when caught, he proceeds to make, with his penknife, an article, which he offers for sale, as "an elegant tortoise-shell comb." Arrived before the judgment-seat of Rhadamanthus, they found him "seated with a great number of large account books before him."

"'Virgil Hoskins is your name, is it?' said he. 'Here it is, among the H's, page 49,358. Ah, Virgil! there 's a terribly long account against you. Let 's see a few of the charges.' *(Reads.)*

"VIRGIL HOSKINS, DR.

"June 27, 18—, To selling in the course of one peddling expedition, 497,368 wooden *nutmegs*, 281,532 Spanish *cigars* made of oak leaves, and 647 *wooden clocks*.

"What do you say to that charge, Hoskins?

"*Hoskins.* Why, that was counted in our place about the greatest peddlin trip that ever was made over the Potomac.

"*Rhadamanthus reads:* June 29, 18—, To stealing an old grindstone, smearing it over with butter, and then selling it as a cheese.

"*Hoskins, in great surprise.* Jimminny! surely you wouldn't punish a man for that, would you?

"*Rhadamanthus reads:* December 13, 1780, To making a counterfeit dollar of pewter, when you were six years old, and cheating your own father with it.

"*Hoskins.* Daddy was *mighty* glad when he found it out. He said it showed I had a genus.

"*Rhadamanthus reads:* July 2, 18—, To taking a worn-out pair of shoes, which you found in the road, and selling them to a pious old lady, as being actually the shoes of Saint Paul.

"*Hoskins, with exultation:* I made four dollars and twelve and a half cents by that.

"*Rhadamanthus reads:*—July 2, 18—, To taking an empty old watch-case, putting a live cricket into it, and then selling it as a patent lever in full motion.

"*Hoskins.* He, he, he,—that was one of the 'cutest tricks I ever played in all my life.

"*Rhadamanthus.* It would occupy me a week, Hoskins, to go through all the charges against you. These few are sufficient. I really am getting entirely out of patience with New England, for it gives me more trouble than all the rest of the world put together. You are sentenced to be thrown into a lake of boiling molasses, where nearly all your countrymen already are, with that same old grindstone tied to your neck, and to remain there for ever."—pp. 42, 43.

Here is the ideal of the New England character, as exhibited in different aspects in different parts of the story. We have no intention to represent the volume as a malignant libel upon the character of this portion of the country. It is not so. It is simply an easy *jeu d'esprit*, thrown off in the wantonness of "a few long days of summer leisure," which the author says he "knew not how to employ better." Whatever there is of bilious temperament apparent on his part, is vented as much on other characters produced in the nar-

rative, as on those of Eastern origin; and if there is any thing to choose between the Nullifier himself, his Southern friend, and his Southern mistress, on the one hand, and the Yankees Hooker, Phipps, and Hoskins on the other, it is not very clearly to the disadvantage of the latter triad. Could we regard the volume as a mere ebullition of personal or party spleen, we should look on it much less seriously in its relation to the question now before us. As it is, the writer only meant, for effect's sake, to draw the Yankee character with poetical truth, as it was conceived by those for whom he was writing; and accordingly the delineation shows what those readers were prepared to bear and to expect in the premises. He is no fool, so as to be writing at a venture, and his dedication of the work "to his Excellency James Hamilton, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, whose chivalrous character has procured him the appropriate appellation of the 'Bayard of the South,'" forbids the supposition that he supposed himself to be without sympathy in the highest quarters.

Still the writing is anonymous; and, in a matter of such import, it is natural to like to have names for vouchers. These, it might be supposed, would be difficult to get at, from the natural unwillingness of right-minded men to bring sweeping charges against a whole community, and, especially, from the impossibility (except under circumstances of the highest excitement) of such charges being made in the hearing of those whom they arraign. Yet it cannot be denied, that proof even of this kind is continually presenting itself, to that degree that he who should undertake to collect it in any one department, would find his undertaking to be no sinecure. Let us content ourselves, as to authorities, with the case of the wooden nutmegs, which appear in the van of the pungent extract given above, as well as, with racy repetition, in other parts of the work. Though, man and boy, we have lived in New England nearly half a century, without having seen, or credibly heard, of an actually existing specimen of this fabric, we are obliged to suppose that in some places it is held to be the great result of New England industry; — not salted fish, nor cotton shirtings, nor brown paper spelling-books more so. For instance; a recent number of the "United States Telegraph" is before us, in which we find the Rev. R. C. Postell, of Orangeburg, in South Carolina, (a well-informed and well-intentioned individual, we doubt not, as becomes his profession,) treating

"the art of making nutmegs and bacon out of wood," as notoriously practised among our "country people." Mr. Senator Preston, ("cujus ab ore melle dulcior fluit oratio") lately came to New England, and left it, being a truly candid and generous man, agreeably impressed with some things which he saw. On his return, he had occasion to address a public meeting, convened to make arrangements for the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road, and he took the opportunity to do manly justice to some qualities and effects which had come under his observation. He addressed no rabble, but an audience of gentlemen of property and influence, as the occasion which brought them together implies; but still it seems even the flavorous honey of his tongue would have cloyed, unless spiced with the ever-ready wooden nutmegs. We cannot deny ourselves the gratification of setting down his remarks. The taste of their general tenor was his own. The incident we have hinted at was but a deference to the taste, while it was a distinct recognition of the opinions, of his hearers. We extract from the "Columbia Telescope."

"Mr. Preston, in his speech concerning the Rail-road, on Monday last, drew a very striking contrast between the difference of character of the people of the Northern and of the Southern parts of the Union, and the consequently opposite condition of the countries that they inhabit.

"He said that no Southern man can journey (as he had lately done) through the Northern States, and witness the prosperity, the industry, the public spirit, which they exhibit, the sedulous cultivation of all those arts by which life is rendered comfortable and respectable, without feelings of deep sadness and shame, as he remembers his own neglected and desolate home. There, no dwelling is to be seen abandoned, no farm uncultivated, no man idle, no waterfall, even, unemployed. Every person and every thing performs a part towards the grand result, and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories, and canals, and rail-roads, and public edifices, and towns and cities. Along the route of the great New York canal, (that glorious monument of the glorious memory of De Witt Clinton,) a canal, a rail-road, and a turnpike, are to be seen in the width of perhaps a hundred yards, each of them crowded with travel, or overflowing with commerce. Throughout their course, lands, that before their construction would scarcely command five dollars the acre, now sell for fifty, seventy-five, or a hundred. Passing along it, you see no space of three miles without a town or village, and you are never out of the sound of a church bell.

"We of the South are mistaken in the character of these people, when we think of them only as pedlars in horn flints and bark nutmegs. Their energy and enterprise are directed to all objects, great and small, within their reach. At the fall of a scanty rivulet, they set up their little manufactory of wooden buttons or combs; they plant a barren hill-side with broom corn, and make it into brooms at the bottom, — and on its top they erect a windmill. Thus, at a single spot, you may see the air, the earth, and the water, all working for them. But, at the same time, the ocean is whitened to its extremities with the sails of their ships, and the land is covered with their works of art and usefulness.

"Massachusetts is perhaps the most flourishing of the Northern States. Yet, of natural productions, she exports but two articles — granite and ice. Absolutely nothing but *rock* and *ice!* Every thing else of her commerce, from which she derives so much, is artificial, — the work of her own hands.

"All this is done, in a region with a bleak climate and sterile soil, by the energy and intelligence of the people. Each man knows that the public good is his individual advantage. The number of rail-roads, and other modes of expeditious intercommunication, knits the whole country into a closely-compacted mass, through which the productions of commerce and of the press, the comforts of life, and the means of knowledge, are universally diffused; while the close intercourse of travel and business makes all men neighbours, and promotes a common interest and common sympathy. In a community thus connected, a single flash of thought pervades the whole land, almost as rapidly as thought itself can fly. The population becomes, as it were, a single set of muscles, animated by one heart, and directed by a common sensorium.

"How different the condition of things in the South!" &c.

We hope that Mr. Preston's predecessor in the United States' Senate had the opportunity of listening to these remarks. They would not fail to enlarge his conceptions of the New England mind. At the time of his famous debate with Mr. Webster, the relation of his party to the federal councils was critical, and he tried hard to do the civil thing by New-England, though the course of his argument led him to no measured treatment of its leaders. But the kindest intentions could carry him no further than to an acknowledgment of its "steady habits and hardy virtues," while, speaking of other portions of the country, his fervor could luxuriate in such epithets as "the gallant West," "great and magnanimous Virginia," and the "noble disinterestedness, ardent love of

country, exalted virtue, and pure and holy devotion to liberty of the people of the Southern States."

The delusion we have referred to, there is too much reason to fear, has been conveyed, with the course of population, across the mountains. The most unambiguous expression of its existence there, which we recollect to have lately observed, in a respectable quarter, occurred on the presentation of the navy appropriation bill, at the last session of Congress. On that occasion, standing in his place among the representatives of the people, Mr. Hardin, of Kentucky, in debate with Mr. Cushing, of Massachusetts, is represented in the reports of the discussion, to have

"hit at cod fishery, wooden nutmegs, and tin peddling, and said that the gentleman from Massachusetts came from a section of country, where the people could see a dollar with the naked eye, as far as he could through a telescope."

Mr. Hardin is a man of unimpeached and unimpeachable veracity. His reputation for blunt frankness is implied in the very *soubriquet* by which he is best known. We are persuaded that the saving of his right hand would be no bribe to him to affirm what he did not believe. We are bound therefore to understand, that this is actually his opinion, concerning the population to which his remarks apply. It is his opinion, because he has lived where the doctrine was inculcated, and because, being guileless, he is unsuspecting, and easily practised upon. In ascribing his unfortunate error to credulity, we do no injustice to his understanding. He is not only an honest man, but an able. But all men are gullible. Not more true is it, that all men are mortal; and just as certainly as this gentleman and his neighbours believe what they do of New England and its nutmegs, they might with the proper appliances, be brought to believe that the moon is made of green cheese. Let them take care that some Yankee does not, before long, beguile their simplicity into that error.

We do not undertake to refute the doctrine of the nutmegs. There are no resources, in logic, to prove a negative. Accordingly, in reason and in law, the burden of proof is thrown on the other side, and we have never yet seen an indictment with specifications, to put the party accused on his defence. Dishonest men, we suppose, are the growth of every soil. We have no difficulty in allowing that such may have been

born in New England ; and on the other hand, if no fraudulent bargain was ever made by a native of Kentucky or South Carolina, it is time that those States asserted for themselves a place in the eye of the world and of history, to which no other community, as far as we know, has ever yet ventured to lay claim. That dishonest men, of New England birth, should have practised their arts more freely abroad than at home, is also a very credible thing. The class of rovers is generally found to embrace a portion of those who were in no good esteem at their starting-place, and bad men never conduct themselves so ill as in places where they are but transient sojourners. Also, when a wrong has been committed by such foul birds of passage, there is always danger that it may be laid at some door where it ought not to lie ; for the injured has small opportunity to examine the baptismal record of him whom he finds occasion to revile ; and where, for instance, as in North Carolina, peddling is carried on by native citizens, if a fraud occurs, the sufferer, under his double stimulus of personal indignation and sectional patriotism, is extremely likely to impute to New England, what is, in fact, chargeable to the next county to that where he is complaining.

We will plead, then, to the nutmegs, whenever some case shall be presented ; saying nothing further about them meanwhile, than that the general charge of dishonest transactions would really have seemed to us antecedently more probable, if some other form of dishonesty had been alleged instead of this. For we know of no tree and no art existing in New-England, from and by which a tolerable counterfeit of the fruit nutmeg could be produced. It is neither one of the geometrical figures, nor a combination of two or more. We apprehend that the lathe which could shape its likeness is yet to be invented ; and though the Yankee penknife, like the Yankee axe, is a potent tool, it would for this use require an amount of time, which could not profitably be afforded. Further, we suppose that, all over the world, people, who buy nutmegs, buy them for their aromatic property ; and of this we never heard of any substance, which would afford an imitation, capable of cheating the most unpractised olfactory organ. Our friends do us more than justice in one view, while in another they do us less. Wise as they give us credit for being, we are not equal to work like this.

Of specific charges of mal-practice against our population,

we suppose that to which we have referred to be decidedly the most prominent, and to rest on the highest authority. There are others of a more general nature, referred to in the publications from which we have quoted, on two or three of which we would bestow a little attention.

An impression has gone abroad, that the inhabitants of New England are an excessively *frugal* people. It ought better to be known why, when, and how far they are frugal. It is a point of honor with a New England man to maintain his family, and pay his debts. Is he any the worse for that? and how shall he do it, living, as he does, in a country of harsh climate and penurious soil? He cannot do it, except by persevering industry, and a methodical and prudent management of his affairs. If he is to be honest, he must be careful. Accordingly it is his custom, in pecuniary transactions, to avoid waste, and to stand for his rights. When he buys, he has first compared his wants with his means, and he does not intentionally give more for a thing than it is worth to him. What he has to sell, he has worked hard for, with a view to put it to some good use; and when he parts with it, he expects to get its value. This, it must be owned, is, for a general rule, the habit of the country, and not merely the custom of the poorest. A load of wood is driven to your door by a person, who perhaps might turn out, on inquiry, to be a *selectman* of his town, possibly even a representative in the General Court. When you have paid your fifteen or twenty dollars for your fuel, he expects you to pay him further the little piece of silver, which it cost him to have the wood surveyed. Why should he not? It is his right. He paid the money to the licensed measurer, for your greater security. There is no meanness in his demanding it back; there would be meanness in your grudging to refund it. There is no reason whatever, why he should give it to you. There is reason why he should keep it, to increase what he means to give in some other quarter. And if you follow him home the same day, it is very likely that you find him visiting some sick or aged neighbour's house, with a present, (the fruit of his expedition,) or going into town-meeting to vote for or urge some liberal appropriation, a full share of which is to come out of his pocket, for schools, roads, or alms-houses.

We should like, for the curiosity's sake, to see some system of ethics, which should show it to be otherwise than a duty,

to spare that one may have to spend and give. We should be gratified to see a set argument to prove, what in some quarters is so constantly taken for granted, that it is praiseworthy to be so thoughtless and easy in one's money affairs, as to have nothing to bestow when some good object requires an appropriation. The New England notion of the honorableness and the uses of economy is different. Practical illustrations of it, as it is actually entertained, might be had in any plenty for the seeking. Let us see how things go on, in this respect, in Boston. We have no more convenient way of getting at a general idea of them, than by making an abridgment from the Appendix to President Quincy's Address on the second centennial anniversary of the settlement of that city.

President Quincy gives a list in specific sums of, 1. "Amounts received from the liberality of the citizens of Boston towards objects of a moral, religious, or literary character, chiefly within the last thirty years," making a total of $1,155,986; of which $354,400 were given to the Massachusetts Hospital; $222,696 to Harvard College; $79,582 to the Female Orphan Asylum, and $75,000 to the Athenæum. 2. Contributions for the relief of sufferers in five northern towns by fire, amounting to $67,462. 3. "Moneys raised within the time specified by various contributions, or by donations of individuals, for the patronizing of distinguished merit, or for the relief of men eminent for their public services (testamentary bequests not included,) $108,400. 4. "Amounts collected for objects of general charity, or for the promotion of literary, moral, or religious purposes, by or under the influence of various religious societies in the metropolis (not including the particular annual objects of expenditure of each society,) $469,425. The sum total of particulars thus collected is $1,801,273. Mr. Quincy adds, that

"The object on this occasion has not been completeness, which was known to be impracticable, but as near an approximation to it as was possible. How far short the statement in this item is from the real amount collected, may be gathered from this fact, that information was requested for the amount collected within the last thirty years; yet more than half the sum stated in this item arose from collections made *within the last ten years.* As a further illustration, it may not be improper to state, that, within the last twelve years *five* citizens of Boston have deceased, whose bequests for objects exclusively of public

interest or benevolence, when united, amount to a sum exceeding *three hundred thousand dollars*, and that one of these during the last twenty years of his life, is known to have given away towards similar objects, a sum equal to *ten* thousand dollars annually."

This collection of facts was made in the autumn of 1830. If it were brought down to the present day, it would have to include, in a large variety of memoranda of the same kind, the munificent establishment of the Blind Asylum by a long-tried public benefactor still living, and the institution, announced just before the time when we are writing, of free lectures in departments of science and literature, with an endowment of $250,000, by a young Bostonian, who made the last arrangements for the execution of his plan in a distant city of Asia, whither he had gone for the purpose of enriching his countrymen with observations of his own mind.

But this, it will be said, is Boston, the chief seat of New England wealth, and a place wrought upon by influences of its own. It is Boston ; and what then ? Boston is a mere *abstraction* of New England, and a large portion of the men who are there most public-spirited and useful, have brought thither the principles and habits, which make them so, from some interior place of their nativity. Let us see what economy means, and what it comes to, in the country towns. An extract from Mr. Emerson's Centennial Discourse at Concord will serve us for that purpose ; we will pledge ourselves to multiply such collections of facts as long as our revilers will have patience to read them.

"In the whole course of the war, the town did not depart from this pledge it had given. Its little population of 1300 souls, behaved like a party to the contest. The number of its troops constantly in service is very great. Its pecuniary burdens are out of all proportion to its capital. The economy so rigid, which marked its earlier history, has all vanished. It spends profusely, affectionately, in the service. 'Since,' say the plaintive records, 'General Washington, at Cambridge, is not able to give but 24s. per cord for wood, for the army ; it is voted, that this town encourage the inhabitants to supply the army, by paying two dollars per cord, over and above the General's price, to such as shall carry wood thither ;' and 210 cords of wood were carried. A similar order is taken respecting hay. Whilst Boston was occupied by the British troops,

Concord contributed to the relief of the inhabitants £70 in money; 225 bushels of grain; and a quantity of meat and wood. When, presently, the poor of Boston were quartered by the Provincial Congress on the neighbouring country, Concord received 82 persons to its hospitality. In the year 1775, it raised 100 minute men, and 74 soldiers to serve at Cambridge. In March, 1776, 145 men were raised by this town to serve at Dorchester Heights. In June, the General Assembly of Massachusetts resolved to raise 5000 militia, for six months, to reinforce the Continental army. 'The numbers,' say they, 'are large, but this court has the fullest assurance, that their brethren on this occasion, will not confer with flesh and blood, but will, without hesitation, and with the utmost alacrity and despatch, fill up the numbers proportioned to the several towns.' On that occasion, Concord furnished 67 men, paying them itself, at an expense of £622. And so on, with every levy, to the end of the war. For these men, it was continually providing shoes, stockings, shirts, coats, blankets, and beef. The taxes, which, before the war, had not much exceeded £200 per annum, amounted, in the year 1782, to $9544 in silver. The great expense of the war was borne with cheerfulness, whilst the war lasted; but years passed, after the peace, before the debt was paid. As soon as danger and injury ceased, the people were left at leisure to consider their poverty and their debts. The town records show how slowly the inhabitants recovered from the strain of excessive exertion." — pp. 37–38.

The spirit of the administration of the towns is referred to by the same writer, in a succeeding paragraph. It is the spirit, in New England, — as anybody may know, who will be at pains to inquire, — of whatever may appear to be distinctive in habits of public and private economy; and, if there were more of it in the world, we are sure it would be all the better, both for individual character and the general well-being.

"The tone of the records rises with the dignity of the event. These soiled and musty books are luminous and electric within. The old town-clerks did not spell very correctly, but they contrive to make pretty intelligible the will of a free and just community. Frugal our fathers were, — very frugal, — though, for the most part, they deal generously by their minister, and provide well for the schools and the poor. If at any time, in common with most of our towns, they have carried this economy

to the verge of a vice, it is to be remembered that a town is, in many respects, a financial corporation. They economize, that they may sacrifice. They stint and higgle on the price of a pew, that they may send 200 soldiers to General Washington, to keep Great Britain at bay. For splendor, there must somewhere be rigid economy. That the head of the house may go brave, the members must be plainly clad, and the town must save that the State may spend." — pp. 41, 42.

These allusions to transactions of the revolutionary war, naturally suggest the thought of what is so largely said and sung, respecting the New Englanders being an *unchivalrous* people. Perhaps they are so. We hardly know whether to affirm or deny; for the word *chivalrous*, in its recent use in some parts of the United States, is one of the most vague of Americanisms. We exceedingly desire to see a dictionary, in which the new application of the word shall be authoritatively explained. If to be chivalrous implies a readiness to fatal street broils, most unchivalrous are we, for the halter is our standing remedy for the propensity to assassination, once developed in the act. Nay, our laws (and we feel confident in saying, our juries too, though the case has not yet come up,) make absolutely no difference between a murder after a challenge has been passed, and one gone about without that formality; and our soil is almost literally unstained by blood shed in what has been fancifully called honorable combat. But he who would hazard the assertion, that the New England race is not one of the most adventurous and indomitable courage, has little thought what stiff facts he undertakes to deal with, in their history. The account of the early contests with the natives is crowded with a succession of the most romantic achievements. From the period of the first collision between French and English on this continent, down to the taking of Quebec, the New England colonies were readiest for every sacrifice, and foremost in every danger. The capture of Louisbourg itself, in 1745, is not chiefly an interesting fact because it was the only success obtained by the English arms during a long war, and gave peace to Europe, but because of the extraordinary developement of character, in the successful expedition of a few regiments of colonial militia against a distant fortress, one of the strongest of the world both by nature and art. In respect to the extent of the part taken by New England, and especially

by Massachusetts, in the war of the Revolution, Mr. Sprague presents the following statements.

"New England, Massachusetts, then a feeble colony, alone raised the note of defiance against the whole power of the British empire; not on account of any actual oppression practically felt, which alone could have roused the phlegmatic, the sordid, or the selfish; but for a principle, — a doctrine, — for the mere assertion that Parliament had a right to legislate over them. If they had been cold, calculating, and narrow-minded, if they had regarded themselves only, their ease, their safety, or their property, they would have submitted, and left future generations to battle for themselves. But they did not. They knew that the time had come, when they must relinquish their long-cherished visions of hope, their warm and glowing anticipations for their posterity, those free principles of government, which they had labored to establish for all future generations, for all mankind, or they must fight; and, however unequal, however desperate the conflict, they could not hesitate. Their purpose was no ebullition of passion, it was not a solitary gleam of patriotism, which shot up and expired, or a spasm of disinterestedness exhausted by one convulsive effort; but a continued and enduring enthusiasm and spirit of self-sacrifice, which has never been exceeded.

"Exposed as she was on all sides, bordering for hundreds of miles on the territory of the enemy, and for hundreds more of seacoast open to every incursion of his invincible marine, still she did not confine her efforts within herself, but sent her sons wherever blows were to be dealt, or blood to be shed; among the foremost in every battle field, from the northern borders to the confines of Georgia; in every enterprise of danger, in every scene of suffering, whether from the violence of the elements in the untented field, or half clothed, half fed, marching against British veterans, staining the frozen earth at every step with their unshod feet; or driving the western savages from their fastnesses; or traversing the frozen wilds of Maine and Canada in a winter's march, the most wonderful in history, far exceeding the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand or Hannibal's crossing the Alps.

"And those, too, who remained at home, scarcely less devoted and suffering, ever laboring in the same great cause, yielding up their property, parting with their last hoof, offering up their last bushel of grain, submitting to privation and want, and yet never faltering or doubting or hesitating in their course, until the work of absolute independence was accomplished. Would

that the records of every town and every association of New England could be inspected by the world. The public archives of the nation can do them but partial justice. By them, however, it is demonstrated that New England, and Massachusetts in particular, throughout the whole war, voluntarily furnished to the general cause contributions of men and money very far beyond her due proportion. As these facts are strikingly exhibited by the official documents, — and I am not aware that a comparative statement has ever been presented to the public, — you will pardon me in this for going a little into detail, which I have not ventured upon any other topic.

"In the first year of the war, 1775, the whole number of Continental troops was 27,443, of which more than one half were from Massachusetts, then embracing the territory which now constitutes the State of Maine; and only 2,475 were from States out of New England.

"In 1776, when a more general organization had been effected, Massachusetts furnished more than all the four Middle States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Deleware united,— and more than all the five States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia united.

"In 1777 commenced a new era. In that and every succeeding year of the war, the quotas to be furnished from each State were prescribed by the Continental Congress. The requisitions upon Massachusetts and Virginia were always equal. But the liberality of the Bay State in complying with them far exceeded that of any other.

"In each of the years 1777, '78, '79, and '80, her contributions nearly equalled the whole of those from the four States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware; or of the four States south of the Potomac, — Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

"In each of the years 1781, '82, and '83, her single contributions very far exceeded the aggregate of those of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, as also the aggregate of those of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

"If we combine all these years, and take the aggregates of the whole war, from 1775 to 1783 inclusive, it will be found that Massachusetts furnished more troops for the Continental service than all the Middle States just mentioned, and more than all the five States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and that, of the whole aggregate number from all the thirteen States, more than a fourth, approaching to indeed to one third, were from this Commonwealth alone!

"In pecuniary supplies, the contrast is scarcely less striking.

This Commonwealth not only contributed more than any other State, but the excess of her payments into the general treasury, over what she drew from it, far exceeded that of any other. Indeed, the balance in her favor was not only greater than that of all the four Middle States before mentioned, or of all the four States south of the Potomac, with Maryland in addition, but exceeded that of all the other twelve united. Of the whole excess, more than half was from Massachusetts alone!

"During the whole war of the revolution, her preëminence was never questioned, — then, in the day of trial and of terror, when the storm lowered and darkness covered our whole horizon, the first rank was freely conceded to her." — pp. 19 – 22.

This extract brings into view another of the current charges against the New England population, — that of their *coldness*. For a cold people, they have unquestionably been apt to kindle in past time rather easily; and that too sometimes at nothing more heating, than the prospect of some distant or abstract good or evil. Cautious and reserved, perhaps it may be truly said they are; and these are qualities of manner, which, however objectionable in point of gracefulness and power of conciliating, are often found connected with qualities of character, of the substantial class of self-respect and love of consistency. But it can hardly be among a merely unfeeling, phlegmatic people, that so many of the great benevolent enterprises of the day have had their origin. With the wisdom of those enterprises, all or any, we have nothing now to do. But it is scarcely to be denied that they are enterprises of an adventurous and comprehensive sort, indicating something of a sanguine temperament on the part of their projectors; and the more indeed any of them can be shown to be of a visionary character, the less do they agree with the theory of their having proceeded from a people merely calculating and frigid.

The truth is, there are certain traits, prominent in the New England character, such as love of order and the habit of self-control, which hasty observers mistake for tokens of a want of earnestness. Was there ever a more sublime rage than the people within a day's march of Boston were in, on the 19th of April, 1775? yet we lately heard an eminent South-western statesman amusing himself with the fact of their going to work, the day after, giving and taking depositions respecting the circumstances of the affray. Why not? What

did this show, but their love of right, order, and law, not suspended by the sanguinary work of a revolution? They had fought for a cause, and they wished to make that good cause appear. They were not a riotous people, ready to go to blows with or without reason. They owed it to their respect for themselves and others, to show that they had not unnecessarily shed blood, at the free rate they did. It was no repenting of the conflict, or shrinking from its consequences or its prosecution; for at the moment these depositions were taking, the country was pouring down its regiments of minute-men, under such epauletted justices of the peace, as could be spared, to seal up the invader hermetically within Boston neck. — Bunker Hill fight was a thing gone about with great deliberation and arrangement; but never before had militiamen done such desperate service. Nor let any of the gentlemen whom we have quoted suppose that when we refer to the valor and constancy which have made that day immortal, we are but imposing on them a Yankee version of General Jackson's exploit at New Orleans forty years later, with his Tennesseeans. If they doubt, we shall show them Southern authorities for the truth of the statement; and if they will ever wander into that polar and barbarous region of the Atlantic coast, which lies about 42° of north latitude, their eyes shall behold the very spot, where the thing we are telling of was done.

But respecting this attributed coldness in the New England character, we should do injustice to our readers to speak in any other than Mr. Sprague's words. With one more quotation from his eloquent address, we dismiss the subject, for the present. There are other connected topics on which we intended to touch; but our remarks have already extended themselves to an entirely unexpected length, and we have more than exhausted our space.

"*Enthusiasm* was the characteristic of our fathers; they transmitted it to their posterity, and, startling as the proposition may seem, it has ever been the *basis* of the New England character; — not indeed exhibited externally, and rarely open to superficial observation.

"The Puritans, before they left their native country, were surrounded on all sides by enemies, and subjected to violence and oppression from the arm of government, to which they opposed only caution, circumspection, and a fixed immovable

resolution, necessarily begetting much of sternness and severity in their external demeanour. Ever calm and self-controlled, they adopted a rigid system of education for their children, by which outward manifestations of internal emotion were forbidden and repressed. But the fire which was not permitted to break forth, only glowed with the more enduring intensity within, the fountain of that restless energy of character which, whatever the object of pursuit, impels them forward with a boldness and activity equalled by no other people on earth. This is the great moral power which, however directed, is sure to produce the most striking results. From obvious causes, it has generally been directed to some branch of productive industry. Their poverty, their barren soil and ungenial climate, their laws of equal distribution of estates allowing no entailments or continued accumulations for posterity, have necessarily, in time of peace, thrown almost every New England man upon some gainful pursuit. He enters upon it with all his characteristic energy and perseverance; and hence the opinion that he is peculiarly sordid and avaricious. Others see only a thirst for gain, in what, in truth, is but one developement of his constitutional enthusiasm. He is seen calm, cool, self-subdued, with no apparent ardor of temperament, with no pressing physical wants, impelled not by the approach of starvation like the over-crowded population of other countries, yet going forward with an activity and inflexibility of purpose which outstrip all competition. He is seen upon the ocean, meeting the world on a fair field of equal competition, traversing every sea, penetrating every coast, daring every climate, everywhere producing greater results with less means than any competitor; and whatever his object, whether it be drawing its treasures from the bosom of the deep, or pressing with gainful commerce its heaving surface, pursuing it with a bolder spirit, grasping with a stronger hand, striking with a more unerring aim, and spreading his sails for a more daring flight. The same phenomenon is seen on land; whether it be as a hunter beyond the Rocky Mountains, or a pioneer in felling the forest, and subduing the soil, or in building up cities and constructing rail-roads, still there is the same untiring devotion of all his time and all his faculties.

"But those who think that gain alone is the governing and impelling motive, if they will but extend their observation, will see the same intensity in every other pursuit, although neither gold nor gain can be hoped. In war with the aborigines, where no spoils were to be won, they obtained a superiority, not merely from civilized arts, but in those qualities which civilization is supposed to enfeeble, and for which the savage is most

distinguished. They made themselves more active in the race, more sagacious in the council, more watchful in the ambush, and more untiring in the pursuit. In civilized warfare, too, the same characteristics have been displayed, whether with Paul Jones, and Isaac Hull, and Samuel Tucker, and David Porter, on the ocean, or at Louisbourg, or Bunker Hill, or Quebec, or Niagara. In the paths of Christian benevolence, what missionaries have exhibited a more fearless and devoted spirit, whether among the North American Indians, or at Indostan, or the Sandwich Islands, or at Sumatra, faithful even unto death?

"The effects of this pervading zeal and ardor and energy are seen everywhere. It is this which has studded our iron-bound coast with cities and villages, and clothed our barren fields with verdure, — which has subdued the forest and spread far and wide the beams and the blessings of civilization. Other parts of our country have been peopled originally from other portions of Europe; but go where you will, the effects of New England enterprise and skill and labor are seen and felt. In every State of the Union, you will find that they have taken the lead in energy and activity, and wherever there have been the greatest advances, there you may be sure to find the sons of New England. The Puritan blood flows everywhere, swelling every vein of this great republic, diluted perhaps by intermixture, enfeebled perhaps, but still imparting something of its pristine strength and ardor." — pp. 9 – 11.

Art. XIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. V. of the Third Series.* 8vo. pp. 300. Boston; Russell, Shattuck, & Co. 1836.

We are glad to find that this highly respectable Society continues to add volume after volume to our stores of historical information, and is as vigorously productive in its old age, as it was at its formation, nearly fifty years ago. It is among the oldest of our literary and philosophical societies, and we know of none that has published so much, either in amount or value, or whose transactions reflect more credit on the intellectual character of the country. Twenty-five octavo volumes, relating to American history and antiquities, make a large and substantial contribution to our literary treasures.

At the time of the Society's institution, in 1791, the plan

which it projected was a novel one. Its purpose was to collect and preserve the scattered records and papers relating to the history of this country, for the benefit and instruction of after times. Its object was not merely to drag forth these dusty and mouldering manuscripts from their forgotten hiding-places in old family cabinets, and deposit them in a safe place, where they might be accessible to the scholar and the antiquarian; but its chief aim was to secure their perpetuity, and extend the knowledge which they contained, by multiplying copies through the agency of the press, and thus putting them within the reach of the inquisitive in all parts of the country. Its object was not to hoard, but to diffuse, these treasures. And experience had abundantly shown the great need of such a measure. The irreparable loss of Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony, the shameful destruction of Governor Hutchinson's papers by the mob in 1765, and the depredations committed by the British soldiers on the invaluable collections of Prince, deposited in the steeple of the Old South Church, all proved that there was no security for our ancient documents, so long as they remained in manuscript.

It was, then, an important and necessary work which this Society proposed to itself, and one which it has pursued with great singleness of aim and intensity of purpose for nearly half a century. If it had done nothing more than print Hubbard's History of New England from the original manuscript, it would have conferred a lasting obligation on the community. Its collections are now continually appealed to, as unquestionable authorities, wherever an interest is taken in American history. No one presumes to write the history of a town or a State, without referring to them for information; and it may be safely asserted that the admirable history of the United States, which has lately proceeded from the pen of Mr. Bancroft, never could have been written without the use of the materials which this Society had so amply provided and so liberally dispensed.

The volume now before us, which the Society has just issued, yields to none of its predecessors in interest and value. The articles are nearly all printed from original manuscripts preserved in its archives. Several of them relate to great public transactions and events; and those of a private character are full of those minute particulars and details, narrated with perfect simplicity and naturalness, which lend such a touching interest to the diaries and autobiographies of our fathers. Our limits will permit us only to glance at the contents of the volume.

1. The first article, consisting of seventy pages, is the Jour-

nal, never before printed, of the proceedings of the Congress held at Albany, in 1754, and which sat for twenty-two days, for the purpose of treating with the Six Nations of Indians, and concerting a scheme of general union among the British American colonies against the French and their Indian allies. This congress was held at the suggestion and under the sanction of the mother country, and Governor Hutchinson, who was himself a member of it, justly remarks in his History of Massachusetts, that "it was the most deserving of respect of any which had ever been convened in America, whether we consider the colonies which were represented, the rank and characters of the delegates, or the purposes for which it was convened." Governor Livingston says of this convention, that "the commissioners were, both for abilities and fortune, some of the most considerable men in North America. The speakers were not many; but of those who spoke, some delivered themselves with singular energy and eloquence. All were inflamed with a patriotic spirit, and the debates were nervous and pathetic. This assembly might very properly be compared to one of the ancient Greek conventions for supporting their expiring liberty against the power of the Persian empire, or that Louis of Greece, Philip of Macedon." The plan of union which was agreed upon by the Congress, was drawn up by Franklin, who was one of the commissioners; but it was rejected, on different grounds, both by the colonial assemblies and by the government at home, the assemblies thinking that there was too much prerogative in it, and the government that there was too much of the democratic. Some estimate may be formed of the value of this document from the fact, which has lately come to our knowledge, that the accomplished chief magistrate of our State, than whom there is no one among us more familiar with the history of the country, some years since had an exact transcript of it made under his own eye, being unwilling that the record of so important a transaction should exist only in a single manuscript. Five hundred printed copies of it now put it beyond the reach of destruction.

2. The second article, of twenty-five pages, is a journal, now first printed, of a negotiation at Albany, in August, 1775, between the Six Nations and commissioners of the Continental Congress. It is well known that the attention of Congress was very early drawn to the importance of securing the alliance, or at least the neutrality, of the Indian tribes during the impending conflict with the mother country; and commissioners were accordingly appointed to treat with the Indians, to preserve peace and friendship, and to prevent their taking any part in the

approaching commotions. This journal shows the prudence and skill with which the commissioners discharged their difficult and delicate duty, in their interview with the powerful and warlike tribes that dwelt along the southern shore of Lake Ontario.

3. The third article is a very interesting journal, kept by Captain Christopher Gist, of Virginia, a frontier settler and a pioneer of the forest, who accompanied Washington in 1753, in his tour over the Alleghany Mountains, to visit the commander of the French fort on the Ohio. Washington's narrative of that expedition, it is well known, was published at the time, and is contained in Mr. Sparks's admirable edition of his Writings; but the journal of his only companion in this arduous and perilous enterprise has never before seen the light. Some of the adventures and hair-breadth escapes here related are singularly romantic, particularly Washington's narrow escape from drowning when he fell from the raft in the Alleghany river, and his miraculous deliverance from the deliberate and deadly aim of an Indian's rifle.

4. The next article, of sixty-seven pages, is General Lincoln's Journal of his tour, when sent by Washington in 1793, in company with Timothy Pickering and Beverley Randolph, to effect a treaty with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, who were then in a state of hostility with the United States. This journal is peculiarly interesting at this time, as presenting a graphic description of the state of the country through which the writer passed, more than forty years ago, from Philadelphia by the way of New York, Albany, the Mohawk river, Wood Creek, Lake Oneida, Lake Ontario, and Niagara, to Detroit. It likewise contains, as do the first and second articles in the volume, the best specimens of Indian eloquence and diplomatic skill, that we have ever met with. Appended to the Journal is a beautiful lithographic copy of a sketch of the conference with the Indians at Buffalo Creek, in 1793, taken on the spot by a young British officer who was present. It is well remarked by the publishing committee that "an exhibition of that occurrence so many years since, multiplied by an art then undiscovered, is a suitable appendage to the relation of a tour in the land where all the objects which then solicited the traveller's attention, except Ontario, Erie, and Niagara, are totally changed."

5. The fifth article, which we are inclined to think will prove the most generally acceptable, is an autobiography of the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, who was born at Boston in 1681, and died in 1770, in his 89th year. This paper was drawn up in 1766, when the writer was in his 85th year, for the use of President Stiles, of Yale College. It records in a very simple

and touching manner, his life and adventures from his school-boy days to his declining years. And his was an eventful life; he went as chaplain in the expedition against Port Royal in 1707, of which he gives a very minute account from the journal which he kept; was present at the trial of Sacheverel in Westminster Hall, in 1709; was the cotemporary and opponent of the Mathers, and had great and deserved influence both in church and state. In 1741, he oppposed "the Whitfieldian ferment," as he calls it, and was appointed by the convention to draw up their "public testimony against the errors and bad practices prevalent" at that time. It was likewise by his advice and recommendation, that Holyoke was chosen president of Harvard College, in 1737. We hardly know when we have met with an article of American biography more interesting than this.

6. We have next a brief paper from the Rev. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge, in which he proves conclusively that the claim of Rhode Island of having early established a universal toleration of religious opinions, is altogether unfounded. He maintains that in the act of toleration, passed in 1664, the Roman Catholics were excepted, and he brings forward, as evidence of this, a copy of an act of the General Assembly of that State, passed in 1783, repealing the excepting clause in the act of 1664, and extending to Roman Catholics all the rights and privileges of Protestant citizens. We presume this sets the question at rest for ever.

7. We then have a letter from Colonel George Morgan to General Washington, enclosing the Lord's prayer in Shawanese; and the volume closes with biographical sketches of several of the deceased members of the Society. Of these, the notices of the Rev. Drs. Freeman and Prince, by their respective colleagues, Messrs. Greenwood and Upham, are deservedly more full and extended, since these venerable men were among the founders and fathers of the Society.

We cannot take leave of this volume without strongly recommending it, and the series of works to which it belongs, to the patronage of the community. We know of no set of books more deserving of a place in a public or private library. We regret to learn that the sales have not been sufficient to reimburse the Society for the cost of their publication; although the labor of preparing the volumes for the press is performed gratuitously by its members. The Society have recently resolved to publish a volume annually, and have reduced the price to one dollar a volume. We trust they will meet with sufficient encouragement to authorize them to proceed in their useful and meritorious labors.

2. — *Memorials of Mrs. Hemans; with Illustrations of her Literary Character from her private Correspondence.* By Henry F. Chorley. 8vo.

This volume is an extension of a series of papers, printed not long since, in "The Athenæum." They were read at the time with a deep interest, heightened by the recent death of the lamented poetess, in whose memory they were composed. The time probably has not yet come, when a complete life of Mrs. Hemans can, with propriety, be written. The circles in which she moved are yet too unbroken; the persons with whom she was connected are still on the stage: too many chords of feeling would vibrate to the touch of the biographer's hand.

Mr. Chorley has given as minute a sketch of Mrs. Hemans's life, as he could do, with a proper regard to the feelings of her survivors. He has confined himself mostly to such details as have a bearing on her literary career exclusively, leaving the delicate circumstances of her domestic life hardly touched upon. He gives some interesting notices of her childhood and youth, and some valuable details of her family. But we cannot, on the whole, applaud the editor's part in this volume. His narrative is far enough from being either perspicuous or graceful. He feels bound to moralize and philosophize, at every breathing place; and his speculations and sentiment are not sufficiently ingenious or affecting, to pay for the trouble of reading them. A man or woman either, who sets a just value upon time, and thinks it proper for a book to have either freshness of style, or vigor of sentiment, or clearness of ideas, will assuredly skip over every one of Mr. Chorley's dissertations, and read nothing else than the mere facts and Mrs. Hemans's letters. It is a great pity that so much ink, paper, space, and time should be taken up with unmeaning words. It would be a good thing for some publisher to print "Chorley's Memorials," with the omission of every thing belonging to Chorley.

The letters will be read with interest, by all who take an interest in Mrs. Hemans. They are written with entire simplicity, and without the slightest thought of publication. The propriety of giving such letters to the public, at least so soon after the author's death, may well be questioned. But setting that consideration aside, the greater part of the letters will give a very agreeable impression of Mrs. Hemans's private character, and to most people, quite a new view of her intellectual qualities. The sad and solemn strain of her poetry had not prepared us for the ease, vivacity, and wit, with which they abound. They are written in

a gay, off-hand style, full of lively sallies and ludicrous images, and show any thing but a turn for sentimental melancholy. The familiar tone, and rapid manner with which they were thrown off, forbid our making them a measure of her intellectual ability; and yet we find in them occasionally a beautiful piece of criticism, or a profound reflection, that would appear well in an elaborate essay. The most agreeable letters of the whole collection are those in which she describes her visits to the Lake, and to Walter Scott. We doubt whether the character of Wordsworth and Scott have ever been more truly represented; the one, an amiable egotist, absorbed in his poetical reveries, or reading aloud his own works, or talking about Rydal and Grassmere, with which he has identified his poetical existence; and the other, never alluding to himself but once, and that in joke.

We have been rather unpleasantly affected with one or two things in these letters. Mrs. Hemans indulged herself, it seems, in ridiculing her visitors and correspondents; visitors who were drawn to her by reverence and love; and correspondents whose intense admiration of her works could only vent itself in grateful and sometimes extravagant epistles. There is no doubt that many of these people were troublesome enough, and their calls an importunate draft upon her time; there is no doubt that many of the letters she received were ridiculous and tasteless outpourings of boyish or girlish admiration. But a little reflection would have taught Mrs. Hemans that the love and veneration which a great poetess inspires, even in awkward and clownish spirits, is no fit subject for ridicule, and her good feelings should have repressed the lively sally, even in confidential intercourse with her friends. *Friends will sometimes print.* There are many passages in the letters that must cut deep somewhere; there are many sarcastic descriptions, that must be excessively mortifying to somebody. We fancy that her American admirers come in for a full share of ridicule, and we think it quite likely they had a full share in that "Albumean persecution," which she so humorously describes. Some of her American friends are men whose character and fame are the world's property; and of them she never speaks but with high and becoming respect. But such is not the case with far the greater part. This topic ought to be distinctly considered, because we Americans often make great mistakes that expose us to the derision of distinguished foreigners. Many enthusiastic spirits among us fancy that the great English authors, whose works they admire, are beings set apart and sanctified from vulgar life, and that the incense wafted across the Atlantic will be a grateful tribute to them in their Olympian abodes. They accordingly sit down to

their desks, and fill out sheet after sheet of foolscap with high-flown panegyric, send it off, and get thoroughly laughed at for their pains. Such people, — they are generally inexperienced young gentlemen and sentimental young ladies, — make the universal Yankee nation appear in the eyes of Christendom to be a mighty generation of greenhorns. A little more self-respect, and a little less desire "to be kicked by the duke," would save our countrymen from many a mortifying comment.

Mr. Chorley has done wrong in publishing such things as we have spoken of. It was imprudent, and in bad taste, to write them; but it is a treachery to the confidence of friendship to print them. Public opinion ought to frown the practice down, and set the seal of reprobation upon it; or all people who think they are distinguished or are going to be, must cease writing confidential letters. And then how dull and tiresome will everybody's correspondence become! How soon will the lively interchange of thought per mail die out; and what an alarming falling-off will take place in the revenues of the Post-office! The Cadmean invention will cease to supply the place of personal intercourse, and Mr. Kendall's occupation will be gone.

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3. — *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year* 1837. Boston; published by Charles Bowen. 12mo. pp. 324.

We rise from the examination of some of the most distinguished almanacs of France, England, and Germany, with the conviction that our "American Almanac" stands unsurpassed by any of this most valuable class of periodical publications. Its astronomical calculations, executed by a well-known enthusiast in the vigils of the astronomer, and in the tedious tasks of numerical calculation, are adapted by their generality and minuteness to the wants of the nicest observer, in every part of the United States, and place this department of the work far above that of all but the professedly astronomical almanac. In its meteorological and other miscellaneous information, it is admirably suited to the wants of the country; but, in the extent, the variety, and the correctness of its statistical information, it is without a rival. The statistical department in the other almanacs, consists of little more than a court calendar and annual register, with some general account of the population, &c. of different countries, repeated year after year, with only such changes as are absolutely required. In the American Almanac, on the

contrary, the repetitions are only such as are necessary, while the whole subject is re-modelled each year by its laborious editor, the wonderful accuracy of whose information with respect to every point of lexicography, geography, and statistics we believe to be almost unequalled, unless it be in Germany, the land of living encyclopedias.

The principal source of interest in most almanacs, from those earliest known, nearly to the present day, consisted in the astrological prophecies which were artfully mingled with the astronomical predictions, in a way well fitted to impose upon the ignorant; who, seeing the one invariably fulfilled, must naturally have extended their credit to all, supposing them the results of one and the same occult science. This class of almanacs has been rapidly diminishing before the progress of knowledge; but it may possibly revive and flourish anew beneath the mystical influence of the fashionable philosophy just imported from Germany, which esteems a vague *guess* above a careful observation, and, dreaming about "the things in heaven and earth," believes in links of connexion which exist only in the fancy of the dizzy speculator. Adroitly trimming his sails to this favorable breeze, the Lilly of the nineteenth century may issue his oracles, derived, not from the study of the stars, but from the magnetical inspirations of some bed-ridden chamber-maid.

Within a few years, the character of almanacs has, however, undergone a great change and improvement, and a vast variety of them are now pouring into the world their streams of useful information. In England, we see the Mechanic's Almanac, the Stationer's, the Gentleman's, the Lady's, the Medical, the Evangelical, the Family, the Parochial, the County Almanacs, &c.; and in this country, the Farmer's, the Comic, the Christian, &c., so that be a man of what trade, profession, or employment soever, whether whig or tory, grave or gay, worldly or religious, he is sure to find one calculated, not only for his meridian, but also for his exact position in the world of business, of letters, of fashion, or of morals.

The present volume of the American Almanac, "besides the usual register of the national and state governments, an American and foreign obituary, and chronicle of events, contains, among various other matters, a valuable treatise on the 'Use of Anthracite Coal,' an account of 'Public Libraries,' a 'Statistical View of the Population of the United States,' a series of tables relating to the 'Cultivation, Manufacture, and Foreign Trade of Cotton,' and meteorological notices of Seasons and the Weather; but the subject more especially

treated of under the Individual States, is that of INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT, particularly CANALS and RAIL-ROADS." — *Preface.*

Under each of these heads is condensed much information interesting and valuable to the domestic economist, the scholar, the merchant, the statesman, and the patriot; and the whole collection evinces the soundest discrimination and the most laborious investigation, and is as far as possible removed from the little arts, with which the ignorant and indolent book-maker is wont to gild over his inferior fabric of commonplaces.

We trust that the happy suggestion of the editor, with regard to the establishment of public libraries by the national government, will not be allowed to lie dormant in the pages of the Almanac, but that it may fall on good ground and spring up to the benefit of science and literature. We also hope that the want, alluded to by his scientific assistant, of an observatory, will not much longer be a disgrace to the country. We demand it of our merchants, to wipe off this disgrace, in discharge of the immense debt of gratitude due from commerce to her mother science. We demand it of our nation, whose very being, as a member of the civilized world, depends upon the labors of astronomy; of our government, all whose enlightened features and free institutions are the result of profound study into the history of the world, and of intimate acquaintance with the wisdom of ages; to supply from her own breast the craving wants of American intellect, and erect on her territories the watch-towers of science and the citadels of literature. The fort and the frigate are not more valuable guards against the foreign invader, than is the public library, the never-dying teacher of the schoolmaster and the statesman, against the more imminent perils from the ambitious demagogue. The country owes it, therefore, to her children to provide these bulwarks of her liberties, and she might accomplish in a few years what would be the labor of centuries, if left to the disunited and precarious contributions of private liberality. We cannot, however, join in the complaints of many of our learned friends, in regard to the little which has been done by our men of wealth to aid the intellectual advancement of the country. We look upon all such murmuring, as ingratitude to the munificent founders and patrons of the colleges and libraries which are spread over the whole United States. A greater concentration of these liberal efforts would, undoubtedly, have hastened the advance of literature; but we must not forget that the permanence of our political institutions depends less upon the brilliancy of our geniuses, than upon the intelligence of the middling classes; so that our temple of science should rather

be of the Egyptian than the Gothic architecture, — have more the form of the pyramid than the cathedral, and rather boast of the breadth of its base than of the number and elevation of its spires.

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4. — *The Knickerbocker, or New York Magazine, for October,* 1836.

The October number of this Magazine treats us rudely and wrongly. We are sorry for it, for we like both editor and work. The matter of animadversion is the review of Glass's "Life of Washington," in the 92d Number of our journal.

We need not trouble ourselves with the fling at the "young gentleman who perpetrates the classical articles in the North American," any further than to say that it involves a two-fold mistake. We obtain our contributions in that department from various sources, and the author of the article in question is not a youth.

The writer of the notice in the Knickerbocker says, that the beauties of Glass's history are not "even so much as hinted at," in our review. We, however, expressly said, that Glass "is often happy in the choice of words and phrases," and mentioned "terseness and strength" as characteristic of portions of his work.

The writer goes on to complain, that "no merit whatever is ascribed to the fact of the author's having written his work at a distance from all those aids to composition, with which others are so abundantly supplied." What is meant by ascribing *merit* to the *fact* here stated, we do but indistinctly apprehend; but certain it is, that we took care to specify the want of the "necessary helps" to writing Latin, as one of the difficulties with which Glass had to struggle; and we clearly alluded to this want as one of the circumstances which "disarm criticism," in judging of the work.

The reviewer spoke of the writings of Cato, Varro, and Lucceius, as "voluminous." This, especially in reference to Lucceius, the writer in the Knickerbocker considers as a grievous error. If, however, any one will read Cicero's celebrated letter to Lucceius, the twelfth of the fifth book of the Familiar Letters, he will find that this epithet, even in the case of Lucceius, was properly applied. That the writings of these three authors were equally voluminous, is neither asserted by the reviewer, nor is it implied in his language. The author of the notice supposes, that the reviewer must have been ignorant that any of the works of Cato and Varro have come down to our time; and the prin-

cipal reason of his belief is, that the reviewer has classed these two authors with Lucceius, of whom "no writings whatever" remain. This reason, which in the opinion of the writer is so conclusive, is, however, entirely a fiction of his own. The fourteenth letter of the book of Cicero's Letters, referred to above, is ascribed to Lucceius, and its authenticity is now probably for the first time denied. The important inference, therefore, fails. These authors were mentioned together, because a very small part of their writings is now extant, and they are less generally known as authors, than some of those whose names immediately followed.

The writer of the notice proceeds; "The reviewer makes mention also of the lost comedies of Plautus and Terence, and thinks, that if we had them, not only the 'vocabulary' of the Latin language, but its 'compass of expression' would be greatly enlarged." He then says, "that the genuine comedies of Plautus, as fixed by the Varronian canon, were only twenty-one in number, and that of these we have twenty remaining. Consequently but one is lost. What a wonderful play this lost one must have been," &c. Here is a misrepresentation, which would not have found its way into the work where it appears, except through some mishap. What the reviewer said was this. "If the voluminous writings of Cato, Varro, and Lucceius, and the lost works of Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, Tacitus, Pliny, and of the numerous orators mentioned by Cicero and Tacitus, had been preserved; and if we now possessed the lost comedies of Plautus and Terence, and the innumerable dramatic works, which appeared in Rome, from the time of Plautus to the commencement of the decline of the Latin language, no doubt the vocabulary, as well as the compass of expression, would be enlarged." The writer, as may be seen above, has on his own responsibility inserted the word "greatly" before the word "enlarged"; an interpolation which was necessary in order to make his objection of any force. In addition to this, what must be the unscrupulousness of a writer, who would represent the reviewer as drawing his inference from Plautus and Terence only, when he had in fact drawn it from a long catalogue of authors?

As to the number of the lost plays of Plautus and Terence, without entering on a discussion of the question, it may be sufficient to say, that this writer himself has admitted, that one play of Plautus is lost, and he might have added, that parts of others are likewise lost; and if he had consulted Professor Anthon, he might have ascertained, that "the most learned and intelligent critics" have differed very widely as to the number of the come-

dies of Plautus, which they have admitted to be genuine, and that Varro himself seems on some occasion to have assented to the authenticity of several dramas in addition to the twenty-one, which are usually styled Varronian. Crusius is quoted by the writer of the notice, as advancing the opinion, "that in all likelihood we have *only* lost *above* one or two of the dramas of Terence." This language is not the most intelligible; but it seems to be here admitted, that enough of Terence has perished to justify the language of the reviewer. The whole passage is given above.

The reviewer had said, that "the changes of termination to make English names Latin, should be conducted by some rule;" and showed by examples, that Glass is faulty in this respect. The writer of the notice remarks, that inconsistencies like those pointed out in Glass, occur in other writers. This does little towards proving the rule not to be a proper one. The difference between Glass and the other authors referred to is this. In Glass, the faults in question are frequent; in the authors referred to, they appear so seldom, as to prove them to be mere negligences.

The writer of the notice is unskilled in verbal and grammatical criticism. His defence of Glass in the frequent use of the word *velitatio* is, that this word is used in approved translations from the Greek into Latin. But in such translations verbal exactness is usually aimed at; and, on this account, from the necessity of the case, great purity of language has not been required. Not one of his remarks on the other criticisms of the reviewer have the remotest bearing on the points at issue. The following is an instance of his acuteness most favorable to himself. The reviewer had objected to the phrase, "vacuandi recipiendique rationi contrarium." The author of the notice supposes, that all will be right, by inserting the reciprocal pronoun before "rationi." But in the name of all that is Latin, what does "vacuandi recipiendique se rationi contrarium," mean?

The writer says, that the motto on the title-page of Glass, was written by Professor Anthon; and adds, "Will it be believed that this learned reviewer has certainly swallowed the whole for a genuine quotation from Cicero," and "actually mistook a piece of modern Latin for a passage from Cicero?" This he pronounces "the best part of the story." What deplorable shamelessness is here! The reviewer made no mention of this motto, nor alluded to it directly or indirectly.

For his credit's sake, and that of all who print for him, we commend our censor to a more self-denying use of his pen. It is an unsafe instrument in some hands.

5. — *A Treatise on the Physiology and Pathology of the Ear; containing a Comparative View of its Structure, Functions, and various Diseases; Observations on the Derangement of the ganglionic Flexus of Nerves, as the Cause of many obscure Diseases of the Ear; together with Remarks on the Deaf and Dumb.* Sixth Edition. By John Harrison Curtis, Esq., Aurist in Ordinary to his Majesty, &c., &c., &c., &c. London; Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, Paternoster Row. 1836. 8vo.

This is, on the whole, a useful book. The mere fact, that it has reached the sixth edition, speaks very distinctly in its favor. If it does not treat profoundly the various topics that come under notice, still the author is evidently a man of extensive experience, with a good talent for observation and a fair share of practical knowledge.

The subject of which it treats is one of deep interest. The diseases of the ear are so frequent, coming on often from very slight causes, sometimes without any known cause, and are so apt to terminate in partial or total deafness, that any thing that is calculated to throw light on the subject, cannot be regarded with indifference.

It is well known too, that when the function of hearing is impaired or destroyed, it is exceedingly difficult to restore it. It is therefore very desirable to understand those diseases that lead to its destruction, to learn, if possible, the means by which they can be arrested, and at any rate to be able to distinguish between those that produce only a temporary deafness and those that cause a permanent loss of the function.

Many persons are of opinion, that this department of surgical knowledge has not kept pace with some others; that the diseases of the eye, for example, are much better understood than formerly; that many affections, that once terminated in the loss of sight, are now within the control of art; that vision is in many cases, at the present day, easily restored, where a cure would formerly have been thought impossible; but that nothing of this kind has taken place with regard to the diseases of the ear.

To a certain extent this is true. A great improvement has unquestionably been made in what is termed ophthalmic surgery, while it cannot be denied that not a few of the diseases of the organ of hearing wholly baffle the art. But this should not be attributed altogether to a neglect of the subject; the difficulty in fact lies deeper. The loss of hearing very often arises from

the state of the internal ear or the brain; and in most of such cases, all that science can do is to teach the fact, without furnishing a remedy. Very many of the diseases of the organ of sight, on the contrary, are situated in the eye itself, the brain and optic nerve being unaffected, and not a few of these produce partial or total loss of vision. It fortunately happens that many of these cases are within the reach of art, and by a delicate, though not a very difficult operation, the functions of the eye may be restored. But a small proportion, on the other hand, of those diseases of the ear which terminate in deafness, are situated in the external organ, and a few only of these are in the present state of knowledge within our control.

It is probable that the mere loss of hearing is not so great a privation as the loss of sight; yet we know that the deaf are ordinarily far less cheerful and happy than the blind. This can perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that the loss of hearing is more frequently in consequence of a diseased state of the brain, than the loss of sight. Another circumstance also seems to favor this opinion; and that is, that insane persons are very often deaf, while the sense of sight is rarely affected in them.

Even when deafness is the consequence of some defect in the external organs, it is not very often that it can be removed by any human means, and still less often by a surgical operation; differing essentially, in this respect, from the diseases of the eye.

It is well known that the loss of hearing sometimes arises from an obstruction of the Eustachian tube, the canal which runs from the back part of the throat to the cavity of the tympanum. Through this canal the air passes from the mouth, the membrane of the tympanum is in this way kept tense, and consequently vibrates better when sounds strike upon it. The air is occasionally prevented by colds in the head, as they are called, and other inflammatory affections about the throat, from passing through this canal, and so long as the passage is obstructed, the sense of hearing is rendered more or less imperfect. In some cases this obstruction is permanent and complete, and in such cases permanent deafness is the consequence.

From a knowledge of the fact, that the membrane of the tympanum may be ruptured, and the sense of hearing remain unimpaired, Sir Astley Cooper was led to suggest and practise an operation, in cases of deafness arising from an obstruction of the Eustachian tube, that for a time promised very favorable results. The operation was very simple; the membrane was merely punctured by some small sharp-pointed instrument like a couching-needle. The air was in this way admitted to the cavity of the tympanum, and the tension of the membrane thus

restored. In some cases, there was for a time great apparent relief from the operation; the patients actually heard better, or thought they did; but the good effects were not found to be permanent, and it is now almost altogether abandoned. We are surprised to perceive, that Mr. Curtis entertains so favorable an opinion of it; we doubt whether he will find many to agree with him. We have, however, alluded to this operation, because it promised as much as almost any one for the relief of deafness, that has ever been suggested, and because it is now usually regarded as an entire failure. It shows that much has not been accomplished by surgical operations for the restoration of hearing.

Mr. Curtis's book can be easily understood by most persons. It is not burdened with technical language, and would perhaps even be more interesting to general readers than to professional ones. It will be useful to all classes, by making them perceive the importance of early attention to the first indications of impaired hearing, for this it very properly inculcates. Its plan is judicious. It first describes the organ of hearing and its healthy functions in man, and after giving an account of those organs in some of the inferior animals, it proceeds to an examination of the diseases.

We are pleased to see the increased attention that is bestowed upon this subject, and are desirous that it should still more occupy the thoughts of scientific professional men. On this account we should be glad to have Mr. Curtis's book very generally circulated; not because it is precisely the work we could wish, but because we know of no other, that is, on the whole, to be preferred to it. At any rate it presents the points that require investigation, if it does not always suggest the best mode of conducting it; and thus, is likely to induce observation and excite inquiry that may lead to very important results.

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6. — *Poems*, by Oliver Wendell Holmes. Boston; Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 163.

We have seldom had more genuine enjoyment in the course of our critical labors, than in examining this unpretending little book. In these days, we look with some dismay upon a volume of poems, especially if it be a little one: they are apt to exhibit a remarkable economy of the material, and a prodigal use of the washes and varnishes by which the want of it is supplied. "Things of eve" and "things of morn," with various other creatures of equivocal generation, have figured in such pages,

till it seemed as if poetry had lost its connexion with manly sentiment and true human nature. The consequence of this imposture has been, that poetry has almost dwindled from public observation. Whenever a decided genius like Mrs. Hemans appears, instead of being received with favor because she is a poet, poetry is indebted to her for finding for it eyes to see and ears to hear; while writers who have no such commanding claim to attention, after being flattered and possibly read in their little circles, sink quietly into forgetfulness, and are never heard of more.

Mr. Holmes does not write in this mezzotinto style; he reminds us more of the clear strong lines of the ancient engravers. His manner is entirely his own, manly and unaffected; generally easy and playful, and sinking at times into 'a most humorous sadness.' The latter is evidently his favorite style, and we think his best. There was no need of the defence of this kind of writing which we find in his preface; all poetry which has any relation to humanity, will deal in smiles as well as tears. The critic may demonstrate that it is undignified in the poet to entertain his readers; but, an appeal being open from criticism to nature, whoever makes us laugh in this care-worn world will always be sustained by the common gratitude of mankind.

The first of these poems, called a Metrical Essay upon the subject of Poetry, was recited at the last anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge. As it was pronounced, it seemed to us more like inspiration than almost any thing which ever came in our way. As readers, we find it finished with much care, and abounding in striking thoughts and illustrations; but we apprehend that it was not so great a favorite with the writer as some of the lyrical pieces, which were struck off with less labor, but more power. One or two fine specimens of the latter are inserted in the larger poem by way of illustration; and with most readers these will be regarded as the pearls, and the poem as the string. We would not, however, do it injustice; the chief defect is the want of clearness, in expressing the truths in relation to poetical materials and inspirations which it contains. Some passages in it require to be read twice, before the reader is sure of their meaning. This occasional obscurity is strongly contrasted with the easy and natural flow of the lyrical poems. Nothing need be more beautiful than the lines on the Cambridge Church-yard, a place to which many hearts are bound by strong associations; and the strain upon the plan proposed by the Navy Department for breaking up the Frigate Constitution, an unhappy suggestion of some one who was probably more familiar with national ship-yards than national feelings, will rank with the best martial songs of England.

We think that the comic pieces in this little collection are decidedly the best, or rather we should say those in which a quiet humor is blended with the pathetic so as to heighten the effect of the grotesque without destroying the plaintive character of the whole. An example of this is afforded in "The Last Reader"; it is evidently the kind of writing in which the author takes most pleasure; and if he should find room for poetical pursuits in the cares of his profession, we hope that this graceful style will be his choice. At the same time we must allow that his more comic pieces are exceedingly entertaining; particularly the lines upon the Comet, which is irresistible for its humor, and at the same time contains one or two passages of great power. The incident so well related in "The Height of the Ridiculous" might be fact, not fable.

We have not time to give an account of the work in detail, nor is it necessary; a book so entertaining is by this time in the hands of a great proportion of our readers. They will agree with us in the opinion that the author is a man of genius, and in the hope that the favor with which his work has been received may induce him to come before the public again. There is no profession so engrossing as to leave no time for poetry; and the mind must be of a very unmanageable sort, which any intellectual pursuit would unfit for the practical business of life. It is a great mistake to suppose that the best poetry proceeds from those who have nothing else to do. So far as profit is concerned, this pursuit will not be gainful; but in all that respects happiness, honor, and improvement, the member of any profession will do wisely to make a place among his other pursuits for this. There are not many writers to whom we should urge this argument; but where a writer possesses real talent and great powers of entertainment, no such prejudice ought to deprive the world of the enjoyment which he is able to give.

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7. — *Manual of Classical Literature, from the German of J. J. Eschenberg, Professor in the Carolinum, at Brunswick. With Additions.* By N. W. Fiske, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages in Amherst College. Philadelphia; Key & Biddle. 1836. 8vo. pp. 664.

This work is divided into five parts, embracing the Archæology of Literature and Art, the History of Ancient Literature, Greek and Roman, the Mythology of the Greeks and Romans, Greek and Roman Antiquities, and Classical Geography and

Chronology. Each of these important subjects is methodically and luminously presented. No single volume, however, would contain all the matter, which some would wish to see embodied in such a manual. It is, therefore, a very special recommendation of this work, that while it is sufficiently complete in its outlines, and ample in illustrations, to answer the purposes of constant reference, it continually suggests to teachers and to students the advantages and the means of more extended researches.

In the first general division of this work, the intelligent reader will be particularly interested in the sections upon the Archæology of Art. Every professional man ought to be acquainted with such facts, as are here adduced in illustration of the origin and progress of "sculpture," "lithoglyphy or gem-engraving," "painting," and "architecture"; and yet very little, if any, instruction upon these subjects is ever furnished in most of our seminaries of liberal education. In the Archæology of Literature, also, there is much information upon topics which do not often find a place in the exercises of college, but of which no one should be ignorant, who would sustain any reputation for intellectual accomplishments.

The History of Ancient Literature is just what students have wanted. The Greek and Roman authors are classified and chronologically arranged in their respective departments. The biographical sketches and critical remarks, although very condensed and succinct, are yet sufficiently discriminating and particular. Perhaps no part of the Manual is more striking, as a display of Eschenberg's extensive erudition and cultivated taste. We have here the splendid results of the elaborate investigations of an accomplished scholar.

It is, however, in this second division of the work, that Professor Fiske's improvements and additions arrested our especial attention. Many very valuable sections, those, for example, relating to the *Greek Orators, Philosophers, and Historians*, have the editor's mark, but are incorporated into the body of the work. His notes and references have also much enhanced the value of the original text. We should judge that he has himself been accustomed to pursue classical investigations with no common industry and success. But with no part of his additions were we better pleased, than his "Notice of the Hebrew, Grecian, and Christian writings," which, although in the Greek language, are not commonly included in the range of classical studies.

The sections upon *Roman or Latin authors* were translated by Mr. Crusé, late Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. This gentleman, as it is stated, had actually translated the

whole of Eschenberg's Manual, three or four years before he became apprized of the undertaking of Professor Fiske. Why it was that he had not put his manuscript to press, we are not informed. And why it was necessary that the present edition should be published, before the "History of Roman Literature could be presented in the same form with that of the Greek, and with similar additions," we are quite at a loss to determine. But, as it seems to us, neither Professor Fiske's statement of the circumstances under which it is published, nor the distinct avowal of his own "purpose to prepare for separate publication something more complete on the Roman Literature, if the present effort should meet with approbation," affords a sufficient reason for issuing the work, until either he himself or Mr. Crusé had made it as satisfactory in the department of Roman, as it is in that of Grecian literature. It may be, however, that we are entirely unreasonable in our demands; for we have far more occasion to be grateful for what we have, than to murmur that we have no more.

A few words will suffice for the remaining divisions of the Manual. We were much pleased with the views of Ancient Mythology and Greek and Roman Antiquities. We do not see how the subjects could be better treated, in a work necessarily so comprehensive. Here also we observe very important additions by the Editor.

To give greater completeness to the Manual, Professor Fiske has added Part V. to the original work of Eschenberg. It comprises an "Epitome of Classical Geography," taken chiefly, but with alterations and improvements, from an English treatise by W. C. Taylor; and an "Introduction to Classical Chronology," which will be found to contain a much larger amount of useful matter than its brevity would indicate.

Professor Fiske has judged well in endeavouring "to express the author's meaning with strict fidelity," but "avoiding the long periods and involved arrangement of words and clauses, for which the German language is of known celebrity." He has thus brought out the work in the dress of a vernacular composition, rather than that of a translation. In his general style, he very happily combines clearness, vivacity, and manly elegance.

We cannot doubt that a second edition of the Manual will soon be demanded. In that edition we hope to see a fulfilment of the pledge respecting the history of Roman literature. It would also be an improvement, if some notices were given of the comparative merits of the best editions of the classical authors. The "copious Index of Subjects, prepared, but necessarily excluded," should not hereafter be wanting. It would greatly assist us in

bringing into one view, all that the work contains upon a particular point of inquiry. If one half the references to German authors were omitted, the loss to most readers and students would be very trifling, in comparison with the advantages constantly accruing from a good *Index of Subjects.* We presume that the publishers were afraid of swelling the size of the volume, and thereby augmenting the expense. But such a change as that, which we have just intimated, might easily be made, without any detriment to any interest which ought to be consulted. We will add, however, that while the work is worth all that it costs, a reduction of the price is very desirable; and we trust will be found among the recommendations of a second edition.

Professor Fiske deserves much praise for the manner in which he has executed his undertaking. The American edition is certainly a great improvement upon the labors of Eschenberg; and we are confident, that those who examine it most carefully, will be most prompt and unqualified in their expressions of commendation.

We shall not be surprised, however, if the Manual should be unpopular among students, who may be required to use it as a text-book for recitations. The study of history and antiquities has constituted a part of the prescribed course of literary discipline in some of our colleges; but, for certain reasons, has almost invariably proved an entire failure. It ought not so to be. We hope that experiments with the Manual as a book for study will be successful. But of one thing we are sure. Every student in our colleges would do well to have it upon his table for daily consultation. It should also be found in all our academies and classical schools. And whenever it is purchased by a student, he should retain it as one of the books of his permanent library. Through life he may make it a most useful companion of his literary toils and recreations.

8.— *The Principles of Education as applied in the Mobile Institute.* By Norman Pinney.

This pamphlet gives a detailed account of the Institute, under the charge of Mr. Pinney, as principal, and four other gentlemen, as professors. The principles of the system are rational, and the course of studies and instruction, as detailed in the book, seem of a very practical character. If the gentlemen who are engaged in carrying on the Institute, are able to put their views

fully into practice, they cannot fail of making their establishment one of immense advantage to the part of the country in which they live. Their pupils are received at an early age, and required to remain long enough under their care to go through the greater part of the course. They are under a constant supervision, and subjected to domestic influences, particularly that of female society. They are carried through the elements of a good English education, all the particulars of which are given; and the foreign languages, including Latin and Greek, are taught there. In respect to the *modern* foreign languages, Mr. Pinney lays down a principle of great importance, viz. that they should be taught not merely by native teachers, but by Americans. The writing, pronouncing, and speaking, should be under the exclusive control of the former, and the translating into English, together with the grammatical principles, should be superintended by the latter. This mode recommends itself at once to the reason; and now that we see it actually proposed to be carried into execution, we are surprised, that it has not been attempted, wherever circumstances permit.

Mr. Pinney's general views on Physical Education meet with our hearty concurrence. But there is one opinion on this subject from which we wholly dissent. It is substantially expressed in these sentences; "Gymnastics, which call for extraordinary and unnatural muscular exertion, are worse than useless. They tend to injure the constitution and shorten life." Nothing, in our view, can be farther from the fact. The object of gymnastics is to develope the muscles and call out all the physical energies "by extraordinary and unnatural muscular exertion," — that is, extraordinary and unnatural, according to the usual habits of sedentary men. The Greeks understood the subject of education, if education be considered the science of unfolding the powers of the whole man, better than any people since their time; and they placed gymnastics upon a level with geometry and music. The results of their system of education manifested themselves in many beautiful forms, not the least important of which was, that the Greeks became a race of extraordinary physical power and beauty. The Germans have given to this subject the most profound consideration. Their system of gymnastic exercises, as matured and perfected by Jahn, is one of the noblest achievements of physical inquiry. The treatise of that eminent man has been ably translated and enlarged by Dr. Charles Beck, Professor of Latin in Harvard University, himself one of the few thorough masters of the science in this country. But the narrow limits of a notice forbid our doing more than indicating our dissent from Mr. Pinney's views. On

the whole, we have been gratified with the sound doctrine, moderate tone, and polished style of this pamphlet, and last, though not least, with the remarkable beauty of its typography.

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9. — *Memoir of James Jackson, Jr., M. D. Written by his Father; and Reminiscences of him, by a Fellow Student.* Boston; Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 16mo. pp. 228.

We are happy to see this beautiful and touching sketch reprinted in an accessible form. The first edition was circulated only among the personal friends of the lamented young man whom it commemorates. The volume was in a great measure filled with professional matter, which made it rather unsuitable for general circulation, however interesting to medical men. The memoir is written with affecting simplicity, and portrays the virtues of Mr. Jackson with tenderness and truth. All who knew him, (and the circle of his friends was large) concur in a high sense of the surpassing beauty of his character; and all who did not know him will be grateful to his father for allowing this tasteful and feeling tribute to his son's memory to go abroad. The effect of such a delineation of such a character, on our young professional men, cannot fail of being a good one. It is an eloquent testimony to the beauty of virtue in youth and early manhood.

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10. — *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee. Translated from the Latin of William Gesenius, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle-Wittemberg.* By Edward Robinson, D. D., late Professor Extraordinary of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover. Boston; Crocker & Brewster. 8vo. pp. 1092.

Twenty-five years ago, the wretched Lexicon of John Parkhurst was in almost universal use in this country, with the few who gave any attention to the Hebrew language. Here and there only might be found, as a rarity, a copy of Buxtorf's Manual of 1634, and before long Eichhorn's improved edition of Simonis found its way into a few libraries. In 1810–12, Gesenius, of Halle, the great Hebrew scholar of the day, published in two volumes his Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch des Alten Testaments, and in 1815, his abridgment of the same book for the use of the schools. The latter work was translated

by Professor Gibbs, now of New Haven, and published at Andover in 1824. Recommended by its cheapness, as well as by its convenient arrangement, and wide superiority to previous books of the same kind, it has been, ever since, the standard work in the hands of our students, and has rendered the most important service to the cause of Hebrew learning among us. Nor will it be superseded by the present work, since for all purposes of the mere learner of the language it is sufficient, and its low price and small size (though comprehending the whole of the vocabulary,) will continue to give it an advantage.

Notwithstanding the greatly-improved edition of Simonis by Winer, of Erlangen, in 1828, the subsequent labors of Gesenius have secured to him undisputed precedence in the department of Hebrew lexicography. In 1823 and 1828, he published improved editions of his German Manual, and in 1829, the first *Fasciculus* of his Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguæ Hebraicæ et Chaldææ Veteris Testamenti. This great work, which yet remains unfinished, is announced for publication, entire, within the present year. Meanwhile, Gesenius undertook, in 1827, what at first he intended only for a version into Latin of the edition of 1823. He could not, however, and did not fail, to introduce into it improvements, the fruit of his own later studies, and of those of cotemporary philologists; and, thus enriched, the work appeared in 1833, at Leipzic, under the title of Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Talmudicum in V. T. Libros. This is the work of which that of Professor Robinson, now before us, is a translation.

The volume, of course, contains the results of all the most recent investigations in Hebrew lexicography; and especially of the studies of that school, which, founded by Schultens in the last century, has thrown so much light upon the subject, by collations from the cognate dialects. This merit attaches also, though in an inferior degree, to the works of Eichhorn and Winer. But the distinguishing merit of Gesenius is to be found in the great sagacity and judgment which he has shown in the arrangement of his definitions, so as to present them in what may be called the historical order; the primitive meaning being placed first, and then the secondary meanings in their proper succession, so as to show how each, in its turn, grew out of the preceding.

As to the superiority of Gesenius's arrangement of the vocabulary to that adopted by earlier lexicographers, we are not altogether so confident. The former method, that of assigning every word to its place in the alphabet, doubtless facilitates the use of the Lexicon for beginners. On the other hand, to a person who has made some proficiency, it is much more satisfactory to see all derivative words arranged under their

roots respectively. We are not sure that, for Hebrew, either of these arrangements alone, is so good as that of Scapula's Greek Lexicon, which gives each word under its root, and, for the novice's convenience, adds an alphabetical index, referring from each word to the place where it is treated in the body of the work.

But we have not undertaken at this time a criticism of Gesenius. In the translator's well-known learning, diligence, good judgment, and love of accuracy, the public has every pledge that could be desired, for the faithful execution of his task. The printers have also well done their part, which is a thing of the first importance in a work of this kind. The paper and type are of good quality, and the arrangement of the page altogether convenient. It is impossible to print Hebrew with perfect accuracy, even if the person most interested can directly superintend the press, which it appears was not the case in the present instance. Accordingly, in turning over the pages, — for as yet, we have made no use of the translation in study, — a few typographical errors strike our eye; as p. 360, חֶסֶר, for חֶסֶר; חַסְרָה for חַסְרָה; p. 449, יִשָּׁשְׂכָר for יִשָּׁשְׂכָר; p. 592, מְנַשֶּׁת for מְנַשֶּׁה; and in many places points have fallen out, from within or beneath the letters.

We venture to suggest to the learned translator, that, by an easy expedient, he might make the collations with the cognate dialects, in some degree useful to persons not skilled in those tongues. We wish that to another edition, he would prefix tables of the Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic alphabets. (Coptic is less quoted, and generally, we conceive, to much less purpose.) This would enable the mere Hebrew student to form a judgment of the degree of resemblance between the Hebrew root and that in the related language, from which illustration is sought; and a little practice would soon enable him to detect the resemblance, even where in the different languages cognate letters are interchanged. It would be of course unnecessary for this purpose, to give any account of the respective vowel systems, the vowels in this family of languages not being the part of words, in which their affinities are to be traced.

We shall certainly be glad to see Gesenius's large work. But in the mean time, the possessor of this volume may be satisfied that he is adequately furnished for any course of Hebrew study into which he is likely to be led. It is the more welcome, because it is in no degree in advance of the need. Some judgment may be formed of the extent to which Hebrew studies are now pursued among us, from the statement of Professor Robinson, that, within four years, there appear to have been imported "not much less than 1500 copies of Jahn's Hebrew Bible, and not far from half that number of the Lexicon of Gesenius."

11. — *Discourse delivered before the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania, at their First Annual Meeting on the 14th of July*, 1836. By Thomas J. Wharton. Philadelphia; James Key, Jr. & Brother. 8vo. pp. 46.

This discourse was delivered at the eightieth commencement of the Pennsylvania University. Both in style and matter it is one of the best discourses of the kind, which this season has produced. The historical notices of the University, which we find in it, are exceedingly interesting, though the facts contained in them have not been generally known beyond the limits of Pennsylvania. Most of them are highly honorable to the character of the State and of its capital city. In the year 1743, though Philadelphia contained but 12,000 inhabitants, the amount subscribed in aid of the University by the gentlemen who projected it, was more than £2000, and in a few years more it rose to upwards of 7000 pounds sterling. The first suggestion of the institution was made by Dr. Franklin, to whom the city of Philadelphia was so largely indebted in almost all projects for the public good.

During the early period of the American revolution, the governors of the college were suspected of being unfriendly to the cause of the colonies. This turned the popular prejudice strongly against the institution, and in 1779 the case was brought before the legislature. It was alleged that the trustees had "departed from the plan of the founders, and narrowed the foundation of the institution." The enemies of the college totally failed to make good the charge; but the rancor of party spirit supplied the lack of proof, and the charter of the college was annulled. This, Mr. Wharton states, is the first and only instance in which the legislature of Pennsylvania has ventured to abrogate a charter or interfere with vested rights. The proceeding, however, was reversed by the next legislature, and ample reparation made to the college for this base violation of its chartered rights. Mr. Wharton's comments upon this proceeding strike us as not only sound, but seasonable. It is well to apply the lessons of the past, in forming a judgment upon the current radicalism of the present.

Mr. Wharton's style is full, elegant, and dignified. If we were inclined to find fault, we should do so on the score of its diffuseness. But the rhetorical nature of such an address is perhaps a justification. At any rate, the address is so full of just opinions well expressed, — the tone and spirit of it are so temperate and wise, — that we are only inclined to dwell upon its excellences.

12. — *Influence of the Ministry at Large in the City of Boston.* By A Spectator. Boston; James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 72.

This pamphlet is a collection of papers, which were printed some time ago in the Christian Register. It is full of details of the deepest interest, set forth in a style of singular terseness and descriptive strength. The sketches, drawn from real life, and real life in its humblest form, rival in pathos and power the pictures of romance. The author of this little book has evidently been, not merely an eyewitness, but an actor in the scenes he describes. His manner of telling the touching stories he has collected, of want and woe, of vice reformed, and unbelief changed to faith, is too vivid and feeling to have been acquired by art and study. We have been constantly reminded, while reading these papers, of the celebrated "Passages from the Diary of a Physician," except that the latter are longer, more elaborate, and more finished. The former are the more touching and vivid. "The short and simple annals of the poor" are here forcibly related, and hard must be the heart which is not moved to pity, by the sad narration.

The author of these papers goes into a thorough discussion of the effects of the ministry at large, in all its bearings. It appears to us that his arguments are perfectly conclusive, as to the beneficial agency of such a ministry, and that they must awaken a powerful sympathy with the efforts of those whose talents are devoted to so noble a career of duty. We are happy to learn that New York has followed the example of Boston. A single society, influenced by the stirring eloquence of the Rev. Mr. Dewey, has raised an ample sum for the support of a minister at large; and we understand that one of the most distinguished young men in the profession is at present employed in that responsible office.

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13. — *An Address delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, at the Celebration of their Tenth Triennial Festival, October* 6, 1836. By James Lloyd Homer. Boston; Homer & Palmer. 8vo. pp. 40.

Without making any pretensions to fine writing, Mr. Homer has given us a very excellent discourse. His aim is to impart instruction and inspire just sentiments. He speaks as a practical man to practical men; as a patriot to his countrymen; and as a Bostonian, to the mechanics of the good town. In the

first part of his discourse, he points out the defective organization and imperfect action of the Society whom he addresses. This duty he performs with freedom, but in no harsh spirit. To illustrate his views, he introduces, with great propriety, descriptions of similar associations in other cities. In this part of his discourse, he states a variety of interesting facts as to the condition, intelligence, and opportunities of acquiring knowledge, enjoyed by the mechanics in Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere. Mr. Homer then considers the subject of combinations and *strikes* among journeymen, and points out their true character and disastrous consequences. His remarks upon this topic have an especial value, coming as they do from a man who has a full and practical acquaintance with the course of affairs among the mechanics.

The whole discourse is animated with an excellent moral feeling. Mr. Homer inculcates habits of order, sobriety, and self-respect, among mechanics, in a most emphatic manner. The address has much in it to interest a wider circle of readers, than that for whose particular instruction it was prepared.

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14. — *De la Réforme des Prisons, ou De la Théorie de l'Emprisonnement, de ses Principes, de ses Moyens, et de ses Conditions pratiques.* Par M. Charles Lucas, Inspecteur-général des Prisons du Royaume, Membre de l'Institut, &c. &c. Tome premier. Paris. 1836. 8vo. pp. 385.

We know it is very wrong to indulge ourselves in prejudices of any sort, whether in favor of theories or against them, in favor of practical men or of speculative writers. Both are important and useful in their place. But we confess we find it difficult to conquer a certain feeling of disgust and repugnance, when we see a plain practical subject overlaid and smothered under a mass of refined distinctions, formal divisions, technical phraseology, and scientific parade. There are some authors who seem to be aware that the value of their works depends on the number and power of their original ideas, or new combinations of facts and opinions, while there are others who appear to think nothing can have intellectual weight, unless it has the same quality physically, and that the number of reams of paper over which they can spread their elaborated ideas is quite as important as the number of ideas themselves. M. Charles Lucas, unfortunately for us, belongs to the latter class; and we have been

compelled to turn over a great many useless pages, and to read a great many idle words, in order to present to our readers the brief meaning of the long harangue; "der langen Rede kurzer Sinn."

The main object of the work is to show, that a very different treatment is due to the different classes of persons, who, from various causes, are so unfortunate as to fall under the punishment of imprisonment; and that the juvenile offender, the debtor, the accused, the convicted of high crimes, and of less serious offences, the male and the female, should be subjected to very different discipline, according to the nature and aggravation of their offence, and the susceptibility of their characters. Now this is so strikingly true, and at the present day beginning to be so generally admitted, that we do not perceive the necessity of attempting to convince thinking men of it, by entering on the subject in a first volume of 385 pages, besides an introduction of 103, to be followed by, we know not how many, of equal dimensions. What is the utility of the division of imprisonment into three kinds; the *preventive*, to prevent escape and mutual corruption, the *repressive*, to prevent recommittals, and the *penitentiary*, to prevent the continuance of criminal habits and intentions?

All imprisonment of the guilty is, or ought to be, preventive and correctional. The only justifiable object of it is the prevention of crime; and the only question that need be raised on the whole matter, from beginning to end, regards solely the adaptation of the means to this proposed result, in relation to the different characters that are to be subjected to the punishment. Is this a question to be settled by theories? Is this a subject which requires volumes to discuss? Certainly it is important to have definite and comprehensive views on this as on other topics; but experience, founded on continued and diversified experiments and researches, can alone determine the true value of particular means, and the relative success which attends different plans. Various schemes of imprisonment have been tried, both in this country and elsewhere, within a few years, and what we esteem most important in relation to the subject, at the present moment, is an accurate investigation of the results of these different practices. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to develope all their consequences, and therefore such inquiries cannot be so entirely satisfactory and conclusive as we trust they will become a few years hence. Still much may now be determined with certainty, which is of very great value towards forming a perfect scheme of imprisonment; and as new suggestions are continually made, we feel confident that the path of improvement, on which we have entered, will be followed to the end.

There is one evil connected with our system in this country, which is mentioned by M. Lucas, and for which we will now venture to suggest a remedy. He says, with truth, that the number of re-committals cannot be accurately ascertained here, because the liberated convict wanders from one State to another, and is never recognised, unless returned to the same penitentiary. It would not be difficult, we think, to detect these migrating rogues, if a regular periodical correspondence were maintained by the directors of each penitentiary with all the others in the Union, containing the names and personal description of all their inmates. The importance of the results of such communications would more than repay the labor of making them.

Another object of the work of M. Lucas, besides the developement of a grand theory of imprisonment, and one which he seems to consider of no slight importance, as he has given a considerable part of the Introduction and occasional hints throughout the volume to its assertion, is to disabuse the European public of the absurd notion, which seems to have prevailed to some extent in England, France, and Germany, that we are making valuable progress in this country in prison discipline, and that we have begun some establishments of the kind which might be profitably imitated in Europe. According to M. Lucas, there is no such thing as penitentiary discipline in this country. Nay, not merely so, but there never will, and never can be any such thing. He describes the American system as one, — but let him speak for himself;

"Un système qui arrivait à deux grands résultats, sans doute, à empêcher la *corruption mutuelle* des détenus, et à produire *l'intimidation ;* mais un système purement *repressif*, dépourvu de toute éducation pénitentiaire. Nous irons plus loin; non seulement nous dirons à ces auteurs [Messrs. de Beaumont et de Tocqueville] que le système pénitentiaire n'est pas encore né aux États-Unis ; mais que ce n'est pas même sur le sol américain qu'il peut et doit naître." — *Introduction*, pp. lviii., lix.

And a little further on he says; —

"Une fois parvenu à empêcher la corruption mutuelle des détenus et à produire l'intimidation, il est, sinon dans les calculs positifs, du moins dans les instincts secrets de la civilisation américaine, de ne pas aller au-delà. Il ne faut donc pas chercher un système pénitentiaire dans les résultats de la réforme américaine ; il ne faut pas même l'attendre de ses essais, ni de ses efforts." — p. lxi.

This is so liberal, so enlightened and complimentary an assertion, that we scarcely know how to reply. We would not

venture to intimate that M. le directeur des prisons du royaume could have any feeling of jealousy at the comparisons made between some American prisons, and the "maisons centrales," or the "bagnes" of France under his superintendence; and we confess our inability rationally to account for so unfortunate an ignorance of our system and character as is shown by the above sentences; — an ignorance so pertinacious that not even the perusal of the work of De Beaumont and De Tocqueville could remove it. Lest, however, so eminent a person should be again betrayed into such an unhappy mistake, we will in mere charity inform him, that in all prisons in this country, conducted on the plan of the Auburn reform, religious, moral, and intellectual instruction forms an essential part of the system; that in all treatises and essays on the subject, with which we are acquainted, long or short, such instruction is invariably spoken of as indispensable in the *theory of imprisonment;* (See Reports of Boston Prison Discipline Society, passim; article *Prison Discipline* in Lieber's "Encyclopedia Americana," and an article in "The Christian Examiner," July, 1836;) that the Reports of the directors of prisons generally speak of its importance and its good effects, and that some of them actually go into details of the reforms of character permanently produced by this, and by other means of *penitentiary discipline.* That we have not reduced our theory more completely to practice may perhaps be accounted for, by persons charitably disposed, from the fact that scarcely twelve years have elapsed, since the first attempt to introduce that reform which is now most approved; that great efforts are necessary to remove misapprehension, prejudice, and ignorance in the legislatures of the different States, by whose authority all alterations must be made; (prejudice and ignorance, by the way, which M. Lucas, with his experience and knowledge of the subject can scarcely be expected to appreciate or participate in,) and by the difficulty of finding suitable agents for carrying into effect new and untried plans. Notwithstanding all obstacles, however, the theory has been carried into practice in nine States of this Union, in the District of Columbia, and in Upper Canada, without counting Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which have adopted a different system, but one in the *theory* of which religious and other instruction is equally regarded as essential. What does M. Lucas require more? Are twelve years so long a period as to enable everybody to obtain the necessary information on this subject, and to spread the reform through the whole system of imprisonment in every corner of this wide land? Let us see what he will have effected, with his central power and ample means, in the course

of twelve years, and then we shall be better able to judge of the quality of that civilization, which he describes in the following glowing terms of self-inspired enthusiasm.

"La civilisation évidemment prédestinée à doter notre siècle du système pénitentiaire, c'est la civilisation européenne, civilisation large et généreuse qui ne saurait s'arrêter à la limite de l'intimidation; l'élan de ses sympathies, l'urgence de ses besoins, lui commandent de la franchir, et de s'occuper au plus vîte de réaliser en fait cette correction des condamnés, dont elle a déjà inscrit le nom et reconnu l'obligation dans ses codes." — pp. lxi., lxii.

In answer to the reproach of incompletenesss in our reforms here, we think it may be useful to state the condition of the city of Boston and county of Suffolk, (nearly though not quite identical.) as to their prisons and modes of criminal discipline. The greater offenders are sent with those of other counties to the State Prison; those convicted of lesser offences, to the House of Correction; the accused, and the few debtors who, under the recent law, are still so unhappy as to be confined, are placed in the County Jail; while juvenile delinquents are taken care of, and properly educated in the House of Reformation. All these are on the most improved system, as we think, combining religious, moral, and intellectual instruction in due proportion with the labor and restraint required, — with the exception of the County Jail. We understand, however, that the city government have it in contemplation soon to remove this new and strong building, with the purpose of replacing it with one more conformable to the improved state of our knowledge in the construction of such edifices. When this is done, the system will be tolerably complete, and will be carried out in such manner, as will not be disgraceful to the city, the county, or the commonwealth.

In connexion with these establishments, we cannot but refer, with just pride, to that admirable private institution for the public benefit, the Farm School, which comes powerfully in aid of the other disciplinary resources of this community, and which is and will be, we doubt not, an incalculable blessing to many a sorrowing parent, and many a reckless child. The instincts of American civilization go farther than M. Lucas has imagined.

15. — *A Good Life, extracted from the True Plan of a Living Temple. With an Introductory Essay.* By John Brazer. Boston; Joseph Dowe. 12mo. pp. 216.

"The Living Temple" of old John Howe was a work of great power, and had its day of influence and fame; but we may say of it what the editor of the little volume before us has said of another well-known book, "The Whole Duty of Man," "It well deserved its title, and was a very useful book in its day; but what may have been the whole duty of man a hundred and fifty years ago, does not comprise his whole duty now; and if it did, it would still need to be told in a language, and to employ a style of thought and illustration adapted to the prevailing tastes and wider knowledge of our age, or it would soon be laid aside, and left among antiquated and forgotten things."

The anonymous author of the "True Plan of a Living Temple" appears to have held a similar opinion, and, by his allusion to the work of Howe, tacitly expresses the design of accomplishing for the present age, what that good man accomplished for a former. In this he has been successful; and Dr. Brazer has done well in causing a portion of it to be reprinted here. The original work, consisting of three volumes upon a very extensive plan, was executed with too little compression and animation to be very interesting as a whole; its extreme diffuseness and uniform gentleness rendered it languid. But this defect will hardly be perceived in a volume of the present size; while the uncommon judiciousness and discrimination of its views, the sobriety and practicalness of its statements, the calmness and sweetness of its whole tone, must win for it the attention of serious readers, and insure to it a most useful influence. For those who are seeking in earnest their own moral and religious improvement, who desire a book which shall help them as a friend helps a friend, and who in their hours of serious reflection prefer a still small voice to that of passionate appeal, this will be a welcome publication.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

Peter Parley's Almanac, for 1837. New York. Freeman Hunt & Co.

The Parlour Scrap-Book, comprising sixteen Engravings, with poetical and other Illustrations. Edited by Willis Gaylord Clark. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

The Union Annual, for 1837. Philadelphia. Published by the Sunday School Union.

The Jewel, or Token of Friendship, for 1837. New York. Bancroft & Holly.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Life of Washington, by Peter Parley. New York. Desilver, Thomas, & Co.

Life of Franklin, by Peter Parley. New York. Desilver, Thomas, & Co.

Life of Columbus, by Peter Parley. New York. Desilver, Thomas, & Co.

Memoir of William Carey, D. D., late Missionary to Bengal, Professor of Oriental Languages in the College of Fort William, Calcutta, by Eustace Carey, with an introductory Essay, by Francis Wayland, D. D., President of Brown University. 1 vol. 12mo. Boston. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln.

Eulogy on James Madison, by John Quincy Adams, delivered at the Request of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Boston. Boston. American Stationers' Company.

Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, with a Memoir. 1 vol. 8vo. New York. John S. Taylor.

EDUCATION.

The New American Grammar of the Elements of Astronomy on an Improved Plan, &c. &c.; by James Ryan, A. M. New York. W. E. Dean.

The Practical and Theoretical System of Arithmetic, &c. &c., by George Wilson. Canandaigua. C. Morse. New York. Collins, Keese, & Co.

The Nursery Book, containing an easy Description of one hundred Subjects necessary to be known by all Young Persons, with Drawings of each Subject. Philadelphia. T. J. Ash.

The Engineer's Practical Elements. Containing Surveying, Draughting, &c., on the Basis of Lacroix. 1 vol. 12mo. Philadelphia. Hogan & Thompson.

The American Class-Reader, &c. &c., by George Wilson. New York. Collins, Keese, & Co.

The Scholar's Reference Book, containing a Dictionary of English Synonymes, Tables of Greek and Latin Proper Names, and a Variety of other useful Matter. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

An Analysis of the Derivative Words in the English Language, as a Key to their precise analytic Definitions by Prefixes and Suffixes, by Salem Town, A. M. New York. Harper & Brothers.

Gradations in Arithmetic, by Richard W. Green, A. M. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

History of the United States, for the Use of Schools and Academies, by John Frost, with thirty Engravings, by C. N. Parmalee, from Drawings, by J. Sartain. Philadelphia. E. E. Biddle.

An Arithmetical Guide, in which the Principles of Numbers are inductively explained, and adapted to the every-day Business of Life, by Richard W. Green, A. M. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

A Treatise on Language; or the Relation which Words bear to Things. In Four Parts. By A. B. Johnson. 1 vol. 8vo. New York. Harper & Brothers.

Keightley's Mythology, for the Use of Schools. New York. D. Appleton & Co.

The North American Spelling-Book, conformed to Worcester's Dictionary, with a Progressive Series of Easy Reading Lessons, by L. W. Leonard, Author of the "Literary and Scientific Class Book," and "Sequel to Easy Lessons." Revised Edition. Keene, N. H. George Tilden. 12mo. pp. 180.

This little work is somewhat beyond the range of our accustomed studies. But we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of saying, that, as far as we are able to form an idea of what a spelling-book should be, this is precisely that thing. Something more solid than praise is often obtained by well executed works of this humble description; and we are sure that something better than praise is the due of one, who, distinguished in the walks of natural science as well as of a responsible profession, yet finds time and taste for labors which, useful as they are, and capable of exercising some of the highest powers, still are apt to be all "unknown to fame."

An Address, delivered on Monday, December 22d, 1834, by Rev. John Ludlow, D. D., on the Occasion of his Inauguration as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo. pp. 31.

Dr. Ludlow was inaugurated as Provost of the Pennsylvania University December 22d, 1834. On that occasion he delivered the very sensible discourse, the title of which we have copied above. In the first part of the address, the Provost discusses the subject of college government. We imagine he has seen reason to modify some of his opinions, since that time, or his experience must have been very different from that of any other head of a college in the country. He must have seen that the only way of maintaining good order and discipline among college students, is to insist upon an exact obedience to precise laws, and that the honorable feeling of a body of students is no more to be safely relied upon for correct conduct, than the honorable feeling of a body of grown-up men. In short, human nature is the same in the microcosm of a college, as in the macrocosm out of college.

The Provost proceeds to discuss, in a very candid spirit, the course of instruction in colleges. He defends the general principles of the old

system, but admits that reform may be introduced in many of the details. His remarks on classical learning are sound and judicious; and the importance of the physical sciences is well set forth. The most earnest part of the discourse is that devoted to the subject of religious instruction. The sentiments uttered in it are liberal and enlightened. They are such as men of all sects and parties will readily assent to.

Dr. Ludlow's language is chaste and simple. Without any appearance of laborious effort, his style is precise and clear. His tone of thought is marked by manly strength and moderation. It is a fortunate circumstance in these times, that the sound and matured intellects among us come forward so frequently with the results of their reflections and the lessons of their wisdom.

Ciceronis Selectæ quædam Epistolæ. Accedunt notulæ et illustrationes Anglicæ. Cura M. L. Hurlbert. Philadelphia. H. Perkins. 12mo. pp. 336.

We like the plan of this book. There are few literary remains of any age more valuable and interesting than the letters of Cicero. They are elegant, simple, and easily understood, with a few historical illustrations. This selection seems to us to have been made with good judgment. In the notes, the author states first, the general object of the letter, and then explains the more difficult constructions and idioms. We think it will answer a good purpose in awakening an interest in a very important period of Roman history, and in giving the young scholar a pleasant and attractive view of the principal characters who figured in it.

Report on Public Instruction in Pennsylvania. By the Rev. Gilbert Morgan, A. M., late President of the Western University. Philadelphia. E. G. Dorsey. 12mo. pp. 24.

The lateness of the hour when this pamphlet reached us, makes it impossible to give the subject of it that attention which its importance demands. It is one of many indications that the people of Pennsylvania are seriously thinking of the indispensable necessity of raising their system of education to the level of the wants of the age. Mr. Morgan's Report goes into the details of a proposed new system, the most important features of which are a board of instruction, and a seminary for teachers. This plan shows a practical acquaintance with the profession of teaching, and deserves the serious attention of the government of Pennsylvania. It is to be hoped that the miserable disputes of political partisans will not prevent that great and powerful State from acting in a manner worthy of her character in a matter of such transcendent importance as the education of her children.

LAW.

Case of the Slave Child Med. Report of the Arguments of Council, and of the Opinion of the Court, in the Case of Commonwealth vs. Aves; tried and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Boston. Isaac Knapp. 8vo. pp. 40.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Young Husband's Book. 1 vol. Philadelphia, Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

A Plea for Voluntary Societies, and a Defence of the Decisions of the General Assembly against the Strictures of the Princeton Reviewers. New York. J. S. Taylor.

The Fairy Book. New York. Harper & Brothers.

Miscellaneous Writings of the late Samuel J. Smith, of Burlington, N. J.; collected and arranged by one of the Family, with a Notice of his Life. 1 vol. 8vo. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

The Gazetteer of the State of New York, comprehending its Colonial History, Geography, Geology, &c. &c., by Thomas F. Gordon. Philadelphia. Printed for the Author, by T. K. & P. G. Collins.

Yaradee; a Plea for Africa, in Familiar Conversations on the Subject of Slavery and Colonization. By F. Freeman, Rector of St. David's Church, Manayunk. 1 vol. 12mo. Philadelphia. J. Whetham.

The Complete Practical Farmer, in Three Parts: Part III., on Live Stock under the immediate Supervision of R. H. Budd, Veterinary Surgeon. 1 vol. pp. 500. New York. Collins, Keese, & Co.

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A Discourse on Natural Theology; showing the Nature of the Evidence, and the Advantages of the Study. By Henry Lord Brougham, F. R. S., and Member of the National Institute of France. New York. William Jackson. 12mo. pp. 252.

Our views of this latter work were expressed in full in the Number for last April. The American reading public are under special obligations to Mr. Jackson for introducing it to them in an edition, in which it forms one set with Paley's Natural Theology, and Sir Charles Bell's Illustrations. Three volumes, got up in better style, without an extravagant price, are hardly to be seen; and three more useful volumes can scarcely be placed upon one's table.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. XCV.

APRIL, 1837.

ART. I. — *Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its First Discovery to the Present Time, with an Account of their Antiquities, Manners and Customs, Religion and Laws.* By SAMUEL G. DRAKE. Fifth Edition, with large Additions and Corrections, and numerous Engravings. Boston. 1836. 8vo. pp. 576.

WE owe a lasting obligation to Mr. Drake, for his unwearied efforts to collect and preserve the scattered memorials of a people that so soon must cease to exist. Their character and fate form a chapter of mournful interest in our American history; and there is something almost holy in the task of thus tracing out the few and faint vestiges that remain of an ill-fated race, and, as it were, rearing, with the cold and scattered hearth-stones of their once cheerful homes, a monument to their memory.

Their origin is enveloped in obscurity; and their history, from the time that they first became known to the Europeans, exists only in meagre and detached fragments. But whoever reads Mr. Drake's "Book of the Indians of North America," cannot but feel that the task of collecting and arranging these has fallen into skilful hands. His sympathy for the hard fate of the Indian, his indefatigable diligence in collecting materials from original and authentic sources, and his strict love of truth and accuracy, evinced in the full and minute reference

to authorities, by which he seems to have courted the scrutiny of the closest examination, admirably qualified him for the work he has now so faithfully executed. Much had been done, within a short time, by the learned labors of Duponceau, Heckewelder, Cass, Pickering, and others, to illustrate the institutions, language, and history of the Indians; but the subject was by no means exhausted. Mr. Thatcher's Indian Biography, however meritorious as a popular narrative, makes no claim to originality either in matter or manner, and, by the accurate historian, can be considered, at best, only as a hasty compilation, even the language of other writers being very often retained. There was, therefore, still needed, as a volume of authority and standard reference, a more full and complete collection. Such a work we feel little hesitation in pronouncing the volume before us. While it cannot fail to interest the common reader, the antiquary will regard it as a valuable accession to the stock of Indian history.

Mr. Drake was first known to us by an edition of Church's History of Philip's War, which he published about ten years since, accompanied with notes, discovering diligent research and a true antiquarian spirit. Since that time, he seems to have devoted himself with much assiduity to the subject of Indian history and antiquities. In 1832, he published the first edition of the work before us. This was a duodecimo volume of about 350 pages, entitled "Indian Biography," and was the first book of the kind, which we recollect to have been published in the country. The second edition was a thick octavo, and the present volume contains nearly six hundred pages, closely printed, in small type. We mention these circumstances, to show that Mr. Drake has long labored in this department; and, as the constantly increasing size and interest of his "Book of the Indians" shows, with great assiduity and success.

The arrangement of the work is judicious and appropriate. Authorities are faithfully given for the facts stated, making it of permanent value to the historian as a book of reference; and a full and complete index, a thing indispensable in such a collection of comparatively isolated facts, as the history of the Indians must necessarily be, places the whole contents at the immediate disposal of the reader. The style is unambitious, and, as the author remarks in his Preface, "all verbiage is avoided, and plain matters of fact have been arrived at by

the shortest and most direct course." Undoubtedly the eye of the verbal critic might detect occasional improprieties in the use of words, and point out some expressions hardly suited to the dignity of historical composition. But the great labor and extensive research, the tedious examination and collation of musty volumes and defaced records, which the compilation of such a work must have cost the author, the minute and faithful accuracy with which he has given every fact, and the industry and strict adherence to truth, visible on every page, are merits sufficient to atone for minor and trivial faults.

But we have spoken sufficiently of the general character of the work, and will now proceed to examine, more particularly, its contents. It is divided into five Books, which we shall take up separately in their order; believing that we cannot do the author better justice, than by making known to the reader what his volume contains, and allowing him occasionally to speak for himself.

The first Book is devoted to remarks on the origin, antiquities, manners and customs of the American Indians. After quoting a few passages from ancient authors, supposed by some to refer to America, and by them adduced in support of the opinion that the western continent was known to the ancients, — a point on which we feel at liberty to be quite skeptical, — the author gives the substance of the opinions of most of the modern theorists, who have written upon the great question of the first peopling of America. These theories were noticed probably more by way of curiosity, than with the expectation of enlightening the reader on a subject, which, in all human probability, must for ever remain in obscurity. Thomas Morton, in his "New Canaan," published in 1637, was of the opinion, that the Indians "might originally have come of the scattered Trojans," from the circumstance of a similarity of language, which he inferred from fancying he had heard among their words *Pascopan;* hence he believed, without a doubt, that their ancestors were acquainted with the god *Pan.* Adair, Boudinot, and several other authors, have fancied that they perceived in the Indian languages a strong resemblance to the Hebrew; and have labored hard to prove the identity of the American Indians with the long-lost ten tribes of Israel. William Wood, the author of "New England's Prospect," who left the country in 1633, after a short stay, says; "Of their language, which is only peculiar to them-

selves, not inclining to any of the refined tongues, some have thought they might be of the dispersed Jews, because some of their words be near unto the Hebrew; but by the same rule they may conclude them to be some of the gleanings of all nations, because they have words which sound after the Greek, Latin, French, and other tongues." Josselyn judged the Mohawks to be "Tartars, called Samoades, being alike in complexion, shape, habit, and manners." Cotton Mather, with his "wig full of learning," could not, of course, be silent on so important a theme; and, as in his mythology the Devil was always a most important personage, he assigns to him the business of conducting hither the first expedition, and of peopling America, with the hope of establishing an empire so remote that "the sound of the silver trumpets of the gospel might never disturb his territories." "The natives of the country," he says, in another place, "now possessed by the Newengland-ers, had been forlorn and wretched heathen ever since their first herding here; and though we know not *when* or *how* these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the *Devil* decoyed those miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them." "But our Eliot," continues he, "was on such ill terms with the Devil, as to alarm him with sounding the silver trumpets of heaven in his territories, and make some noble and zealous attempts towards ousting him of ancient possessions here. There were, I think, twenty several nations (if I may call them so) of Indians upon that spot of ground which fell under the influence of our Three United Colonies; and our Eliot was willing to rescue as many of them as he could from that old usurping *landlord* of America, who is, by the wrath of God, the prince of this world."

This question, which the learned Doctor (who took good care to have always a sufficient force of the like supernatural agency in reserve, to explain all that he could not readily account for by his varied learning, and illustrate by a Latin or Greek quotation,) thus disposes of, has exercised also the pens of Grotius, Robertson, Voltaire, Lord Kaims, and others; and their different solutions, though they might have satisfied, for the time, their authors, at least, are based on principles about as sound, and may be deemed about as certain, as that

of Cotton Mather. If the problem is ever solved by man, it must be by the combined aid of the whole circle of human wisdom, — history, philology, geology, natural history, &c.; as there is hardly any science, or branch of knowledge, which may not, in virtue of the "commune vinculum," contribute its share to the task. And it is necessary not only that every possible fact be collected that can throw the least light, direct or indirect, upon the question; but also, in the language of Cuvier in reference to another subject, "carefully and decidedly to find the place of every thing before building upon it." The theories of Robertson, Voltaire, and Lord Kaims, with many others, are given by Mr. Drake; but to attempt to examine their different merits would require more space than our limits will allow us to devote to this part of the volume.

A portion of the first Book is devoted to illustrating the manners, customs, disposition, habits, and traditions of the Indians. This is attempted principally by anecdotes drawn from every variety of source; but the aim seems to have been rather to amuse the reader, than to present a connected and instructive disquisition on the subjects announced at the head of the chapter. There is, however, much to entertain, if not to inform. We do not complain of want of interest, but only that we had looked for something more methodical and complete. One or two of these anecdotes we will give the reader.

"*Characters Contrasted.* — 'An Indian of the Kennebeck tribe, remarkable for his good conduct, received a grant of land from the State, and fixed himself in a new township where a number of families were settled. Though not ill treated, yet the common prejudice against Indians prevented any sympathy with him. This was shown at the death of his only child, when none of the people came near him. Shortly afterwards he went to some of the inhabitants, and said to them: "When white man's child die, Indian man he sorry, — he help bury him. When my child die, no one speak to me. I make his grave alone. I can no live here." He gave up his farm, dug up the body of his child, and carried it with him two hundred miles through the forests, to join the Canada Indians.'" — Book I. chap. iii. p. 22.

"*Harmless Deception.* — In a time of Indian troubles, an Indian visited the house of Governor Jenks, of Rhode Island, when the governor took occasion to request him, if any strange

Indian should come to his wigwam, to let him know it, which the Indian promised to do; but, to secure his fidelity, the governor told him that when he should give him such information, he would give him a mug of flip. Some time after the Indian came again. 'Well, Mr. Gubenor, strange Indian come my house last night!' 'Ah,' says the governor, 'and what did he say?' 'He no speak,' replied the Indian. 'What, no speak at all?' added the governor. 'No, he no speak at all.' 'That certainly looks suspicious,' said his excellency, and inquired if he were still there; and being told that he was, ordered the promised mug of flip. When this was disposed of, and the Indian was about to depart, he mildly said, 'Mr. Gubenor, my squaw have child last night;' and thus the governor's alarm was suddenly changed into disappointment, and the strange Indian into a new-born pappoose." — *Ibid.*, p. 28.

The remaining portion of the first Book is devoted to American Antiquities. Mr. Drake has collected most of what may be considered valuable from the various writers who have attempted to treat of them; "confining himself," as he says, "to facts as he finds them, without wasting time in commentaries." Facts, data sufficient and correct, seem to have been too little an object of inquiry with many who have written upon these relics of the olden time. Imagination has ranged wider than the eye, and penetrated deeper than the spade and shovel. We think with the author, that "it is time enough to argue a subject of this nature, when all the facts are collected;" and, that "to write volumes about Shem, Ham, and Japhet, in connexion with a few isolated facts, is a most ludicrous, and worse than useless business." A writer visits the remains of one of these fortifications, to examine and describe them. No sooner has he set foot within the half-demolished enclosure, and gazed round on the venerable oaks, that stand like aged sentinels on the time-levelled ramparts, or climbed the neighbouring mound, where repose the dead of an unknown age, the warriors who once battled on the plain around him, than fancy peoples anew the scene before him with another race of beings. He beholds in imagination the marshalled hosts of the long-revolted children of Abraham, or sees the stately march of the invincible Roman, as his cohorts file through the narrow opening in the now half-levelled wall. The perplexing problem is solved; the mystery is all revealed; and, after collecting a few fragments of earthenware, and a

piece or two of copper, he returns, satisfied with his investigations, to communicate their result to the world.

Our remarks have, of course, no application to those who have entered this field in the true spirit of philosophical investigation, using their eyes and their spades together, instead of allowing their imaginations to run riot amongst sites of cities, mounds, fortifications, swords, and medals. A few individuals have examined parts of these monuments, such as mounds, fortifications, wells, &c. with much faithfulness, and have accurately and minutely described them. Mr. Jefferson excavated one of these mounds or barrows, which was situated in his neighbourhood, near the site of an Indian town. It was of a spheroidal form of about forty feet in diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though then reduced by the plough to seven and a half, having been under cultivation ten or twelve years. Before this, it had been covered with trees of twelve inches diameter, and there was around its base an excavation of five feet depth and width, from which the earth had been taken to form the hillock. In this mound Mr. Jefferson found great quantities of human bones, which, from their position, appeared to have been thrown or piled there promiscuously together; bones of the head and feet being in contact; "some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass." These bones, when exposed to the air, crumbled to dust. Some of the skulls, jaw-bones, and teeth, were taken out in a nearly perfect state, but fell to pieces on being examined. This assemblage of bones Mr. Jefferson judged to have been made up from persons of all ages, and collected at different periods of time. The mound was composed of alternate strata of bones, stones, and earth. The Indians, as the same author states, have a custom of collecting together, at certain periods, the bones of their deceased friends, and depositing them together in this manner. "But," he observes, "on whatever occasion they may have been made, they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians; for a party passing, about thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or inquiry, and, having stayed about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left, about a half a dozen miles, to pay this visit, and pursued their journey."

In these *tumuli* are usually found, with the bones, such instruments only as appear to have been connected with the superstitious rites of the entombed, or to have been used for ornaments, as weapons of the chase, or of war. Of the latter none more formidable have been discovered, which can be supposed to have been deposited before the arrival of Europeans in America, than tomahawks, spears, and arrow-heads.

The number of these mounds and fortifications, scattered over the south and west, has been variously estimated by different writers. Mr. Brackenridge supposes there may be three thousand; and Mr. Drake thinks it would not exceed the bounds of probability to estimate them at double that number. "The plough, excavations, and levellings for towns, roads, and various other works, have entirely destroyed hundreds of them, which had never been described, and whose sites cannot now be ascertained." Great numbers are believed to have been destroyed by the changing of the courses of rivers.

"There are various opinions about the uses for which these ancient remains were constructed. While some of them are too much like modern fortifications to admit of a doubt of their having been used for defences, others, nearly similar in design, from their situation, entirely exclude the adoption of such an opinion. Hence we find four kinds of remains formed of earth; two kinds of mounds or barrows, and two which have been viewed as fortifications. The barrows or burial piles are distinguished by such as contain articles which were inhumed with the dead, and those which do not contain them. From what cause they differ in this respect, it is difficult to determine. Some have supposed the former to contain bones only of warriors, but in such mounds the bones of infants are found, and hence that hypothesis is overthrown; and indeed an hypothesis can scarcely be raised upon any one matter concerning them, without almost a positive assurance that it has been created to be destroyed.

"As a specimen of the contents of the mounds generally, the following may be taken; being such as Dr. Drake found in those he examined. — 1. Cylindrical stones, such as jasper, rock-crystal, and granite; with a groove near one end. 2. A circular piece of cannel coal, with a large opening in the centre, as though made for the reception of an axis; and a deep groove in the circumference, suitable for a band. 3. A small article of the same shape, but composed of polished argillaceous earth.

4. A bone, ornamented with several curved lines, supposed by some to be hieroglyphics. 5. A sculptural representation of the head and beak of some rapacious bird. 6. Lumps of lead ore. 7. Isinglass, (mica membranacea.) This article is very common in mounds, and seems to have been held in high estimation among the people that constructed them; but we know not that modern Indians have any particular attachment to it. A superior article, though much like it, was also in great esteem among the ancient Mexicans. 8. Small pieces of sheet-copper, with perforations. 9. Larger oblong pieces of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges. 10. Beads, or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell. 11. Teeth of carnivorous animals. 12. Large marine shells, belonging, perhaps, to the genus buccinum; cut in such a manner as to serve for domestic utensils. These, and also the teeth of animals, are generally found almost entirely decomposed, or in a state resembling chalk. 13. Earthenware. This seems to have been made of the same material as that employed by the Indians of Louisiana, within our recollection, viz. pounded muscle and other river shells, and earth. Some perfect articles have been found, but they are rare. Pieces, or fragments, are very common. Upon most of them, confused lines are traced, which doubtless had some meaning; but no specimen has yet been found, having glazing upon it like modern pottery. Some entire vases, of most uncouth appearance, have been found. Mr. Atwater of Ohio, who has pretty fully described the western antiquities, gives an account of a vessel, which seems to have been used as a jug. It was found in an ancient work on Cany Fork, on Cumberland River, about four feet below the surface. The body of the vessel is made by three heads, all joined together at their backs. From these places of contact a neck is formed, which rises about three inches above the heads. The orifice of this neck is near two inches in diameter, and the three necks of the heads form the legs of the vessel on which it stands when upright. The heads are all of a size, being about four inches from the top to the chin. The faces, at the eyes, are about three inches broad, which increase in breadth all the way to the chin." — Book I. chap. iv. p. 41.

The works, called fortifications, are next considered particularly, and the largest and most remarkable of them described. They are very numerous, and are of many different figures, though generally regular. Some are square, others oblong, trapezoidal, circular, &c. They differ equally in area; some containing only a few rods, and others twenty,

forty, and even more than a hundred acres. They are constructed mostly of common earth, or of clay ; and some of silicious limestone, and undressed freestone, laid up without mortar or cement of any sort. We will extract the descriptions of a few of these curious works of unknown hands.

" At Piqua, on the western side of the Great Miami, there is a circular wall of earth, enclosing a space of about 100 feet in diameter, with an opening on the side most remote from the river. The adjacent hill, at the distance of half a mile, and at the greater elevation of about a hundred feet, is the site of a stone wall, nearly circular, and enclosing perhaps twenty acres. The valley of the river on one side, and a deep ravine on the other, render the access to three fourths of this fortification extremely difficult. The wall was carried generally along the brow of the hill, in one place descending a short distance so as to include a spring. The silicious limestone, of which it was built, must have been transported from the bed of the river, which, for two miles opposite these works, does not at present afford one of ten pounds' weight. They exhibit no marks of the hammer, or any other tool. The wall was laid up without mortar, and is now in ruins." — *Ibid.*

Similar remains are very numerous at Marietta, and in its vicinity, at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum; but these have been so often described, as to be familiar to every reader.

" Of first importance are doubtless the works upon the Scioto. The most magnificent is situated twenty-six miles south from Columbus, and consists of two nearly exact figures, a circle and a square, which are contiguous to each other. A town, having been built within the former, appropriately received the name of Circleville, from that circumstance. According to Mr. Atwater, who has surveyed these works with great exactness and attention, the circle was originally 1138½ feet in diameter, from external parallel tangents, and the square was 907½ feet upon a side; giving an area to the latter of 3025 square rods, and to the circle 3739 nearly; both making almost 44 acres. The rampart of the circular fort consists of two parallel walls, which were, at least in the opinion of my author, twenty feet in height, measuring from the bottom of the ditch between the circumvallations, before the town of Circleville was built. ' The inner wall was of clay, taken up probably in the northern part of the fort, where is a low place, and is considerably lower than any other part of

the work. The outside wall was taken from the ditch which is between these walls, and is alluvial, consisting of pebbles worn smooth in water and sand, to a very considerable depth, more than fifty feet at least.' At the time Mr. Atwater wrote his account, (about 1819), the outside of the walls was but about five or six feet high, and the ditch not more than fifteen feet deep. The walls of the square fort were, at the same time, about ten feet high. This fort had eight gateways or openings, about twenty feet broad, each of which was defended by a mound four or five feet high, all within the fort arranged in the most exact manner; equidistant and parallel. The circular fort had but one gateway, which was at its south-east point, and at the place of contact with the square. In the centre of the square was a remarkable mound, with a semicircular pavement, adjacent to its eastern half, and nearly facing the passage way into the square fort. Just without the square fort, upon the north side, and to the east of the centre gateway, rises a large mound. In the opposite point of the compass, without the circular one, is another. These, probably, were places of burial. As the walls of the square lie pretty nearly in a line with the cardinal points of the horizon, some have supposed they were originally projected in strict regard to them, their variation not being more than that of the compass; but a single fact of this kind can establish nothing, as mere accident may have given them such direction. 'What surprised me,' says my authority, 'on measuring these forts, was the exact manner in which they had laid down their circle and square; so that after every effort, by the most careful survey, to detect some error in their measurement, we found that it was impossible.'" —*Ibid.*, p. 43.

At the forks of the Licking river, above Newark, in the county of Licking, are similar remains, in which the same fact is observable respecting the openings into the forts; "the square ones having several, but the round ones only one, with a single exception."

"Not far below Newark, on the south side of the Licking, are found numerous wells or holes in the earth. 'There are,' says Mr. Atwater, 'at least a thousand of them, many of which are now more than twenty feet deep.' Though called wells, my author says they were not dug for that purpose. They have the appearance of being of the same age as the mounds, and were doubtless made by the same people; but for what purpose they could have been made, few seem willing to hazard a conjecture.

"Four or five miles to the northwest of Somerset, in the

county of Perry, and southwardly from the works on the Licking, is a stone fort, enclosing about 40 acres. Its shape is that of a heart, though bounded by straight lines. In or near its centre is a circular stone mound, which rises like a sugar-loaf from twelve to fifteen feet. Near this large work is another small fort, whose walls are of earth, enclosing but about half an acre. I give these the name of forts, although Mr. Atwater says he does not believe they were ever constructed for defence." — *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The author devotes a few paragraphs to the "Inscription Rocks," as they are termed, which are found in different parts of the country, covered with uncouth figures of men, beasts, birds, rudely carved, with a few zigzag lines, and by some fancied to be attempts at hieroglyphical writing; though to interpret their meaning, or even conjecture the nature of the events supposed to be recorded, has as yet baffled the skill of the learned. The following are his remarks upon the rock near Dighton, called by the people in its vicinity, the "Writing Rock." This rock, by the way, we would here add, is not in the town of Dighton, as it has been usually said to be, (by an inaccuracy which once cost us no small pains and disappointment,) but in Berkley, upon the east side of the Taunton river, which separates that town from the former.

"Among the inscriptions upon stone in New England, the 'Inscribed Rock,' as it is called, at Dighton, Mass., is doubtless the most remarkable. It is in Taunton River, about six miles below the town of Taunton, and is partly immersed by the tide. If this inscription was made by the Indians, it doubtless had some meaning to it; but I doubt whether any of them, except such as happened to know what it was done for, knew any thing of its import. The divers faces, figures of half-formed animals, and zigzag lines, occupy a space of about twenty square feet. The whimsical conjectures of many persons about the origin of the inscription, might amuse, but could not instruct; and it would be a waste of time to give an account of them." — *Ibid.*

Mr. Drake is of the opinion that these inscriptions are the work of the Indians. He closes his chapter on American Antiquities, with a comparison of those of the United States and Mexico, and with some remarks on the supposed Welsh Indians. But we have already dwelt too long on this part of the volume, and must proceed to what constitutes by far the largest and most valuable portion of the work, Indian Biography and History.

The second and third Books contain biographical sketches of all the principal Indian characters, in those tribes that were known to the English, so far as any record of their lives has come down to us; connecting with the lives of the celebrated chiefs an account of the wars and disturbances that occurred between them and the English.

The second Book commences with a brief account of the conduct of the early voyagers towards the Indians, and mentions a few of those carried by them to Europe. It appears that the first of the American race ever seen in England were three, presented to Henry VII. by Sebastian Cabot, in 1502. These had been brought by him from Newfoundland. They were "clothed with the skins of beasts, and lived on raw flesh; but after two years, [of residence in England,] were seen in the King's court clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen." They were brought to the English court "in their country habit," and "spoke a language never heard before out of their own country." The first ever seen in Europe were, of course, those carried by Columbus on his return from his first voyage. Sir Ferdinando Gorges says of three Indians, whom he took into his custody, of a number carried to England from "a river on the coast of America called Pemmaquid," by Captain George Weymouth; "After I had those people some time in my custody, I observed in them an inclination to follow the example of the better sort; and, in all their carriage, manifest shows of great civility, far from the rudeness of our common people." From them he gained much information of the country which he afterwards attempted to colonize; "what goodly rivers, stately islands, and safe harbours, those parts abounded with." And after having kept them "full three years," he made them set him down "what great rivers run up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had," &c.

In the unjust and shameful conduct of some of the early navigators towards the Indians, may be clearly seen the cause of the hostile disposition which they afterwards manifested, in some instances, towards those who visited the coast; such, for example, as the "flight of arrows" with which they greeted a party of the Pilgrims on their first going on shore upon Cape Cod. Hunt, as Captain John Smith relates, after having traded with the natives on the most friendly terms, "betrayed

four-and-twenty of those poor salvages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly, for their kind usage of him [Smith, who was in company with Hunt] and all his men, carried them with him to Malaga, and there, for a little private gain, sold these silly salvages for rials of eight." Of this number Squanto, or Tisquantum, is generally supposed to have been, who became so serviceable as interpreter to the Plymouth colony. But Mr. Drake thinks this to be an error; and, on authority which he adduces, shows him to have been one of those carried to England, in 1605, by Captain George Weymouth, who had been sent out to discover a northwest passage. This opinion accounts more easily for the return of Squanto to New England. He is supposed to have been one of the three before mentioned by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who gives their names; one of which is "*Tasquantum.*"

Henry Hudson, in sailing up the river that bears his name, having one of his men mortally wounded by an arrow, shot by an Indian, whom, judging by his subsequent conduct towards them, he probably first provoked, seized some of the natives, and, during his intercourse with them, frequently fired upon the canoes that came out to meet him. This he did, erroneously supposing that every canoe that came armed had hostile designs upon him. One Indian, who had contrived to climb up the rudder, and take from the cabin, which he entered by the window, "a pillow, two shirts, and two bandoleers," the mate "shot in the breast and killed." "Many others," says the authority quoted by Mr. Drake, — the Journal of Robert Juet, one of Hudson's company, — "were in canoes about the ship, who immediately fled, and some jumped overboard. A boat manned from the ship pursued them, and coming up with one in the water, he laid hold of the side of the boat, and endeavoured to overset it; at which one in the boat cut off his hands with a sword, and he was drowned." This was cold barbarity. The navigator should have considered the wide disparity between the ideas of justice in the mind of the simple child of the forest, and of the enlightened European.

In 1611, Captain Edward Harlow, who was sent "to discover an Ile supposed about Cape Cod," detained "three salvages aboord," one of whom soon leaped overboard and escaped; "and not long afterwards cut their boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand and guarded her with bowes and arrowes, the English lost her."

"This exploit of Pechmo is as truly brave as it was daring. To have got under the stern of a ship, in the face of armed men, and at the same time to have succeeded in his design of cutting away and carrying off their boat, was an act as bold and daring, to say the least, as that performed in the harbour of Tripoli by our countryman Decatur."

We are disposed to think that the ordnance of the ship could not have been very heavy, or that the disposition of the commander must have been more humane than that of Hudson, to have allowed a few Indians, with their bows and arrows, to keep a whole ship's company at bay, and finally oblige them to relinquish their boat.

We have presented these facts to show that the early hostility and jealousy manifested by some of the Indians towards the English, were caused by the provocations given by the latter.

In the second Book, we find, among a great number of others less distinguished, the lives of Massassoit, Canonicus, Miantonnimoh, Ninigret, Uncas, Sassacus, and Mononotto, with an account of the Praying Indians; and, in connexion with the lives of Sassacus and Mononotto, a history of the Pequot war.

The name of Massassoit, the firm friend and faithful ally of the Pilgrims, can never be pronounced by a New Englander, without a mingled feeling of love and veneration. That singular combination of talent, which could inspire awe and attachment in the minds of his subjects, and enable him, in mildness and peace, to sway the rude sceptre of authority over so many untaught savages, and to keep together in harmony so many fierce and warlike clans, whose infancy had been hushed to the notes of the war-whoop, may well excite admiration. Powhattan, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, and others, have united and swayed many and powerful tribes; but theirs was a temporary union in an emergency of war. Nor are we less struck with the traits of his character, displayed in all his dealings with the English; his noble and dignified generosity, in giving to the settlers land which he refused to sell; his faithful and scrupulous adherence to the treaty which he voluntarily entered into with the Plymouth colony; the repeated instances of his sincere and personal friendship for the English to whom he had professed it; and, in all, never for once forgetting his character as an independent sovereign, and the original lord of

the soil, or feeling that he was to be treated otherwise than "as a king." In reply to Roger Williams, who, in virtue of a purchase of the Narragansetts, claimed a part of the territory which Massassoit considered to be within his original transfer to the Plymouth colony, "It is *mine*," said the sachem, "it is mine, and *therefore theirs*;" implying that the original title came from him.

As the life and character of this sachem have been treated of at length, in a former number of this journal,* we shall not enter into a consideration of it; but content ourselves with giving an additional fact respecting his life, and the conduct of the Plymouth court towards him, which we met with a short time since in the Old Colony Records,† but which is not mentioned by any historian, not even by Mr. Drake. This was an assault made upon the sachem, in 1646, by "William Cheesborrow of Seacunck alius Rehoboth, and some others," who were apprehended and punished by the Plymouth court. William Cheesborrow was called "to answer to all such matters as on his Majesty's behalf should be objected against him concerning an affray made upon Ussamequin and some of his people;" and, for this offence and for a succeeding one of "breach of imprisonment," was sentenced "to be imprisoned fourteen days without bayle or mainprize, and to pay six pounds fine to the Colonies." One of his associates in the offence, "Thomas Hitt, of Rehoboth, for taking part with Cheesborrow in the affray made upon Ussamequin and his men, is fined twenty shillings." We have inserted the above facts, because it has been frequently stated that the complaints of the Indians against the whites were never heard in the courts of the English, while the offences of the Indians against them were rigorously punished. This, it is probable, was sometimes the case; but we believe it will be found, on a minute examination, that the colony of Plymouth, at least, was not wanting in respect for the rights of the Indians. But for the evidence of the above assault, we had supposed that even the vilest of the colonists too much respected their benevolent and venerable ally, to touch a hair of the "good old Massassoit."

Contemporary with Massassoit, and not inferior to him in the sterner and nobler virtues of the savage character, was

* See North American Review, No. LXXIII., for October, 1831.
† Old Colony Records, Vol. II. pp. 131, 132, 138.

Canonicus, the great and powerful sachem of the Narragansetts. This tribe, or rather confederacy, like that of the Pokanokets, was composed of various small tribes, inhabiting a large part of the territory which now constitutes the State of Rhode Island. The chiefs of Block Island and a part of Long Island were their tributaries, or in some way subject to them. According to Gookin, "the territories of their sachem extended about thirty or forty miles from Sekunk River and Narragansitt Bay, including Rhode Island and other islands in that bay." Pawcatuck River separated them from the Pequots. This nation was estimated by Richard Smith, jr., who with his father lived in their country, to contain, in 1642, a population of thirty thousand. So late as Philip's war, they were able to raise two thousand warriors, one half of whom were provided with English arms; and it is said that they could formerly muster twice that number. Like the other tribes of North America, their chief employment had been war; which from time immemorial they had carried on, with both the Pokanokets on the east, and the Pequots, and perhaps the Mohawks, on the west. About the year 1766, a catalogue was made of the remains of this once powerful tribe, by Mr. Samuel Drake, who resided fourteen years among them in the capacity of a schoolmaster; and this contained the names of three hundred and fifteen persons. A census of those calling themselves Narragansetts, taken in 1832, gave their number at three hundred and fifteen; only seven of whom were of unmixed blood.

"Of the early times of this nation, some of the first English inhabitants learned from the old Indians, that they had, previous to their arrival, a sachem named Tashtassuck; and their encomiums upon his wisdom and valor were much the same as the Delawares reported of their great chief Tamany; that since there had not been his equal, &c. Tashtassuck had but two children, a son and a daughter; these he joined in marriage, because he could find none worthy of them out of his family. The product of this marriage was four sons, of whom Canonicus was the oldest." — Book II. chap. iv. p. 54.

This account, however, for which he refers to Hutchinson, who met with it in manuscript, the author does not receive with implicit faith, considering it, "at best, a tradition."

A confusion has been introduced by some of our earlier

historians, respecting the particular chieftain who governed the Narragansetts, at the date of the first intercourse between them and the English. Governor Hutchinson, for instance, speaks in one place of Canonicus as their chief sachem; and, in another, alluding to the death of Miantonomo, while the former was yet living, observes that "although they had *lost their chief sachem*, yet they had divers other stout ones, as *Canonicus*, Pessacus, and others."

The ambiguity arose, probably, from the circumstance, that Canonicus, in consequence of age, or for other reasons, associated with himself in the government, soon after the arrival of the English, his nephew Miantonomo. They are said to have governed in great harmony, consulting each other, as we see in the case of sending aid with Captain Mason against the Pequots, on all important occasions. "Their chiefest government in the country," says Roger Williams, (Key to the Indian Language,) "is divided between a younger sachem, Miantunnamu, and an elder sachem, Caunaunacus, of about fourscore years old, this young man's uncle; and their agreement in the government is remarkable. The old sachem will not be offended at what the young sachem doth; and the young sachem will not do what he conceives will displease his uncle."

Another error, committed by Hubbard, has misled, or rather perplexed some. There was a chief of the same name in Philip's war, (perhaps a younger son of the Canonicus of whom we have been speaking,) who is denominated by Hubbard "the great sachem of the Narragansetts." This sachem, according to that author, "distrusting the proffers of the English, was slain in the woods by the Mohawks, his squaw surrendering herself; by this means her life was spared."

The first notice we meet with of Canonicus, is in February, 1622; when, jealous of the alliance of the English with his ancient enemy, Massassoit, he despatched to Plymouth the laconic and significant challenge to hostilities, a bundle of arrows bound with a rattlesnake's skin. The skin was returned with the equally appropriate reply, powder and ball. This answer, accompanied with the threats of the governor, and the assurance that whenever he should choose to come, he would find the English prepared to meet him, awed the sachem into silence, and made him content to live in peace with his new neighbours. The snake-skin was returned un-

opened, the sachem not allowing it to be brought into his house; fearing, as it is said, that it contained the *plague;* a pestilence, whose deadly havoc, a few years before the arrival of the English, had nearly depopulated the greater part of Massachusetts, and whose effects might still be traced by the bones that whitened the favorite hunting and fishing grounds of the Indians.

In 1632, he made an attack on Massassoit, who fled to an English house at Sowams, sending despatches to Plymouth for assistance. Standish was on the alert; but was saved a contest by the sudden retreat of Canonicus, occasioned by a rumor that the Pequots were invading his own territory. This rumor proved to be well grounded.

"In 1632, a war broke out between the Narragansetts and the Pequots, on account of disputed right to the lands between Pancatuck River and Wecapang Brook. It was a tract of considerable consequence, being about ten miles wide, and fifteen long. Canonicus drew along with him, besides his own men, several of the Massachusetts sagamores. This land was maintained with ferocity and various success, until 1635, when the Pequots were driven from it; but who, it would seem, considered themselves but little worsted. For Canonicus, doubting his ability to hold possession long, and ashamed to have it retaken from him, made a present of it to one of his captains, who had fought heroically in conquering it; but he never had possession. However, after the Pequots were subdued by the English, these lands were possessed by the Narragansetts again."—*Ibid.*, pp. 56, 57.

When Roger Williams had learned that Seekonk, the asylum granted him by Massassoit, was forbidden ground, being within the limits of the Plymouth patent, still buoyed up by the hope of yet finding a resting-place, he crossed the river and threw himself upon the mercy of Canonicus. Here he was welcomed with the kind *What cheer?* and treated with the same noble generosity with which the Pilgrims had been treated by the benevolent sachem of the Wampanoags. At first, indeed, Canonicus is said to have looked with a little suspicion upon the motives of the stranger; wondering, perhaps, why an Englishman could not be permitted to dwell with his brethren. His suspicions, probably, arose, in part, from the fact of his subjects having recently suffered much from a sweeping epidemic, which they supposed had been sent among them by the whites. "At my first coming among them,"

writes Roger Williams, "Caunounicus (*morosus æque ac barbarus senex*) was very sour, and accused the English and myself of sending the plague among them, and threatening to kill *him* especially." Soon, however, as his jealousies were removed, he received the exile with a generosity that might have done honor to an emperor, and ought certainly to have put to the blush the governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth. He gave him and his followers all "the neck of land lying between the mouths of Pawtucket and Moshasuck rivers, that they might sit down in peace upon it, and enjoy it for ever." Mr. Williams says, in a deposition which he gave about fifty years afterwards, "I declare to posterity, that were it not for the favor that God gave me with Caunounicus, none of these parts, no, not Rhode Island, had been purchased or obtained, for I never got any thing of Caunounicus but by gift." "And I desire posterity to see the gracious hand of the Most High, that when the hearts of my countrymen and friends and brethren failed me, his infinite wisdom and merits stirred up the barbarous heart of Caunounicus to love me as his own son to his last gasp."

"In a grave assembly upon a certain occasion, Canonicus thus addressed Roger Williams; 'I have never suffered any wrong to be offered to the English since they landed, nor never will;' and often repeated the word *wunnaunewaycan*, which signified faithfulness. 'If the Englishman speak true, if he mean truly, then shall I go to my grave in peace, and hope that the English and my posterity shall live in love and peace together.' When Mr. Williams said he hoped he had no cause to question the Englishman's *wunnaumwaûonck*, that is, faithfulness, having long been acquainted with it, Canonicus took a stick, and breaking it into ten pieces, related ten instances wherein they had proved false; laying down a piece at each instance. Mr. Williams satisfied him that he was mistaken in some of them, and as to others, he agreed to intercede with the governor, who, he doubted not, would make satisfaction for them."—*Ibid.*, p. 56.

When Oldham was murdered by Indians near Block Island, the English sent a deputation to Canonicus, to ascertain the facts in the case, and to make a close investigation as to whether he or Miantonomo had in any way been accessary to the crime. The messengers were fully satisfied that neither of them had any hand in the affair, but that "the six other Narraganset sachems had." "They returned with ac-

ceptance and good success of their business; observing in the sachem much state, great command of his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers, and in the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself and his neighbours of the murder, and offering revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions."

In 1636, when the Pequots had formed the design of exterminating the English, by exciting all the Indian tribes around them to make common cause against the intruders, they applied to Canonicus and Miantonomo, their old and inveterate enemies, to join them, and thus serve their country. This proposition must have put their patriotism to a severe test. No light struggle could it have cost the proud and haughty Sassacus, to extend the hand of friendship to his equally stern and implacable foe of the Narragansetts. Canonicus and Miantonomo are said to have wavered on this occasion. On the one hand was the prospect of an ultimate triumph over the English; on the other, the gratification of present revenge on the Pequots, by suffering them to be finally destroyed by the forces of the colonies. But the feuds of centuries were not to be so easily smothered; and the love of revenge prevailed. This result was probably aided greatly by their friendship for Roger Williams, and the influence he was able to exert over them. Miantonomo informed him of the application, who forthwith communicated the intelligence to Governor Winthrop. The governor immediately invited Miantonomo to pay him a visit at Boston, where a treaty of amity was concluded between the sachem and the English, by which the Narragansetts were to aid them against the Pequots. Without securing the friendship of the former, the English would hardly have dared to make war upon "the great and mighty Pequots." This tribe, it is known, was soon after nearly extirpated.

Canonicus continued friendly to the English to the end of his days; though he is said, as justly he might, to have "frowned upon them," from the time that he learned of their treachery* towards Miantonomo, in delivering him to die by the tomahawk of Uncas. The venerable sachem died,

* For some considerations, however, throwing a different light upon this business, see Judge Davis's learned edition of Morton's *Memorial*, as referred to in North American Review, Vol. XXV., p. 212.

according to Governor Winthrop, June 4th, 1647, "a very old man." He is generally supposed to have been about eighty-five years of age. He is mentioned with great respect by Roger Williams, in a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, in 1654, when, after stating that many hundreds of the English were witnesses to the friendly disposition of the Narragansetts, he says; "Their late famous long-lived Caunounicus so lived and died, and in the same most honorable manner and solemnity, (in their way), as you laid to sleep your prudent peace-maker, Mr. Winthrop, did they honor this their prudent and peaceable prince; yea, through all their towns and countries how frequently do many and oft times our Englishmen travel alone with safety and loving kindness!"

In connexion with Canonicus we had designed to sketch the life and character of the brave and high-souled Miantonomo, his nephew, and associate in authority; whose melancholy fate, when contrasted with the nobleness of his nature, and the many proofs of his friendship to the English, furnishes the passage the most painful to contemplate in the history of the eastern tribes. But as our limits will not permit us, we must refer our readers to the interesting account given of him by Mr. Drake.

We have devoted so much space to the first part of this volume, that we shall be compelled to pass hastily over the remainder, although it is the greater portion, and replete with interest in every page, to those who would study the Indian character and history; contenting ourselves with giving little more than a brief synopsis of the contents.

The third Book concludes the history of the New England Indians. It commences with the life of Alexander and Namumpum, afterwards called Weetamoo, the squaw-sachem of Pocasset, who appears to have been, for a time, his wife. Weetamoo was described to be "as potent a prince as any round about her, and to have as much corn, land, and men, at her command." In her union with Alexander, she retained her independence in the possession and management of her dominion. Under the impression that her husband had been poisoned by the authorities of Plymouth, as the cause of his early and sudden death, she espoused the cause of Philip, at the commencement of his war, and in the event, shared his fate. She was drowned, August 6, 1676, in Tehticut river, in Metapoiset, (a part of Swansey), in attempting to cross

over on a raft to Pocasset, now Tiverton. Her head was cut off, and set upon a pole at Taunton. Many of her tribe, that were there prisoners, were compelled to witness the spectacle; who, according to Mather, "made a most horrid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head."

To these succeed the biography of Philip, with those of his principal captains and confederates, and a history of the war in which he fell. His Indian name, as it has been usually written, Metacom or Metacomet, Mr. Drake has discovered to be an abridgment of his real name, *Pometacom.*

"In regard to the native or Indian name of Philip, it seems a mistake has always prevailed, in printed accounts. *Pometacom* gives as near its Indian sound as can be approached by our letters. The first syllable was dropped in familiar discourse, and hence, in a short time, no one imagined but that it had always been so; in nearly every original deed executed by him, which we have seen, — and they are many, — his name so appears. It is true that, in those of different years, it is spelt with some little variation, all which, however, conveyed very nearly the same sound. The variations are *Pumatacom*, *Pamatacom*, *Pometacome*, and *Pometacom;* the last of which prevails in the records.

"We have another important discovery to communicate; it is no other than the name of the wife of Pometacom, the innocent *Wootonekanuske!* This was the name of her, who, with her little son, fell into the hands of Captain Church. No wonder that Philip was "now ready to die," as some of his traitorous men told Church, and that "his heart was now ready to break!" All that was dear to him was now swallowed up in the vortex! But they still lived, and this most harrowed his soul; lived for what? to serve as slaves in an unknown land! Could it be otherwise than that madness should seize upon him, and despair torment him in every place? that in his sleep he should hear the anguishing cries and lamentations of Wootonekanuske and his son?" * * * — Book III. chap. ii. p. 13.

In the number of "Philip's captains," as they are termed by our author, we meet with the name of Anawan, who had been the companion and counsellor of Massassoit, and was "Philip's great captain in the war"; and whose surprise and capture by Church, at Rehoboth, forms an act of single-handed prowess among the most distinguished in our history. The rock, which was the place of this capture, is still known by

the name of "Anawan's Rock," and is pointed out to the traveller from Taunton to Providence; an enormous pile, about twenty-five feet high and seventy feet long, on a sort of peninsula, on the border of a large swamp,* by which it is rendered difficult of access except on one side.

Here, too, we find the brave and haughty Canonchet, or Nanuntenoo, the son of Miantonomo, who, according to Hubbard, was "heir to all his father's pride and insolency, as well as his malice against the English." When some of the Wampanoags, who had taken refuge in his country, were demanded by the English, he is said to have replied haughtily, that "he would not deliver up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail." When taken by Captain Dennison, on the Blackstone River, a few miles above Pawtucket, in reply to a young Englishman who ventured to ask him some questions respecting his conduct, he said, in broken English, looking with a little neglect upon his youthful face, "You much child! no understand matters of war! let your brother or your chief come, him I will answer." He was carried to Stonington, Ct. and sentenced to die. When told of his sentence, he said, "I like it well; I shall die before my heart is soft, or I have said any thing unworthy of myself." He was shot under the eye of Dennison, at Stonington, and the friendly Indians were his executioners.

The remainder of the third Book is occupied with a history of the Eastern Indians, as the Penobscots, Tarranteens, &c.; and though not surpassed in interest by any other portion of the volume, our limits preclude us from giving it even a passing notice.

In the fourth Book, the author has given historical and biographical sketches of the Southern Indians; in which division he includes all the tribes that inhabited, or still inhabit, "beyond the Chesapeake and some of its tributaries" on the east, the Mississippi on the west, and the southern cape of Florida on the south. Some of the principal tribes embraced in this division, are the Powhattans, Manahoacs, and Monacans, or Tuscaroras, conspicuous in the early history of

* This swamp was described by Mr. Drake, in his edition of Philip's War, as containing *three thousand* acres, which error has been repeated in the "Book of the Indians," and, from the earliest editions, copied by other writers. It contains only about *one third* that space. See "History of Rehoboth," p. 109, where the above error is noticed.

Virginia and the Carolinas; and the existing, but injured, provoked, and fast-wasting tribes of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles. The origin and events of the Seminole war, now in progress, are minutely detailed, to the time of the printing of the volume; as also the late disturbances among the Creeks.

The English, in their early voyages to Virginia and their fruitless attempts to plant a colony there, met with three sachems, Wingina, Menatonon, and Granganemeo, of whom a few anecdotes are preserved.

"Wingina was first known to the English voyagers, Amidas and Barlow, who landed in Virginia in the summer of 1584, upon an island, called by the Indians Wokokon. They saw none of the natives until the third day, when three were observed in a canoe. One of them got on shore, and the English went to him. He showed no signs of fear, 'but spoke much to them,' then went boldly on board the vessels. After they had given him a shirt, hat, wine, and some meat, 'he went away, and in half an hour he had loaded his canoe with fish,' which he immediately brought, and gave to the English.

"Wingina, at this time, was confined to his cabin from wounds which he had lately received in battle, probably in his war with Piamacum, a desperate and bloody chief." * * * "He never had much faith in the good intentions of the English, and to him was mainly attributed the breaking up of the first colony which settled in Virginia." — Book IV. chap. i. p. 4.

He was first excited against the English by an outrage committed upon the natives by Sir Richard Greenvil, who had come to the country on a trading expedition.

"He made but one short excursion into the country, during which, by foolishly exposing his commodities, some native took from him a silver cup, to revenge the loss of which, a town was burned. He left a hundred and eight men, who seated themselves upon the Island of Roanoke. Ralph Lane, a military character of note, was governor, and Captain Philip Amidas, lieutenant-governor of this colony. They made various excursions about the country, in hopes of discovering mines of precious metals; in which they were a long time duped by the Indians, for their ill conduct towards them, in compelling them to pilot them about. Wingina bore, as well as he could, the provocations of the intruders, until the death of the old chief Ensenore, his father. Under pretence of honoring his funeral, he assembled eighteen hundred of his people, with the intention, as the

English say, of destroying them. They, therefore, upon the information of Skiko, son of the chief Menatonon, fell upon them, and, after killing five or six, the rest made their escape into the woods. This was done upon the island where Wingina lived, and the English first seized upon the boats of his visitants, to prevent their escape from the island, with the intention, no doubt, of murdering them all. Not long after, Wingina was entrapped by the English, and slain, with eight of his chief men.'" — *Ibid.*

Menatonon, sachem of a powerful nation possessing all the country from Albemarle Sound and Chowan River to the Chesapeake and James Bays, was made a prisoner by the English to assist them in their discoveries; and, in compensation for this treatment, he deluded them with the hope of finding a gold mine, which he pretended to have knowledge of. "So eager were they," says Stith, "and resolutely bent upon this golden discovery, that they could not be persuaded to return, as long as they had one pint of corn a man left, and two mastiff dogs, which, being boiled with sassafras leaves, might afford them some sustenance in their way back." After great suffering they again reached the coast, where they released Menatonon. After his liberation, he treated the English with uniform kindness. Two years after, when Governor White visited the country, the wife and child of the chief are mentioned, but nothing is said of him.

"Granganemeo was a chief very favorably spoken of. As soon as the arrival of the English was made known to him, he visited them with about forty of his men, who were very civil, and of a remarkably robust and fine appearance. When they had left their boat, and came upon the shore near the ship, Granganemeo spread a mat and sat down upon it. The English went to him armed, but he discovered no fear, and invited them to sit down; after which he performed some tokens of friendship; then making a speech to them, they presented him with some toys. None but four of his people spoke a word or sat down, but maintained the most perfect silence. On being shown a pewter dish, he was much pleased with it, and purchased it with twenty deer-skins, which were worth, in England, one hundred shillings sterling!! The dish he used as an ornament, making a hole through it, and wearing it about his neck. While here, the English entertained him, with his wife and children, on board their ship. His wife had in her ears strings of pearl, which reached to her middle. Shortly after, many of the people

came out of the country to trade; but when Granganemeo was present, none durst trade but himself, and them that wore red copper on their heads as he did. He was remarkably exact in keeping his promise, 'for oft we trusted him, and he would come within his day to keep his word.' And these voyagers further report, that 'commonly he sent them every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares, and fish, and sometimes melons, walnuts, cucumbers, pease, and divers roots.'" — *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Captain Amidas and some of his men afterwards returned the visit of the sachem. He was living on the Island of Roanoke, in "a little town of nine houses." The chief was absent; but his wife entertained them in the generous and liberal spirit of genuine Indian hospitality. She ordered their boat to be drawn up out of the reach of the surge, and their oars to be housed, to prevent their being stolen. "When they came into the house, she took off their cloathes and stockings, and washed them, as likewise their feet, in warm water. When their dinner was ready, they were conducted into an inner room, (for there were five in the house divided by mats,) where they found hominy, boiled venison, and roasted fish; and, as a desert, melons, boiled roots, and fruits of various sorts. While they were at meat, two or three of her men came in with their bows and arrows, which made the English take to their arms. But she, perceiving their distress, ordered their bows and arrows to be broken, and themselves to be beaten out of the gate." At evening the English put off from the shore, a short distance, and lay at anchor. This movement much distressed the kind-hearted queen, who "sent their supper to them; and, seeing their distrust, ordered a guard to keep watch upon the shore during the night. She also sent them five mats to cover them from the weather."

We next meet with an account of Powhatan; the romantic and daring adventures of Captain John Smith; and the eventful history of the heroic and high-souled Pocahontas. But these are familiar themes. The universal sympathy of mankind has reared to the memory of Pocahontas a monument as enduring as the human heart's reverence for virtue.

In connexion with the history of the Seminole Indians, the author, as we have before remarked, has treated of the grounds of the war now waging between the United States and that tribe. A subject of such extent demands a separate discussion, to do it any justice. But a few statements, relating to

the condition of the tribe, and to events which prepared the way for the present contest, will not be unacceptable to our readers.

The Seminole Indians are remnants of, and wanderers from, other tribes, principally the Spanish Florida Indians, the upper Creeks or Muscogee, and the Micosukee; from which circumstance they received from the neighbouring tribes their name, which means *Runaway*. The Micosukee, though a small band, are yet described as "the most relentless and ferocious of all, more bent on warring with their neighbours than pursuing the hunt. They seriously harassed General Jackson during his campaign in 1818–1819, and were the last to be subdued. Having burned their villages west of the Suwannee river and made great havoc among them, he drove the remnant of their tribe to the east of that river, when they became incorporated with the Seminoles." The force of the Micosukees, at the commencement of the present war, is estimated at four hundred warriors; that of the Creek and Spanish Indians at nine hundred; and the negroes, at between five and six hundred, making the available force of the Seminoles at that time, between eighteen and nineteen hundred warriors. The Muscogee, or Creek portion of the tribe, fled from their nation, and took up their abode with the Florida Indians, in the years 1814 and 1818. The negroes among them are mostly slaves, and employed by them in agriculture. The number of the principal chiefs who have been engaged in the present war, is eleven; that of the sub-chiefs, nineteen; and, of the friendly chiefs, who were in favor of recognising the validity of the treaty of 1832, and conforming to its requisitions, seven.

A treaty was made with the Seminoles, on the 18th of September, 1823, at Camp Moultrie, of which the following are the principal features; "The Seminole Indians relinquished all their claim to lands in Florida, with the exception of a tract, estimated to contain about five millions of acres, within the limits of which they bound themselves to continue. The United States were to pay the Indians two thousand dollars; to aid them in the removal of their families and stock from their respective towns to the new reservation; to furnish them with articles of husbandry, stock, &c. to the amount of six thousand dollars; to furnish them with corn, meat, and salt, for one year after they were collected within the limits assigned them; to pay

them four thousand five hundred dollars for the improvements which they surrendered with their lands; to allow them one thousand dollars per annum for a blacksmith, and one thousand dollars per annum for a school fund; these two last allowances to be made for twenty successive years."

In less than a year after the ratification of this treaty, complaints to the authorities began to be frequent, of depredations by Indians on the property of the whites in their vicinity. The Indians, on the contrary, with too much appearance of truth, retorted that these depredations of theirs were but reprisals of property, first stolen from them by their white neighbours. To this point, as well as to that of the fraud and violence to which they were perpetually exposed from a horde of land pirates, such as commonly prowl around the outskirts of Indian reservations, we have plenty of authorities at hand. But, as our purpose is at present no more than to show what ground was taken by the Indians, we content ourselves with giving part of a paper, of a deliberate and responsible character. It is a letter addressed from ten of the Seminole towns to the commanding officer at Fort Hawkins.

"Since the last war, after you sent us word that we must quit the war, our red people have come over on this side. The white people have carried all the red people's cattle off. Bernard's son was here, and I asked him what to do about it, — he told me to go to the head white man and complain. I did so, but there was no head white man, and there was no law in the case. *The whites first began to steal from us,* and there 's nothing said about that, but great complaints about what the Indians do. It is now three years since white people killed three Indians; and since, they have killed three more; and since, one more. *The white people killed our red people first,* — the Indians took satisfaction. There are three men that the red people have not taken satisfaction for yet. There is nothing said about what white people do, — but all that the Indians do is brought up. The cattle that we are accused of taking, were cattle that the *white people took from us;* our young men went and brought them back with the *same marks and brands.*"

The annoyance arising from the proximity of the Indians to the settlements of the whites, and the depredations committed by them, were urged in numerous petitions to the Executive, praying for their removal, at an earlier period than that stipulated in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, which was twenty years.

These memorials were so far regarded, that a new negotiation was immediately determined upon. This resulted in the treaty of Payne's Landing.

Colonel Gadsden was sent into the nation to negotiate the desired treaty, and, on the 8th of April, 1832, had an interview with Miconopy, the head of the tribe, and a few other chiefs, on the subject of a removal of themselves and people to the west of the Mississippi. Miconopy said, "he wished all his people to hear what their father in Washington had to communicate to them; but their warriors were out on their annual hunt, and many of them in the lower part of the peninsula, one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles from home, so that it would be difficult to collect them immediately. He therefore wished Colonel Gadsden to defer the communication for thirty days." At the expiration of that time, the principal body of the Seminoles assembled by appointment at Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha river, where they were met by Colonel Gadsden, on the 8th of May, to negotiate on the subject of his mission. After considerable difficulty he succeeded in obtaining their consent to a treaty, of which the following are the leading features:

"1st. The Seminole Indians to relinquish their claim to the tract of land reserved for them by the second article of the treaty of Camp Moultrie, containing four million thirty-two thousand six hundred and forty acres, and to remove west of the Mississippi, and there become a constituent portion of the Creek tribe.

"2d. The United States to pay the Seminole Indians fifteen thousand and four hundred dollars, as a consideration for the improvements which they abandoned with their lands; and a further sum to the two blacks, Abraham and Cudjoe, of two hundred dollars each.

"3d. Each of the Indians to be furnished with a blanket and a homespun frock, and a sufficient quantity of corn, meat, and salt for their support for one year after their arrival in the new country.

"4th. The blacksmith, provided for in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, to be continued ten years longer, at one thousand dollars per year.

"5th. The United States to pay them an additional annuity of three thousand dollars, for fifteen successive years after their arrival in the west; which sum, together with the four thousand dollars stipulated in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, (making seven thousand dollars per annum) to be paid to the nation with their annuities.

"6th. In order to relieve the Seminoles from the vexatious demands on them for slaves and other property, the United States stipulated to have the same investigated, and to liquidate such claims as were satisfactorily established, provided the amount did not exceed seven thousand dollars."

This treaty was executed, May 9th, 1832, and signed, on the part of the Indians, by fifteen chiefs. There was, however, connected with the treaty, a most important proviso, which placed its final acceptance or rejection at the option of the Indians. We give it in the words of the commissioner, Colonel Gadsden, in a letter to the Secretary of War.

"There is a condition prefixed to the agreement, without assenting to which the Florida Indians *most positively refused* to negotiate for their removal west of the Mississippi. Even with the condition annexed, there was a reluctance (which with some difficulty was overcome) on the part of the Indians, to bind themselves by *any* stipulations before a knowledge of facts and circumstances would enable them to judge of the advantages or disadvantages of the disposition which the government of the United States wished to make of them. They were finally *induced*, however, to assent to the agreement."

Again, in the same letter, Colonel Gadsden says;

"The final ratification of the treaty will depend upon the opinion of the seven chiefs selected to explore the country west of the Mississippi River. *If* that corresponds to the description given, or is equal to the expectations formed of it, there will be no difficulty on the part of the Seminoles. If the Creeks, however, raise any objections, this will be a sufficient pretext on the part of some of the Seminole deputation to oppose the execution of the whole arrangement for removal."

A delegation of seven chiefs was accordingly deputed by the Seminoles, to visit and explore the country selected for their future residence. This delegation, which had been commissioned only to *explore* the country, and on whose report the final acceptance or rejection of the treaty on the part of the Seminoles was to depend, were met, before they had reported to their nation, by Colonel Gadsden, the writer of the letter just referred to, and other commissioners of the United States, at Fort Gibson, La., on the 28th of March, 1833, and induced to confirm a treaty which the government has held to be binding on the whole Seminole nation. By the stipulations of this treaty, one third of the tribe was to be removed as early as practicable in 1833; but

it was not ratified on the part of the United States till 1834, when the time specified for the execution of a part of the conditions had elapsed. A similar circumstance, when it occurred between Spain and the United States, in 1819, in the ratification of the treaty for the cession of Florida, was decided by our government to have rendered the first ratification, made by the Senate, inoperative. It was suggested by Governor Eaton, on this occasion, that the precedent ought to be taken as a rule in the case of the treaty of Payne's Landing; as "our Indian compacts were to be construed and controlled by the rules which civilized people practise." The War Department, however, replied; "The question presented in your letter respecting the validity of the obligation of the Seminole Indians to remove from Florida, has been submitted to the Attorney-General, and that officer has decided that the obligation of the treaty is not affected by the delay which has taken place, but that the Indians may be required to remove in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837."

An early ratification of this treaty was pressed upon the government, though upon a different ground, by Colonel Gadsden and others. They were apprehensive, that, if delay occurred in making the necessary appropriation for the removal of one third of the Indians, stipulated to take place in 1833, "serious obstacles might be thrown in the way by a class of evil-disposed persons, whose interest would be injuriously affected by the Indians leaving the country." Two years, as we have before seen, were suffered to elapse before the validity of the treaty was acknowledged, or any appropriations were made. Then, if not before, it was publicly denounced by the Indians as "a white man's treaty," and they declared their determination not to hold themselves bound by it. From that time, we may date the commencement of those excesses which have led to the present war, of which there appears to be little doubt that the treaty of Payne's Landing, and the circumstances immediately connected with it, were the principal cause.

We return to Mr. Drake. His fifth Book contains biographical and historical notices of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, and other neighbouring tribes of the West. Among the distinguished chiefs, whose lives are here related, we meet with the names of Grangula, Logan, Pontiac, Brant, Red-

Jacket, Tecumseh, and Black Hawk; men whose talents would have rendered them illustrious in any age or nation. But it was their misfortune to fight for a sinking cause, to lift the arm of the weak and oppressed against the stronger oppressor, and bare their breasts to the impending storm, whose gathering blackness should pass away but to reveal the final destruction of their ill-fated race.

The volume contains many noble specimens of Indian eloquence, which we should be glad to cite for our readers; but we must restrict ourselves to a single extract, which may serve to convey some impression of the commanding oratory of Red-Jacket, when roused to put forth the full strength of his genius. We have not selected a speech, but a description of one of his most stirring harangues, written apparently by an eyewitness of the scene.

"The author of the following passage is unknown to us; but, presuming it to be authentic, we quote it. 'More than thirty years * have rolled away since a treaty was held on the beautiful acclivity that overlooks the Canandaigua Lake. The witnesses of the scene will never forget the powers of native oratory. Two days had passed away in negotiation with the Indians for a cession of their lands. The contract was supposed to be nearly completed, when Red-Jacket arose. With the grace and dignity of a Roman senator, he drew his blanket around him, and with a piercing eye surveyed the multitude. All was hushed. Nothing interposed to break the silence, save the gentle rustling of the tree tops, under whose shade they were gathered. After a long and solemn, but not unmeaning pause, he commenced his speech in a low voice and sententious style. Rising gradually with the subject, he depicted the primitive simplicity and happiness of his nation, and the wrongs they had sustained from the usurpations of white men, with such a bold but faithful pencil, that every auditor was soon roused to vengeance, or melted into tears. The effect was inexpressible. But ere the emotions of admiration and sympathy had subsided, the white men became alarmed. They were in the heart of an Indian country, — surrounded by more than ten times their number, who were inflamed by a remembrance of their injuries, and excited to indignation by the eloquence of a favorite chief. Appalled and terrified, the white men cast a cheerless gaze upon the hordes around them. A nod from the chiefs might be the onset of

"* This writer, I conclude, wrote in 1822. I copy it from 'Miscellanies' selected from the Public Journals, by Mr. Buckingham."

destruction. At this portentous moment, Farmers-Brother interposed. He replied not to his brother chief, but, with a sagacity truly aboriginal, he caused a cessation of the council, introduced good cheer, commended the eloquence of Red-Jacket, and, before the meeting had re-assembled, with the aid of other prudent chiefs, he had moderated the fury of his nation to a more salutary review of the question before them. Suffice it to say, the treaty was concluded, and the Western district, at this day, owes no small portion of its power and influence to the counsels of a savage, in comparison with whom, for genius, heroism, virtue, or any other quality that can adorn the bawble of a diadem, not only George the Fourth and Louis le Désiré, but the German Emperor and Czar of Muscovy, alike dwindle into insignificance.' " — Book V. chap. vi. pp. 104, 105.

The volume contains portraits of several of the distinguished Indian characters, and among the rest those of Red-Jacket and Pocahontas. The two latter are on steel; and the portrait of the princess, which is from a copy of the original, taken in London, in 1616, while she was at the English court, is not ill executed. She was then at the age of twenty-one. The costume is English. Some excellent wood-cuts, partly copies of ancient drawings, and illustrative of Indian scenes and manners, also accompany the volume.

ART. II. — *Sylva Americana; or a Description of the Forest Trees indigenous to the United States, Practically and Botanically considered. Illustrated by more than One Hundred Engravings.* By DANIEL J. BROWNE. Boston. 1832. 8vo. pp. 408.

THE subject of American Forest Trees is one which has long engaged the attention of enlightened European naturalists, and has more especially given rise to the splendid "Sylva" of Francis Andrew Michaux. To this accomplished and liberal-minded Frenchman this country certainly owes a heavy debt of gratitude. If our people, or our rulers, should become awakened to a just sense of the immense value of our forests, before we feel it to our cost by their destruction or serious diminution, it will be owing directly or indirectly more to the

publication of the "Sylva Americana," than to all other causes together. This work has been faithfully and elegantly translated by our accomplished countryman, Augustus L. Hillhouse. But the style in which the book is printed, both in the original and the translation, and more especially the number and beauty of its colored plates, have rendered it of necessity very expensive, and it consequently has found but few purchasers; a fact the more to be regretted as it was published at the cost of the author, who, we are informed by Mr. Hillhouse, has executed this work at a price ill becoming the modest fortune of a man of letters.

Its descriptions may be found in a much cheaper form in the valuable work, by our fellow-citizen, Daniel J. Browne, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. Mr. Browne's is a very useful work, executed with great neatness and in a type easily read, and containing, within a very reasonable compass, much authentic information on a most interesting subject. Much originality could not be expected, at the present day, in any treatise on such topics ; but Mr. Browne certainly deserves great credit for the extensive research and sound judgment with which he has selected his materials from the best sources, and the agreeable manner in which he has disposed them.

The work is divided into three parts. The first is a treatise on Dendrology, or the structure and growth of trees generally. This portion of the work is of a more scientific and less popular cast than the rest, and may seem at the first view little likely to interest the mere general reader. It is, however, succinct and clear, and will well repay an attentive perusal. The anatomy and physiology of trees are subjects which have been till lately very imperfectly developed, and which we fear receive even now little attention from any class of persons except professed botanists. To become thoroughly versed in these sciences, as in most others, would require the labor of years, but some knowledge of their leading general principles must be deemed essential to any well-educated American, by all who reflect for a moment on the extent and importance of our forests ; and we know not where such knowledge could be more cheaply and conveniently procured than from our author. — The next and longest portion of the volume consists in descriptions of the different species of the forest trees of this country, accompanied by neat and distinct

engravings. These descriptions are taken principally, if not wholly, from the *Sylva* of Michaux; but Mr. Browne has certainly rendered an important public service by placing the valuable information, contained in that rare and splendid book, within the reach of the community generally.

The work concludes with a treatise on the rearing and management of trees. This part abounds in minute and practical directions, which are for the most part sanctioned, to the best of our knowledge, by the precepts and practice of the highest authorities. In short, the volume is one of the best horticultural publications which has issued from the American press; and we cannot but regard its appearance, and that of other valuable productions on the same topics, as highly seasonable at the present period.

If this country has been highly distinguished in any respect by the bounty of nature, it is in the number and variety of its trees. If we were compelled to describe the territory of the United States in a few words, we could not do it more philosophically than in the language of Volney, who represents it as one vast forest, diversified by occasional cultivated intervals. With the exception of some of the prairies of the Valley of the Mississippi, we are not aware that there is any considerable section within our present States, which was originally destitute of wood. Beyond the immediate vicinity of our large towns, we find every stream thickly shaded by overhanging branches, and every mountain, with the exception of a few of the highest, covered with a leafy screen of all varieties of shade, from its base to its summit.

The progress of population and of improvement, astonishing as it has been, has been insufficient to efface to any degree this distinguishing feature of American scenery; and the striking picture, drawn by one of our own poets, of the native aspect of the country, has not yet lost its general resemblance.

> "Then all this youthful paradise around,
> And all the broad and boundless mainland lay
> Cooled by the interminable wood, that frowned
> O'er mount and vale, where never summer ray
> Glanced, till the strong tornado broke its way,
> Through the gray giants of the sylvan wild;
> Yet many a sheltered glade, with blossoms gay
> Beneath the showering sky and sunshine mild,
> Within the shaggy arms of that dark forest smiled."

The extent of our woods is not more remarkable, than the various kinds of trees which compose them. It is stated by Michaux, that in the United States there are one hundred and forty species of forest trees, which attain to a greater height than thirty feet, while in France there are only eighteen of the same description. Of the solid advantages which we derive from this abundant variety, we shall say nothing at present. It needs only a cursory glance, to perceive how much it enhances the beauty of our natural scenery. "I was never tired," says an intelligent English traveller, "of the forest scenery of America, although I passed through it from day to day. The endless diversity of foliage always prevents it from being monotonous." The variety of shape and tints in their green foliage is not, however, the chief distinction of our woods over those of the old world. They surpass them far more in the rich and various hues of their autumnal leaves. This, if not the most striking, is certainly the most unique feature of an American landscape. What natural scenery can surpass in beauty that presented by one of our forests to our view, in one of the brilliant and serene afternoons of our Indian summer, when the trees are clothed with a tapestry of the richest gold and purple and scarlet; resembling and almost rivalling the most gorgeous hues of our autumnal sunsets!

It is not the mere variety of coloring, which is the peculiar characteristic of our fading leaves. This variety exists also in European woods, though to a less extent; for, as has been already stated, their catalogue of forest trees is far more scanty than ours. But their leaves, in divesting themselves of their summer green, lay aside also all their brilliancy, and assume a complexion proverbially dull and faded. It is a peculiarity, on the contrary, of many of our forest trees, that their leaves, in changing their hue, lose little or nothing of their brightness, and that their autumnal dress is not only far richer, but scarcely less lively, than their freshest June liveries.

This circumstance is generally ascribed to some peculiarity in our climate, and especially to the manner in which the cold weather makes its first approaches. But this manner varies almost every year, and yet our trees exhibit annually the same splendid changes. For this, as well as for other reasons, we are inclined to think, that the peculiarity is not in the climate, but in the trees themselves, and that it is one of those shades

of difference, which distinguish in almost every instance the plants of America from their kindred species in the old world. A transplanted American maple, for instance, would probably undergo the same splendid transmutations in an English park as in its native forest. This supposition has been formed on much consideration, and is besides sanctioned by the opinion of an eminent English botanist, who has resided in this country for several years.

We have observed that scarcely any considerable portion of this country is entirely devoid of magnificent forest trees. But whatever striking instances of the truth of this remark we may find in New England, and more especially in Vermont and Maine, it must be admitted that he who would behold sylvan scenery on its most magnificent scale, should cross the Alleghanies, and visit the great Valley of the Mississippi. Here he will find vast tracts, into which the axe of the woodman has never penetrated. These are covered with a coat of vegetable mould, exceeding in many places the depth of our richest soils. We find accordingly a luxuriance of vegetation, to which nothing in our own State affords a parallel. It is true that with us there is here and there a gigantic elm or buttonwood, which might take rank with the noblest specimens of western growth. But in travelling in Kentucky or Indiana, we find trees, at every step, of six or seven feet in diameter; so that most of our woods, compared as a whole with theirs, seem to be but as the product of yesterday. Every plant appears to partake of this gigantic character. Thus the wild grape vine, which with us rarely grows larger than a stout walking-stick, in our Western States sometimes surpasses in diameter the body of a full-grown man. This fact we have verified by actual admeasurement.

The majesty of our western forests is not a little increased by the circumstance that they are generally free from undergrowth. The banks of the upper Mississippi especially are covered with trees of the largest size, shooting up to a lofty height from the smooth levels or gentle swells of the green prairies beneath, like the oaks in the finest parks of England. So tastefully are these trees grouped by the hand of nature, and so entirely clear is the green prairie grass from undergrowth, that the spectator can hardly avoid imagining, that he is looking not at a new country, but at one which was once

peopled by a highly-cultivated community, who have been long since swept away with every vestige of their wealth and refinement, except their stately groves and verdant lawns.

We have thus far spoken of our forests merely as a predominant and magnificent feature of American scenery. But it is scarcely necessary to say, that they have other claims to our attention, of a far more solid character. It is to our forests that we have been indebted for two hundred years for our fuel and our shelter. How much of the progress of New England at least, since its first settlement by our forefathers, has been owing to the liberality of Nature in this particular! Whatever were the calamities, in other respects, of those much-enduring men, they were at least exempted from the extreme and probably fatal suffering, to which they would have been subjected in a thinly-wooded region. Had the aborigines possessed that determined and unsparing hostility to large trees, which seems to have actuated many of their successors, it is probable that these northern settlements would never have had a being.

One of the most remarkable of the forest trees of the United States is the White Pine, called in England the Weymouth pine, and known by botanists as the *Pinus Strobus*. This tree must be familiar to many of our readers in various ways, as it abounds in our neighbourhood, and as its branches are more frequently employed than those of any other tree, for the decoration of our Catholic and Episcopal churches. It may be distinguished at first sight from every other evergreen growing in this State, by the lightness and delicacy of its foliage, as well as by its less formal mode of growth. On a closer view, it is found to differ from all other pines or spruces here or elsewhere, in being what is called five-leaved, that is, in putting forth its leaves in sheaths each containing five. The leaves of all evergreen trees, except the pine family, are without a sheath, and those of other pines grow in sheaths containing two or three. This tree is certainly the most majestic in the country, when it reaches its full growth in our forests. Though it does not spread in a graceful sheaf like the elm, nor rise up in a regular spire like the fir, it more than compensates for the want of these beauties, by its loftiness. None of the productions of this country approach it in this particular. It is sometimes said to reach the height of more than two hundred feet, and Michaux actually measured one which had been felled, and which exceeded one hundred and fifty;

and the trunk is singularly smooth and straight. A magnificent appearance is far from its chief recommendation. We know not that we in New England are equally indebted to any other production of our forests; not even to the oak. Michaux remarks, that throughout the Northern States, except in the larger capitals, seven tenths of the houses are of wood, of which seven tenths, three quarters, estimated at half a million, (this estimate was made nearly thirty years ago,) are of white pine. In the first part of this statement, there is a mistake quite remarkable, in a writer of such singular research and accuracy. If we except the larger capitals, we ought to say not that seven tenths, but nine tenths at least, of houses in the northern States, are wooden; indeed the number of those of a different description may be considered as too small to deserve notice; and of these nine tenths the great mass are of white pine.

This tree owes its selection for this most important purpose to one quality in particular, the small expense of labor at which it can be fashioned and put together. While it is more durable and better able to bear exposure to the fierce temperature and sudden changes of our climate, than any other pine which abounds in New England, it is also lighter, softer, and more free from knots. In favorable situations the diameter of the trunk varies from three to seven feet; and thus it furnishes planks for building of ample dimensions. This tree has also one important quality in common with the locust, which is denied to many other of our best timber trees. We mean the great proportion which the heart, or perfect wood, bears even in young trees to the alburnum or sap wood, being not less than eleven to one in trees of a foot in diameter. In all timber after felling, it is the sap wood which is the first to decay, and which is as unfit for any useful purpose, as the unripened products of nature generally. Hence it is an important element in the value of the white pine, that it ripens its wood at so early a period. It is true after all, that in point of durability, when freely exposed to the elements, or when set in the ground, its timber cannot compete with many of the harder woods; but if well seasoned and kept carefully painted, it will endure for centuries, without any symptoms of decay, as we find attested by many wooden houses, more especially in our large towns. Where entirely covered, it seems to be incorruptible. But, were its durability less, the other qualities

to which we have adverted, namely, its lightness and softness, would form a most liberal equivalent.

It is not easy to estimate, how much the rapid advancement of New England may have been owing to the abundance of this valuable tree. The importance of shelter is a point which it requires few lessons from our winter climate to set forth; and by no tree with which we are acquainted, could this want be supplied so rapidly and easily, as by the white pine. At the value which human labor has always maintained among us, the difference of expense to New England, which would have resulted from the general employment of the oak, for instance, instead of the pine, for our houses, would be enormous. In many parts of the Valley of the Mississippi, this pine, as well as almost every other species of pine, is exceedingly rare. The settlers are in consequence obliged to substitute the oak, both for their houses and their furniture. Their dwellings, (we speak of the new settlers,) are generally of oak filled in with earth, and are quite inferior, both in appearance and comfort, to those which we find in the newly-cleared lands of Maine.

We are scarcely less indebted to the white pine, for our commercial and naval, than for our civil, architecture. It is this tree, which gives us, not indeed the frames, but the masts of our vessels, for which it is admirably fitted, by the degree in which it combines the qualities of durability and lightness, as well as by the straightness of its trunk. Its place for this purpose, in the Northern and Middle States, could hardly be supplied. During our colonial existence, its value was fully appreciated by the mother country; and, more than one hundred years ago, some statutes were passed, restricting the cutting of trees proper for masts. We have found no evidence, however, that these statutes were ever enforced; and, however useful in their design, they would interfere quite too much with private liberty, to render their renewal desirable, so far as respects the land of individuals. But it is certainly well worthy the consideration of the legislature of Maine, whether effectual measures should not be taken, for the preservation, and perhaps the propagation of valuable timber on the public lands, within her jurisdiction; and the deep interest which our own commonwealth has in those lands, might render a respectful interposition on her part advisable.

The fame of the white pine has long since extended to

Europe, principally by means of the stocks which have been exported to England, to supply in part her immense demand for masts and spars. The living tree has also been introduced into that country, but is not highly appreciated, and we have found no English writer who does it full justice. The truth is, however, that the climate of England is not fitted to its developement. The limits within which it flourishes in this country, are the 43d and 47th degrees of latitude. Now no part of the Island of Great Britain has a climate which answers to that of this region. The northern extremity of Scotland, which lies in about the 58th or 59th degree of latitude, is visited with winters far less rigorous than the great majority of our own. Besides, there are few situations in Great Britain, which furnish the soil in which this tree chiefly delights. The most magnificent specimens of the white pine in this country are found in the depths of our forests, in a virgin soil covered with the accumulated mould of centuries, and above all on the banks of rivers, or in the beds of large cedar swamps. In pleasure grounds, it seldom rises to its greatest height, or at least requires a longer time to do so, than has yet been allowed in any instance within our knowledge. It grows, however, with considerable rapidity, and soon acquires a loftiness and bulk equal to that of most cultivated trees; and its highly polished bark and light silvery foliage, render it, from the time it springs from the soil, a desirable accession to every shrubbery.

The next of our principal forest trees, which we shall notice, is the White Oak. The general appearance of oaks is more familiar to us of this region, than that of any other class of forest trees, except the elm and the plane tree. The oak is far less lofty than the pine, and has no pretensions to the elegance of the elm; but as an emblem of robust vigor, it stands, both in the old and new world, at the head of all the sons of the forest. In short, a full-grown oak can be considered as occupying the same place among fine trees, which the Hercules does among fine statues, and may be described in the terms applied to that magnificent work of art by an English poet, as "strength embodied." Such has been its character in all ages. It is also supposed to be a tree of slower growth and longer life than any other, though its superiority in this last respect over the chestnut, is far from incontestable. The useful qualities of its wood have also been

appreciated from time immemorial, in every country in the temperate zone. For these reasons probably, the oak has been regarded with a degree of veneration, from the earliest ages of mankind. The first funereal monument on record was an oak tree. But in no country has it been more valued, more honored or cherished, than in that of our forefathers, and with abundant reason, as forming the chief material of those wooden walls, to which they have more than once owed their national existence. Hence it has long been recommended to us by many historical and poetical associations, and the achievements of our gallant navy, as well as the vast benefits, which we have derived from our commerce, have given it a new and far stronger claim to our veneration.

Of all the species of this genus, which grow in the latitude of New England, the most valued is the white oak, (*Quercus Alba.*) This is easily distinguished from every other tree of the same kind in our vicinity by the whiteness of its bark, and by the persisting, or holding on, of a few of the dried leaves, in the winter-season. Its leaves are also without prickles or bristles at the end of their lobes, a quality in which it agrees with no large oak in this State except the swamp white oak, (*Quercus prinus discolor.*) It bears a greater analogy than any other oaks, to the celebrated oak of England, European white oak, or *Quercus pedunculata.*

Which of the two trees furnishes the finer timber, is a question which has been investigated with great care. It is stated by high authority, that the wood of the American white oak is lighter, more elastic, and more flexible, than that of the English, but that it is on the whole weaker and less durable ; and this opinion is sanctioned by a large number of English writers. We are inclined however to doubt, whether the question has been fully settled by facts ; for some of those who have expressed such an opinion in strong terms, conclude by admitting, that, after all, American vessels might be no less durable than English, were their timber equally well seasoned. The white oak was largely employed in the frame of our favorite frigate, which was built forty years ago. In the course of the very thorough repair to which that vessel was lately subjected, many of the white oak timbers of her frame were found in excellent condition ; and it was stated on the best authority, that in several instances, timbers of this description were sound, while others by their side, of the southern live oak,

had decayed. Now the superiority of the live oak in point of durability, over the oak of any other country, has never yet been questioned. The English oak, however, if really superior, could be easily multiplied in our Northern and Middle States. It has been already introduced, and some fine specimens of more than twenty years' growth may be seen in our neighbourhood.

The timber generally selected for ship-building is what is called the pasture oak. This is greatly preferred to that which grows in crowded forests, where the trees, from their vicinity to each other, are robbed of much of the nutriment which they derive from the soil, as well as of the genial influence of the sun and air. Hence the building of a single large vessel requires the timber of many acres, and as the white oak is constantly felled in great quantities, both for home consumption and for exportation, the period cannot be distant when serious difficulty will be experienced in procuring a supply of this valuable wood.

In this connexion, it may be proper to make one or two remarks on the felling of trees. It is generally agreed, that the durability of timber depends materially on the season when this operation is performed; but what that season is, is a question on which directly opposite opinions are held by the ablest writers. The principal cause of the decay of wood of all descriptions, is thought to be the sap, which remains after felling; and hence the desired object is, to procure timber as free as possible from this ingredient. To this end, it has been recommended to fell the tree in the winter season, as it is then deemed to contain the smallest quantity of sap; and such we believe is the general practice. This doctrine, however, has been opposed with great ability, by the late Colonel Pickering, who states, and with truth, that trees are not devoid of sap in winter, but that it exists in abundance, though greatly thickened by the cold. He maintains, therefore, that it is much more difficult to expel than in summer, when in a more liquid form, and that the proper time for felling the tree is, not when it contains least sap, but when the sap which it does contain, may most easily escape or be expelled. This opinion certainly seems to be the better one, though the winter season is so much more convenient on many accounts than any other for the procuring of timber, that the old practice will probably maintain its ground. But whatever may be thought

of the correctness of Colonel Pickering's theory, no one will question the propriety of the suggestion, with which he concludes his remarks, that the point should be determined by actual experiments, under the direction of our Navy Board, or some other high scientific authority. — Besides the white oak, there are four other species in our vicinity, which grow to a large size. Of these the most valuable are the Swamp White, and the Black Oak. The swamp white oak is not abundant, and grows only in moist soils. It has been less used than the white oak, partly on account of its rarity; but its timber is heavier, and it is thought that it may be found, on accurate examination, to be superior. The black oak is valued not for its timber, which is of an inferior quality, but for its bark, for it is this, which furnishes the *quercitron*, so much used for imparting a beautiful yellow die to wool, paper, &c.*

Next to the pines and oaks, there seems to be no tree in the country, of more extensive celebrity than the *Sugar Maple.* The extraordinary neatness of its appearance, and the beauty of its foliage, which in summer is of the liveliest green, and in autumn assumes the richest and most glowing red, are sufficient to recommend it as a beautiful ornament, in our gardens and avenues. The bark is remarkably smooth, and the tree is infested, we believe, by no insect, nor subject to any maladies. The branches are disposed with much regularity, though without stiffness, and so arranged, that their usual outline is an elegant oval. It is to this tree we are chiefly indebted for the beautiful curled and bird's-eye maple, employed in cabinet work, which rivals, if it be not admitted to

* In a communication in the 4th volume of "The New England Farmer," made several years ago by one of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, mention is made of the trunks of several large oaks in Dorchester, in one of which he had counted upwards of two hundred annual rings. The largest oak, and indeed the largest tree which we have seen in this country, is a white oak, on the estate of James Wadsworth, Esq. of Genesee. The tree is from twenty-four to twenty-seven feet in circumference at the smallest part of the trunk. Its age cannot be less than five hundred years, and it must, therefore, have been a majestic tree at the time when Columbus discovered the western world. It appears to be still in a vigorous and healthy condition, and bears in its exterior no marks whatever of decay. It is by no means improbable that this tree exceeds in size many both in Europe and elsewhere, which are recorded as of greater diameter. For in the measurement of large trees, it is of great importance to ascertain at what part of the trunk the measurement was taken. Every one must have remarked the difference between the bulk of such trees at the surface of the ground, and at a few feet above.

surpass in brilliancy and richness, the finest woods of tropical climates. But the sugar maple derives its chief reputation, as well as its name, from the qualities of its sap. A large portion of the sugar used in many parts of the country, the western districts of Vermont and New York for instance, is derived from the maple. Michaux remarked, nearly thirty years since, that at least ten millions of pounds of this sugar were then annually made in the United States. This quantity is far less than might be procured, from the same source, in case of necessity. According to Dr. Rush, the northern part of New York and Pennsylvania alone, contained at the same period, thirty millions of sugar maple trees; and, if we suppose each tree to yield on an average from two to four pounds of sugar annually, the product would go far towards supplying the whole consumption of the country.

The maple sugar can be made of a quality equal to the best imported. We have seen it formed into very good loaf sugar. It is, however, in a brown state that it is generally used; and, except in the districts where it is produced, it is less agreeable to the palate of consumers generally, than the product of the cane. To manufacture it, requires a great expense not only of labor, but of fuel; and hence it probably cannot be sold, at a distance, for a price which will enable it to compete with the imported article. The sap of the tree, or maple juice, as it is called, is greedily coveted by wild and domestic animals, who break through enclosures for the sake of obtaining it, and is generally an agreeable and wholesome beverage. We have been informed, however, of one instance, in which it proved to be of a highly intoxicating quality. This circumstance occurred, about thirty years since, in the western part of the State of New York. All the sap procured from the maple trees of an extensive district, was found to have undergone a vinous fermentation; and children who drank it freely were in some cases rendered delirious, for two or three days. We have heard of no other instance of this phenomenon, nor have we learned that any probable explanation has been given of its cause.

The last of our forest trees which we shall notice, is one of which we need say but little, either in the way of description or recommendation. We mean our American Elm. In a strictly economical point of view, this tree is of little value, as neither its wood nor its bark is employed to any extent in the

useful arts. It is subject to the disadvantage of being more attacked by the cankerworm, than any other of our forest trees, and is one of the first to shed its foliage in autumn. It is a tree also, which proves rather a troublesome inmate in small gardens and enclosures, as it spreads its roots far and wide, and frequently protrudes them above the surface of the ground, so that it completely monopolizes a large extent of soil. But where a proper space can be allotted to it, there is no tree which rivals it in grace and majesty. Michaux pronounces it to be decidedly the most magnificent vegetable production of the temperate zone. Few, who have seen this tree in favorable situations, will question its right to this pre-eminence. Happily we need not go far to find this remark splendidly illustrated. We refer to the triple row of elms which adorns the Boston Mall. What is there in the finest specimens of architecture in that city, public or private, to which a Bostonian can turn with more pleasure or more exultation? Who has ever contemplated those solid colonnades and shady arches, without grateful feelings to the unknown individual to whose taste and wisdom we owe them? Who doubts that his name, had he chosen to record it, would have been far better perpetuated by such a memorial, than by the proudest monument of brass or marble? We have seen nothing of the same description in any part of the country, to be compared to this magnificent avenue; but every one must have observed single elms, of equal or superior magnitude and beauty to any of the trees of which it is composed. These are generally the relics of our original forests; and the care with which they are now preserved and protected, furnishes a striking and gratifying evidence of an improving taste for sylvan scenery.

We have thus called the attention of our readers to a very few of the forest trees of this country. It might be gratifying to speak also of several of those of the old world; but we could not do so without extending this article beyond its proper limits. We have already observed that the list of European forest trees is far more scanty than ours, and there are very few of them which would be a valuable accession to our botanical treasures. Many of the most important classes or genera of forest trees are common to both continents, such as the oak, ash, elm, &c. Those trees of the old world and the new, which bear the same name, generally resemble each

other to a great degree; but in almost every instance, the resemblance stops short of complete exactness. Thus we find that the elms, willows, and larches of Europe and America, though manifestly belonging to the same class of vegetable productions, differ from each other materially either in their size, their beauty, or the value of their timber. This seems merely an application of the general law of nature, which leads her to avoid, in all her productions, any thing like mathematical resemblance; a rule, of which we have a familiar proof, in the fact that no two leaves can be found on any tree, which do not manifestly differ in shape or size.

There is, however, one tree of the old world, which has been rendered so familiar to our imaginations, by early associations both of a poetical and sacred character, that we cannot forbear to speak of it more particularly; we mean the Cedar of Lebanon. This tree was for a long time supposed to be indigenous only on the mountains of Palestine, whence it derives its name. The researches of later botanists have discovered it on other high ridges, and it has been said to have been found more especially in the northern part of Russia. It is classed with the larches, a place to which it is entitled, among other reasons, by the shape and size of its leaves, and the manner in which they are disposed on its branches. These branches extend themselves to an uncommonly wide distance, are arranged in stages one above another, and are horizontal or rather slightly inclining to the earth, and thus form an irregular penthouse. In the opinion of the best judges, this tree owes its beauty partly to this arrangement of its limbs, and partly to the density and the deep green of its foliage. But it is only in its native mountains, that we can find any magnificent specimens of this renowned plant, and of these specimens the number is small, and constantly diminishing. We are told, that, in 1789 there were only *seven* cedars on Mount Lebanon, of a very large size, one or two of which were found by measurement to be thirty feet in circumference These noble trees are probably the growth of several centuries, but we should give ourselves up quite too far to the guidance of our fancies, if we supposed, as many writers seem inclined to do, that they were coeval with the days of Solomon. The whole number of cedars on this spot, large and small, is about a hundred; and they are said to be annually

honored by a pompous religious ceremony, attended by several thousand devotees.

But however magnificent the appearance of this tree, and however numerous and interesting the associations with which it is connected, we are compelled by the testimony of the best authorities, to deny to it some of the qualities with which it has long been invested in popular estimation. It has been called, for instance, a lofty tree. To this title it has no pretension, as we have no well-authenticated account of its exceeding the height of a hundred feet, and it seldom rises to much more than half that elevation.

There is also a popular impression, that its wood is distinguished by durability. This opinion is derived partly from the representations of the ancients,* and partly from the fact, that the timber of its namesakes, the cedars of our own country, is remarkable for this quality. According to the great majority of botanists, the wood of the cedar of Lebanon is an inferior kind of deal, resembling some descriptions of pine, but less durable.

For the purposes of timber, therefore, this tree is unworthy of cultivation. Whether its beauty, and its historical and poetical celebrity, are sufficient recommendations for its introduction, is a question unfortunately of little interest to us, as there is probably no part of the United States, where it could be raised to advantage in the open air. It is true that, in its native locality, it is subjected to a high degree of cold, as it grows immediately below the covering of eternal snow, which rests on the summit of Lebanon. But the atmosphere even of England is unsuited to its full developement, on account of its want of sufficient moisture, and therefore it must be entirely out of the question, to suppose that it could flourish in our proverbially bright and dry climate. It seems to partake of the nature of what are called Alpine plants, and every gardener knows, that such plants are of all others the most difficult to rear, and that it is next to impossible to supply them with a

* It is well known that the ancients were far from accurate in their botanical knowledge, and that, even in our day, nothing is more common or more vexatious, than the great confusion and numerous mistakes, which result from describing vegetable productions merely by their popular names. There is much controversy among botanists, whether the name of cedar was not often given by ancient writers to some species of pine or cypress.

proper equivalent, for the constant shade and moisture, which they enjoy on the cloud-capped tops of their native hills.

It was our intention to have submitted, in this place, a few practical hints on the subject of planting. But as complete directions may be found in books easily accessible, we have concluded rather to occupy the space with an account of the mode in which the business of procuring timber and boards, commonly called lumbering or logging, is carried on in the principal timber regions in Maine. This account was furnished us by a highly intelligent friend residing in Bangor; and we trust may be interesting, from its own merit, as well as from the importance of the branch of industry which it describes.

"When a lumberer has concluded to log on a particular tract, the first step is to go with a part of his hands, and select suitable situations for building his camps. In making this selection, his object is to be as near as possible to the best clumps of timber he intends to haul, and to the streams into which he intends to haul it. He then proceeds to build his camps, and to cut out and clear out his principal roads. The camps are built of logs, being a kind of log houses. They are made about three feet high on one side and eight or nine on the other, with a roof slanting one way. The roof is made of shingles, split out of green wood, and laid upon rafters. The door is made of such boards as can be manufactured out of a log with an axe. Against the tallest side of the camp is built the chimney; the back being formed by the wall of the camp, and the sides made by green logs, piled up for jams, about eight feet apart. The chimney seldom rises above the roof of the camp; though some, who are nice in their architectural notions, sometimes carry it up two or three feet higher. It is obvious, from the construction, that nothing but the greenness of the timber prevents the camp from being burnt up immediately. Yet the great fires that are kept up, make but little impression, in the course of the winter, upon the back or sides of the chimney. A case, however, happened within a year or two, where a camp took fire in the night, and was consumed, and the lumberers in it were burnt to death. Probably the shingle roof had become dry, in which case a spark would kindle it, and the flames would spread over it in a moment.

"Parallel to the lower side of the building, and about six feet from it, a stick of timber runs on the ground across the camp. The space between this and the lower wall is appropriated to the bedding; the stick of timber serving to confine it in its

place. The bedding consists of a layer of hemlock boughs spread upon the ground, and covered with such old quilts and blankets, as the tenants can bring away from their homes. The men camp down together, with their heads to the lower wall and their feet towards the fire. Before going to bed, they replenish their fire; some two or more of them being employed in putting on such logs, as with their handspikes they can manage to pile into the chimney. As the walls of the building are not very tight, the cool air plays freely round the head of the sleeper, making a difference of temperature between the head and the feet not altogether agreeable to one unused to sleep in camps. A rough bench and table complete the furniture of the establishment. A camp very similar, though not so large in its dimensions, is built near for the oxen. On the top of this the hay is piled up, giving it some warmth, while it is convenient for feeding.

"A large logging concern will require a number of camps, which will be distributed over the tract, so as best to accommodate the timber. One camp serves generally for one or two teams. A *team*, in ordinary logging parlance, expresses, not only the set of four or six oxen that draw the logs, but likewise a gang of men employed to tend them. It takes from three or four to seven or eight men, to keep one team employed; one man being employed in driving the cattle, and the others in cutting down the trees, cutting them into logs, barking them, and cutting and clearing the way to each tree. The number of hands required, depends upon the distance to be hauled inversely. That is, most hands are required when the distance is shortest; because the oxen, returning more frequently, require their loads to be prepared more expeditiously.

"Having built their camps, or while building them, the main roads are to be cut out. These run from the camps to the landing places, or some stream of sufficient size to float down the logs on the spring freshet. Other roads are cut to other clumps of timber. They are made by cutting and clearing away the underbrush, and such trees and old logs as may be in the way, to a sufficient width for the team of oxen, with the bob sled and timber on it, to pass conveniently. The bob sled is made to carry one end of the timber only; the other drags upon the ground. And the bark is chipped off, that the log may slip along more easily.

"The teams proceed to the woods when the first snows come, with the hands who are not already there, and the supplies. The supplies consist principally of pork and flour for the men, and Indian meal for the oxen. Some beans, tea, and molasses,

are added. Formerly hogsheads of rum were considered indispensable, and I have before me a bill of supplies for a logging concern of three teams in 1827–28, in which I find one hundred and eighty gallons of rum charged. But of late, very few respectable lumberers take any spirits with them. And the logging business is consequently carried on with much more method, economy, and profit. The pork and flour must be of the best quality. Lumberers are seldom content to take any of an inferior sort; and even now, when flour is twelve dollars a barrel, they are not to be satisfied with the coarser bread stuffs.

"Hay is procured as near to the camps as possible. But as most of the timber lands are remote from settlements, it is generally necessary to haul it a considerable distance. And as it must be purchased of the nearest settlers, they are enabled to obtain very high prices. From twelve to twenty dollars per ton is usually paid. When the expense of hauling it to the camp is added, the whole cost is frequently as high as thirty dollars a ton, and sometimes much higher. Owners of timber lands at a distance from settlements, may make a great saving, by clearing up a piece of their land, and raising their own hay.

"Some one of the hands, who has not so much efficiency in getting timber, as skill in kneading bread and frying pork, is appointed to the office of cook. Salt pork, flour, bread and tea, constitute the regular routine of the meals, varied sometimes with salt fish or salt beef. Potatoes are used when they can be had. Now and then, perhaps, when the snow is deep, they catch a deer and live on venison.

"The men are employed through the day, in cutting the timber and driving the teams. In the evening some take care of the oxen; some cut wood for the fire; then they amuse themselves with stories and singing, or in other ways, until they feel inclined to turn in upon the universal bed. On Sundays the employer claims no control over their time, beyond the taking care of the cattle, the fire and the cooking. On this day, they do their washing and mending; some employ themselves besides, in seeking timber and some in hunting partridges; whilst some remain in the camp and read the Bible.

"They remain in the woods from the commencement of sledding, some time in December, until some time in March; in the course of which month, their labors are usually brought to a close, either by the snow's getting too shallow or too deep. If there are heavy thaws, the snow runs off, not leaving enough to make good hauling. If, on the other hand, it gets to be four or five feet deep, the oxen cannot break through it, to make the path which it is necessary to form, in order to get at each indi-

vidual tree. The men and teams then leave the woods. Sometimes one or two remain, to be at hand, when the streams open. I know one, who last winter stayed by himself in the woods, fifteen or twenty miles from the nearest habitation, for the space of twenty-eight days; during which time he earned $203 by getting in timber with his axe alone, being allowed for it at the same rate per thousand that the lumberers were, in getting it in with their teams. He found some berths in the banks of the stream, where all that was necessary was to fell the tree so that it should fall directly upon the water, and there cut it into logs to be ready for running.

"When the streams are opened, and there is a sufficient freshet to float the timber, another gang, called "river drivers," take charge of it. It is their business to start it from the banks, and follow it down the river, clearing off what lodges against rocks, pursuing and bringing back the sticks that run wild among the bushes and trees, that cover the low lands adjoining the river, and breaking up jams that form in narrow or shallow places. A *jam* is caused by obstacles in the river catching some of the sticks, which in their turn catch others coming down, and so the mass increases until a solid dam is formed, which entirely stops up the river, and prevents the further passage of any logs. These dams are most frequently formed at the top of some fall. And it is often a service that requires much skill and boldness, and is attended with much danger, to break them up. The persons who undertake it must go on to the mass of logs, work some out with their pickpoles, cut some to pieces, attach ropes to others to be hauled out by the hands on shore, and they must be on the alert to watch the moment of the starting of the timber, and exercise all their activity to get clear of it, before they are carried off in its tumultuous rush.

"Some weeks, more or less, according to the distance, spent in this way, brings the timber to the neighbourhood of the saw mills. A short distance above Oldtown, on the Penobscot, there is a boom established, extending across the river, for the purpose of stopping all the logs that come down. It is made by a floating chain of logs connected by iron links, and supported at suitable distances, by solid piers built in the river; without this it would be impossible to stop a large part of the logs, and they would be carried on the freshet down the river, and out to sea. The boom is owned by an individual, who derives a large profit from the boomage, which is thirty-five cents per thousand on all logs coming into it. The boom cost the present owner about $40,000. He has offered it for sale for $45,000. It is said the net income from it last year, was $15,000.

"Here all the logs that come down the Penobscot, are collected in one immense mass, covering many acres, where is intermingled the property of all the owners of timber lands, in all the broad region that is watered by the Penobscot and its branches, from the east line of Canada above Moosehead Lake, on the one side, to the west line of New Brunswick, on the other. Here the timber remains, till the logs can be sorted out for each owner, and rafted together to be floated to the mills, or other places below. *Rafting* is the connecting the logs together, by cordage, which is secured by pins driven into each log, forming them into bands, like the ranks of a regiment. This operation is performed by the owner of the boom. The ownership of the timber is ascertained by the marks which have been chopped into each log before it left the woods; each owner having a mark, or combination of marks, of his own. When the boom is full, only the logs lowest down can be got at, and the proprietors of other logs must wait weeks, sometimes months, before they can get them out, to their great inconvenience and damage.

"After the logs are rafted, and out of the boom, a great part of them are lodged for convenience, in a place called Pen Cove, which is a large and secure basin in the river, about two miles below the boom. From this cove they can be taken out as they are wanted for the mills below. While in the boom, and at other places on the river, they are liable to great loss from plunderers. The owners or drivers of logs will frequently smuggle all that come in their way, without regard to marks. The owners or conductors of some of the mills on the river are said to be not above encouraging and practising this species of piracy. Indeed timber, in all its stages, seems to be considered a fair object for plunderers, from the petty pilferer who steals into the woods, fells a tree, cuts it into shingles and carries it out on his back, to the comparatively rich owner of thousands of dollars.

"When the logs have been sawn at the mills, there is another rafting of the boards, which are floated down the river to Bangor, to be embarked on board the coasters for Boston. In this process they are subject to much injury, first by the mode of catching them as they come from the mill sluices, the rafters making use of a picaroon, or pole with a spike in the end of it, which is repeatedly and unmercifully driven into the boards, taking out perhaps a piece at each time; secondly, by the holes made by the pins driven into the boards in rafting; and thirdly, by the rocks and rapids and shallows in the river, breaking the rafts to pieces, and splitting up the boards as they descend. These inconveniences will be partly remedied by the railroad now in

operation, unless other inconveniences in the use of it should be found to overbalance them.

"The kinds of timber brought down our rivers are pine, spruce, hemlock, ash, birch, maple, cedar, and hackmatack. Far the greater part of it is pine. The lumberers make about six kinds of pine; though they do not agree exactly in the classification, or in the use of some of the names. The most common division is into pumpkin pine, timber pine, sapling, bull sapling,* Norway, and yellow or pitch pine. The pumpkin pine stands preëminent in the affections of the lumberers, because it is the largest tree, and makes fine large clear boards. They are soft and of a yellowish cast. The timber pine and saplings are the most common. The former is generally preferred, as being larger and more likely to be sound. Yet the saplings are said to make the harder and more durable boards. The common sapling grows in low lands, generally very thick, but is apt to be much of it rotten. The bull sapling is larger and sounder, grows on higher land, and mixed with hard wood. The Norway pine† is a much harder kind of timber than the others. It is seldom sawed into boards, though it makes excellent floor boards. But it is generally hewed into square timber. In the Provinces it bears a higher price than the others. There is not much of it brought to market, and it is not very abundant in the woods. The yellow pine is very scarce, if to be found at all in that region.

"I will conclude with some remarks upon the different modes of operating, made use of by owners of timber. These are three. One is, for the owner to hire his men by the month, procure teams, and furnish them with equipments and supplies. A second is, to agree with some one or more individuals to cut and haul the timber, or cut, haul, and run it, at a certain price per thousand feet. The third way is to sell the *stumpage* outright; that is, to sell the timber standing.

"The first mode is seldom adopted, unless the owner of the timber is likewise a lumberer, and intends to superintend the business himself. The second mode is very common. It is considered the most saving to the owners, because the lumberer has no inducement to select the best timber, and leave all that is not of the first quality; to cut down trees and take a log, and leave others to rot that are not quite so good, but which may be well worth hauling. Its inconveniences are, that as the object of the lumberer is to get as large a quantity as possible, he will

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* All the kinds here named, with the exception of the two last, are varieties of white pine.

† This pine is called also red pine, from the color of its bark.

take trees that are not worth as much as the cost of getting them to market, and which, besides being of little value themselves, render the whole lot less saleable by the bad appearance they give it. The owner too is subject to all the losses that may happen, in running the logs down the river. Very frequently he is obliged to make one contract to have the timber cut and hauled to the landing places, and another to have it run down; for the river drivers are a distinct class from the lumberers. Most of them are indeed lumberers. But it is but a small part of the lumberers, that are river drivers. A great part of the lumberers are farmers who must be on their farms at the season of driving, and therefore cannot undertake any thing but the cutting and hauling. They are paid for the number of thousand feet they deposit at the landing places; and the logs being surveyed, or sealed, as they are hauled, their object is to get as many thousand as possible on the landing places; while the river drivers may be very careless about getting them all down, and the owner may never receive nearly the quantity he has paid for cutting and hauling. In operating in this mode, the owner usually furnishes the supplies, provisions, &c.; and the lumberer procures the teams and hires the men. The owner commonly does not bind himself to pay, before the logs get to market; and he frequently makes a contract for his supplies on the same condition, in which case he has to pay from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent. more for his goods, than he would dealing on cash or common credit. Sometimes, when there is no freshet, the logs do not get down until the second year; and then the trader and lumberer both suffer for want of their pay.

"The third mode is the simplest and easiest for the owner. He avoids all trouble of furnishing supplies, of watching the timber on the river, and of looking out for a market. But he must have a man of some capital to deal with, as he furnishes his own teams and supplies, and pays his men, receiving very heavy advances. The purchaser of it has no interest to cut the timber savingly, and he sometimes makes dreadful havock among the trees, leaving a great deal of valuable stuff on the ground to rot. And if he selects only the best trees in a berth, much of the timber left standing may be lost, because no one will afterwards want to go into that berth, from which all the best trees have been culled. It is common now, in all large concerns, for the owner to employ a man to pass the winter in the camps, living alternately at one or another, for the purpose of sealing the logs, keeping a correct account of them, and seeing that the timber is cut according to the contract. But, after all, there is

always found to be a considerable difference between timber cut by the thousand, and that which is cut on stumpage.

"Each mode has its troubles. But I think that owners at a distance will manage their concerns with least vexation by selling the stumpage, provided that they have honest men to deal with."

The public attention is, of late, we hope, more alive than it has been, to the value of our forests, and to the necessity of economizing what yet remains of these rich national treasures, and of replacing what has been so carelessly wasted. This necessity is every day making itself more manifest. Fuel has already become scarce in our seaports, or rather on our whole seacoast; a fact worthy the serious consideration of those, who reflect that the sufferings of the poor, from the want of this article, are probably greater than from all other causes united. Our best timber also is becoming more and more costly, and our civil and naval architects are constantly driven to the employment of that of inferior quality. The live oak of the southern States is already procured for our navy yards with great difficulty, and in fifty years will probably disappear from our soil; and our own white oak, as well as our other most valuable timber trees, must follow at no very distant period. It is in the power of every one who possesses a few acres of land, to do much to arrest this mighty evil; and what might not be anticipated from a simultaneous effort on the part of cultivators in our commonwealth, or even in a single county? And all this, at the expense, on the part of each individual, of a few shillings of money and a few hours of interesting labor. If we owe any thing to posterity, in what way could we confer on them so great a benefit at so cheap a rate?

It is not, however, strictly true, or rather it is not the whole truth, to say with Virgil, that he who plants benefits his remote posterity. A friend of ours once observed, that those who set out forest trees, reminded him of the student, who on hearing that a crow would live for a century, bought a young one, for the sake of watching the experiment. As a stroke of humor, this remark is privileged from criticism; but as a statement of facts, it must be received with much qualification. It is no uncommon circumstance to find oaks of twenty years' growth, of more than a foot in diameter, and of forty or fifty feet in height; and we have seen an English willow of only

double that age, measuring, at several feet from the ground, more than seven yards in circumference. Were planting commenced at the time when our young men usually enter on their professions or their business, how many might live to enjoy the shade of majestic groves of their own raising!

These remarks may derive some additional interest from the fact, that a taste for rural occupations is rapidly springing up and extending itself in our large cities, and that objects of this description are gradually absorbing more and more of the capital as well as the intelligence, of that portion of our community. Where indeed could they find a source of entertainment more pure, more copious, or more beneficial to themselves or their fellow citizens? To say nothing of the value of forest trees for what are strictly denominated useful purposes, let us ask in what way any individual among us can do more to decorate and beautify the country. How many millions have been devoted in this, as well as in other communities, to architecture, and yet how little have the results corresponded to the time, the effort, and the money so expended! For one chaste and magnificent edifice, we have ten irregular and disproportioned piles, countenancing, and almost justifying, the sweeping remark of a French author, that the Genius of architecture had shed his malediction on America. But he who rears a stately grove or avenue, bestows an ornament on his native land, which none but a Vandal would wish to destroy. How much has been done in this city and its beautiful environs, by the taste and public spirit of a few individuals! To pass over numerous other instances, we are indebted to one of former days, as we have already observed, for the chief ornament of Boston, the triple colonnade of weeping elms in the Mall; and it is owing to the good taste of another accomplished individual of the present day, that the majestic, or, as we may now call them, the sacred groves of Mount Auburn, were rescued from the woodman's axe.

It is not merely, however, to those who are or may be practically engaged in the propagation or preservation of forest trees, though these we hope are not few, that our remarks are directed. Though comparatively a small number may be the planters or the owners of groves or of gardens, all may be admirers of forest scenery. For the indulgence of such a taste we have the highest intellectual authority. "A tree in full leaf," says Lord Bacon, "is a nobler object than a king

in his coronation robes." But it is in a community like our own, above all others, that a taste for the beauties of forest trees, as well as an acquaintance with their nature and uses, should be carefully cultivated. It is sufficient to recommend it, that it furnishes a never-failing source of occupation and amusement to those who travel in this country, and a strong additional inducement to the general adoption of this practice, so essential and at the same time so neglected. Is it not a fact that a large proportion of those among us, who enjoy the leisure and the means for visiting other regions, confine their researches exclusively to Europe; and if it be so, is it altogether creditable to our good taste, to say nothing more? How far the practice of travelling in other countries may be advisable, is a question we do not intend to agitate, though we are convinced, after some reflection and experience, that its advantages have been astonishingly overrated. But while years are frequently employed in exploring the European continent, a few months spent in visiting the most interesting portions of our own, must assuredly be considered as any thing but wasted. Personal intercourse, if not the only, is certainly the chief means, by which the inhabitants of the different States of our widely-extended Union may be enabled to acquire a proper knowledge of the wants and the character of each other, and above all to cherish those feelings of regard, so essential to the prosperity, if not the existence of our nation. The press, however great the obligations we owe it, is of necessity always an imperfect, and sometimes an unfaithful mirror of public sentiment; and it is to personal intercourse, and to the spirit of mutual fairness and friendship, which such intercourse will assuredly generate, that we must look to supply the deficiencies, and correct the aberrations, of that mighty engine of good and of evil. It were to be wished, indeed, that the practice of travelling extensively in our own country were often pursued, at least as a preliminary to an European tour. We should not find in that case, as we think we now do in some instances, the most incorrect representations of the character and manners of our population, proceeding from the pens of our own tourists in other countries. To many of our best-educated and most accomplished men, the interior of other States, if not of their own, is a Terra Incognita, and this too in spite of those facilities of communication, which exist in the United States, to a greater degree than in almost any portion of the old world. We need not state

how thinly this country is peopled in comparison with any other in an equal state of advancement, nor repeat, how large a portion of those wide spaces which separate our principal settlements from each other, is covered with magnificent forests. The traveller, who can relish the beauties of these splendid collections of vegetable wonders, can have few intervals of idleness or weariness.

Yet however valuable we may consider a taste for these prominent beauties of our own scenery, merely as a never-failing source of occupation and enjoyment, there are still other reasons of the highest moment, why such a taste should be anxiously cherished; we mean as one of the principal sources of an ardent and deep-felt patriotism. We trust that our country has, in the view of all of us, other qualities than the beauties of her natural scenery, to recommend her to her proper rank in our estimation. There is in her institutions, political, intellectual, and religious, more than enough to justify us in the preference which we give to our native land over all others. But patriotism, wherever it has existed in a high degree, has been, we apprehend, a *sentiment*, as well as a principle, and is something more than a cold feeling of preference. It is in truth an emotion of a complex character, and if we would cherish towards our country an enthusiastic attachment, we should not suffer ourselves to be blind to those charms, whether of nature or of art, which may recommend her to our fancy, as well as our sober judgment. Why should not the mind of an American think upon those majestic forests, whose beauties are commemorated throughout the civilized world, with something of the feeling which stirs in the bosoms respectively of a patriotic Frenchman or Englishman, when their thoughts revert to the vine-covered hills and gay regions of France, or the spreading oaks and verdant lawns of merry England?

It is truly gratifying to reflect on the progress which has been made within a very few years, in the study and developement of the internal resources of this country. In former times, the political condition of Europe, and the embarrassments, in which we were involved by the conduct of the leading belligerents, formed not only the predominant, but the sole topics of deep public interest. Little time or thought could be spared, little at any rate was spared, for the examination and improvement of our internal condition. What, for instance, had been done for the advancement of our agricul-

ture and manufactures; and what was known of our gold regions, our coal mines, or our quarries? Such was the state of things from the very foundation of our national government to the signing of the treaty of Ghent. It is one of the chief national blessings which have resulted from our present peaceful condition, that we have been enabled and induced to turn our thoughts *inward;* that the vast natural riches of our land are no longer trodden under foot without the slightest investigation, nor its majestic and beautiful scenery passed by with a heedless glance.

Whether we regard this spirit of investigation merely as political economists, or as moralists and patriots, whether we look to its effects on the wealth or on the happiness of our community, we are sure that to cultivate and to cherish it must be regarded as a sacred duty.

Art. III. — 1. *Œuvres Complètes de* C. Delavigne. Bruxelles.
2. *Chansons de* Béranger. Bruxelles.
3. *Œuvres d'* Alphonse de Lamartine. Paris.
4. *Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses*, par A. de Lamartine. Paris.

The difference between the French and English schools of poetry is certainly much greater, than can be accounted for by the mere influence of national peculiarities. The romantic spirit eminently pervades English literature; its luxuriance of coloring, its marvellous union of things apparently inconsistent, and its blending of the visions of poetical fancy with the expectations of a higher destiny, are everywhere visible in the works of our poets. The French, on the other hand, have sought their materials of fiction chiefly in the past; and the genius of the past, the spirit of classical antiquity, has been invoked and adopted by them. Nature, as she appears in the external world, and as she is manifested in the thoughts and actions of man, is the divinity of the English. The French have done homage to art; refined and glorious art, it is true, but still art; and when they have admitted nature into their exhibitions, she has been compelled to play a subordinate part,

her promptings only feeble and occasional, instead of possessing the powerful and universal sway she exercises where her sovereignty is acknowledged. This contempt or disregard of nature is evident elsewhere than in their writings. Their manners and fashions of dress are artificial; they seem to have a natural talent for perverting objects from their original tendency. Their vivacity, and perpetual use of extravagant figures in speech and composition, may be thought by some to indicate a natural fertility of imagination; but an examination of the works of their greatest poets will prove them eminently deficient in this creative faculty. They have been chiefly borrowers, and, though tolerably successful imitators, are certainly not entitled to the admiration which is the deserved meed of originality.

These remarks are intended to apply principally to the tragic and lyric writers of France, and to those who have arisen since the days of the bards of Provence, of the *Troubadours* and the *Trouveurs* and *Conteurs*, in whose sweet and stirring lays was born the first impulse of that romantic spirit which has since diffused itself over Europe. It is of the French classics, to whom these gave place, that we speak; on whom the nation rest their claims to literary distinction, and whose productions are more strongly contrasted with those of their English cotemporaries. The change to the classic spirit, which took place among the predecessors of Corneille, seemed to be peculiarly to the taste of the people; and, after the attainment of their greatest writers to the wished-for resemblance to the Greeks, they were considered to have reached the supreme goal of poetic merit. The popular taste, modelled after that of the court, sought for no further excellences; and would probably, under the same influence, have frowned upon any innovation. Their only care was to sustain themselves at the height, to which they fancied themselves elevated.

In this artificial and monotonous state the poetry of France long remained. It was to have been anticipated, that the tumults and conflicts of that eventful century, which produced the Revolution and its unprecedented consequences, would have influenced the most fluctuating of all departments of literature; that the same mutable spirit, at work in politics and in society, would have made itself felt in poetry. But this was not immediately the case. No change was perceptible

during the period of disorders and agitation ; it was only in the tranquillity succeeding the restoration of the Bourbons, that men found leisure to turn from the pursuits of active life, and walk in the gardens of the Muse. New principles began to be developed in the poetical art, and rapidly gained strength as they were made subservient to political views.

Since the revolution of 1830, and the accession of the Citizen King, a prodigious impulse has been given to the spirit of the popular writers of the day, who have most of them thrown off even the pretence of respect for the ancient school. The new system brought into favor by them, they denominate by way of distinction, the *romantic ;* claiming credit for the merits belonging to the modern poets of this class, while they "out-Herod Herod" in the extravagances, which they imagine to distinguish happily the objects of their new-born veneration. If any term could be invented expressive of the widest degree of license, it would be more applicable than *romantic*, to their productions ; as these new authors disdain utterly the limits, prescribed by nature, morality, and good taste, which legitimately control the excursive genius of the true romantic. The drama is the most popular form, in which this novel spirit has exhibited itself; and in the drama the most mischievous and reprehensible licentiousness prevails at the present time in France. A glimpse of its condition has been already afforded to our countrymen through the pages of this journal ; * another field is now open to our investigation.

The recent change in French taste may, we think, be owing in a great degree to the influence of the song-writers. Their sway over the popular mind was increased by the circumstance, that their effusions were made to serve their respective factions ; and they generally took part with the multitude. Belonging perhaps by birth to the inferior classes, (Béranger is a case in point,) they were less hampered than the more cultivated portion of the community by the prejudices in favor of *l'ancien régime*, which would have stood in the way of authors of greater pretensions. Then the freedom indulged in by the *chansonnier*, perhaps regarded at first as a mere means of contributing to the temporary amusement of the populace, had leisure to exert and extend its subtile effects. The liberty, which in more elevated and elaborate compositions would

* North American Review, No. XCII., for July, 1836, p. 133.

probably have been checked at once by the outraged formalists, in productions of so fugitive a nature created no alarm; and one encroachment after another was permitted with impunity. Thus the affection of the people for models of antiquity was sapped in its foundations, and the most startling innovations perpetrated in the very presence of the divinities hitherto exclusively worshipped.

Having thus glanced briefly at the state of French poetry in general, we shall examine the works of some of their principal lyric writers. Delavigne is first on our list; a poet to whom, notwithstanding the beauty of his patriotic effusions, we are inclined to refuse the first honors. We do not find fault with him for borrowing sometimes; all his brethren do that; it is the privilege of the poetic tribe; but his obligations are too frequent and important. — His tragedies and comedies occupy the first volume of his works. They are formed after the classic plan, though in *Marino Faliero*, a wretched *travestie* of Byron, the author would seem to have made some attempts to break through his trammels. *Le Paria*, among these pieces, is the one most to our taste; and *L'École des Vieillards*, among the comedies; though we cannot decidedly say we were moved by any emotion of admiration or sympathy in reading any of them. — We turn with pleasure from these dolorous plays to the lyrics of M. Delavigne. Here we are arrested by his Elegies, to which he has given a title requiring some explanation. He undertakes, in imitation of Tyrtæus and Callinus, to sing of the misfortunes of his country; and, reminding his readers of the elegies upon the reverses of Messenia in "Le Voyage d'Anacharsis," proposes to call his elegiac poems "*Messéniennes.*" Without quarrelling with this far-fetched appellation, let us see what claims they have to our approval.

The "Messéniennes" are nineteen in number, and are followed by poems on various subjects, and a poetical Epistle to the members of the French Academy upon a debated question concerning the advantages of study. The national elegies are highly lauded by the French critics, who maintain that they unite patriotism and energy with elegance, clearness, and elevation of style. We think none will question the patriotism of M. Delavigne; nor are we disposed to deny him a due measure of the other qualities claimed for him. The elegy on the Battle of Waterloo has many spirited and brilliant pas-

sages; and if the bursts of his patriotism are marred by occasional extravagance, its origin must cause it to be pardoned. In the second *Messénienne*, upon "*la Dévastation du Musée et des Monumens*," the author's indignation has carried him far beyond the bounds of that *sainte vérité*, which he personifies in the commencement of the poem; and the extravagance of his abuse of the foreign victors is hardly atoned for by the splendor of the poetry, in which they are consigned to evil fame.

The two elegies upon the life and death of the Maid of Arc are strikingly beautiful. The fine simile which commences the first, that of the tumultuous waves of ocean rushing on to devastate the land, and checked by the controlling voice of God, well illustrates the wild rage of a nation flushed with victory, and eager for further conquest. There is a lyric energy, approaching to sublimity, in parts of this poem. The death of Joan is not less admirable. He reprobates, with contemptuous sarcasm, the eager revenge of the multitude.

"A qui réserve-t-on ces apprêts meurtriers?
Pour qui ces torches qu'on excite?
L'airain sacré tremble et s'agite —
D'où vient ce bruit lugubre? où courent ces guerriers
Dont la foule à longs flots roule et se précipite?

La joie éclate sur leurs traits,
Sans doute l'honneur les enflamme;
Ils vont pour un assaut former leur rangs épais;
Non, ces guerriers sont des Anglais,
Qui vont voir mourir une femme."

The eleventh *Messénienne*, to Napoleon, is among our favorites, though in a different style. The "angels of his fate" are represented as appearing to Bonaparte in his tent at night. It was natural that the subject of Napoleon should employ the pens of many of the modern poets. Three in France have taken him for a theme, besides Byron and Manzoni among the great ones of other lands. The two last alone please us particularly.

The next elegy is on Lord Byron, whom we confess we were not a little surprised to stumble upon in this vicinity, being quite at a loss to explain how his Lordship came to be enumerated among the "misfortunes of France," till we found ourselves informed in a note, that Byron's ancestors were

originally from Normandy. As he may consequently be claimed as a descendant of France, and foster-brother to Corneille, M. Delavigne doubtless considered him as a legitimate subject for a *Messénienne*. "Three Days of Christopher Columbus, to the Americans," is good, and written in less irregular measure. The opening of *Les Funérailles du Général Foy* is much in the style of Lamartine.

"Non, tu ne connais pas encore
Ce sentiment d'ivresse et de mélancolie,
Qu'inspire d'un beau jour la splendeur affaiblie;
Toi qui n'as pas vu les flots d'or,
Où nage à son couchant un soleil d'Italie,
Inonder du Forum l'enceinte ensevelie
Et le temple détruit de Jupiter Stator!

"Non, tu ne connais pas l'irresistible empire
Des beautés qu'il déploie au moment qu'il expire,
Si tes yeux n'ont pas vu son declin vif et pur,
Qui s'éteint par degrés sur Alban et Tibur,
Verser les derniers feux d'une ardeur épuisée
A travers le brillant azure
Des portiques du Colisée!

"Sur le mont Janicule et ses pins toujours verts,
Tu meurs, mais dans ta gloire; on t'admire, on te chante;
De cette Rome plus touchant
Qui pleure ta clarté ravie à ses deserts.
Du trône tu descends comme elle;
Jadis ses monumens t'égalaient en splendeur;
D'une reine déchue amant toujours fidèle,
Que ta lumière est triste et belle
Sur les débris de sa grandeur!
Tes rayons amortis, que le regard supporte,
Pâlissent en les éclairant,
Soleil, et ton éclat mourant
S'unit mieux à leur beauté morte.

Ainsi l'on voit s'éteindre, environné d'hommages,
Le talent inspiré qui, pur et sans nuages,
N'a brillé que par la vertu.
Ainsi nous l'admirons, ainsi nos larmes coulent,
Au milieu des débris de nos lois qui s'écroulent,
Comme un monument abattu;
Et l'éclat plus sacré de ce flambeau qui tombe

Répand les derniers feux dont il est embrasé
Sur le temple détruit et sur l'autel brisé
De la Liberté qui succombe."

Among the most graceful of the minor poems is one entitled *L'Attente*. We will translate some of the stanzas.

"Live happy, — death is in our train;
Of him doth here instruct us, all;
The wine our thirsty lips now drain,
The glass our careless hand lets fall.
His torch's brief and waning light
Bids us let care and trouble fly; —
Drink, friends, while yet the flame is bright;
Each one of us ere that may die.

"Let him who rumored treasure craves,
A wandering life of labor live,
Dispute the pearl with crystal waves,
For perfumes with the Lybian strive.
Are the sweets hid on Afric's sand
These garlands worth, that crown our wine?
Or amber spread o'er Asia's strand,
The golden splendors of the vine?"

* * * * *

"When golden urns her heroes held
Rome paid her honors at their grave;
Their proud funereal domes to build,
Exhausted Paros marbles gave.
Vain grandeur! Ages have bereft
Earth of these monuments sublime;
Anacreon but a page has left
Still floating on the abyss of time.

"Read his song — imitate his joys;
Noble, yet soft, serenely gay;
Be ruled our wants by wisdom's voice,
Nor waste in plans our hopes away.
No youthful pleasures immolate
But to prolong this care and strife;
Give to the void which is our fate
A well-filled, if not lengthened life!"

We next take up M. de Lamartine, because his works form a contrast in some respects to those of Delavigne. While the latter has found his inspiration in patriotism, in the love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, the genius of the former is kindled at the shrine of religious enthusiasm. Nearly all the productions of Lamartine are animated by a religious spirit; and his zeal is pure and chastened, not turbulent or fanatical. Yet his enthusiasm partakes of the excess to which it is rendered liable by the author's richness of fancy and impulsive character; and to his readiness in furnishing brilliant or striking illustrations of his thoughts, he not unfrequently sacrifices the simplicity which is the principal charm of effusions of this kind. Too great a profusion of ornament is unsuitable to sacred subjects; and where our poet likens his religious aspirations to the doings of every animate or inanimate object in nature, we feel oppressed by the affluence of similitudes, and even disposed to regard as questionable the piety which can indulge in such excursive flights. His habit of mingling his private feelings with those of devotion is also a clear violation of good taste. Our readers may recollect in his Travels in the East, recently published, (a work, by the way, in which we were much disappointed, having expected better things from the gifted author than such a mass of exaggerated sentiment and turgid declamation,) some verses entitled "Gethsemane, or the Death of Julia," wherein he mixes the penitence excited by the view of those scenes, with his sorrow for the death of a favorite child. Such exhibitions of private feelings are more relished, it is true, by the French than by us; but we cannot help regarding them, at all times, as a violation of nature, for emotion naturally shrinks from public display; nor can we imagine this rule entirely reversed even in *French human nature*. However, we will not quarrel with M. de Lamartine on the very threshold of our acquaintance with him, but rather proceed to show how many unquestionable claims he has upon our friendship and esteem, which we shall do *con amore*. His language owes him a deep debt for the improvements in versification he has had the boldness to introduce, and for transplanting so happily many of the beauties of foreign writers. We will examine in detail the works of this first living poet of France.

His poetical "Meditations" occupy the greater portion of one volume. They are about fifty-six in number, and are followed

by poems on various subjects, among which is "The Last Canto of Childe Harold," an attempted sequel to Byron's great poem. We prefer infinitely his shorter lyrics; and some of these are not surpassed by any thing in the French language. The chief peculiarity of Lamartine is his picturesque style, the graphic expression of his thoughts. His language is not merely glowing, but sparkling; flashes of brilliant, fanciful illustration adorn every page. His words convey a succession of distinct pictures to the mind. This is not merely the case in his descriptions, but also in poems upon subjects of metaphysical discussion. Almost every thing in the moral world has with him its appropriate simile in the natural; and these are generally most happily applied. His language is condensed, energetic, and harmonious.

As a specimen of the poems of a religious cast, we will extract some stanzas from one of his "*Harmonies*," always craving pardon of our author for the meagre justice we do him in our translation. His devotion is ever marked by a tone of melancholy.

"WHY IS MY SOUL SAD?

"Why groanest thou in ceaseless gloom,
O fainting soul? reply!
Whence doth the weight of sadness come,
'Neath which thy powers so helpless lie?
Into the tomb that waits for all
Thou hast not yet seen sadly fall
Thy youth's last-cherished friend;
Thy star of life with unquenched ray
Lifts up its head, — then wherefore, say,
Wherefore have yet thy sighs no end?

"Earth hath her scenes of beauty still,
And heaven its days of loveliness, —
Glory her tumults, — yet can thrill
The heart which love has power to bless.
Still to thy glance can nature show
Wonders thou never yet didst know,
Ne'er yet profaned by mortal eyes;
And withering all that hope may yield,
Thy hand in her ungathered field
Hath not yet gained the prize.

"And what is earth? a prison floating sent,
A narrow bourne, a fragile bark, a tent

Which God but for a day hath reared in space,
Which the swift winds can with a breath embrace;
Its seas and hills, its valley and its plain,
Sprung from the dust, to sink to dust again;
Whose mass unto immensity can be
But as this hour to all eternity;
Clay wrought to noble forms, yet ever clay,
Where all is like, — yet passes all away.

"And what is life? a moment's waking breath,
The brief announcement of a birth and death;
A word the Eternal utters in disdain,
A keyless labyrinth, a question vain;
A fading dream, — a spark in instant flight,
A sudden ray that sinks again in night;
A moment time lends and withdraws from man,
Worth not the word that marks its date, — a span!

"And fame? a vain sound caught from side to side,
The very arch-mock of poor human pride;
A name on mortal lips of sovereign sway,
Deceitful, fickle, perishing as they;
Which mighty now, now weak as failing sighs,
From month to month on to oblivion flies;
The poisoned nectar that bewilders pride,
Which twice slays him who fain would ne'er have died!

"And what is love? Ah, ready for the theme,
My lips denying fear they may blaspheme;
Alone above the utterance of a name,
The pure light of the soul's internal flame;
A living spark snatched from the fires on high,
A car that bears us upward to the sky;
The lightning of the sense; the quenchless sun
That melts two human spirits into one;
It is — it would be all, if all could be,
Could mortal heart contain this mystery,
Or if, like fires by heaven its emblem made,
Its flame exhaled sank not in hopeless shade.

"But when these goods that mortals crave
Upon a single heart o'erflow,
Death on the borders of the grave
Makes of our happiness a woe!
The wave of time that bears us down
Waits not that human joy may crown
With florid growth its speeding tide;

O fugitive and short-lived race,
Where can your seedlings find a place
This ever-fleeting stream beside?

"Still it sweeps on, — its wasted shore
Tells me the goodly time is flown;
Still on, — and my green years no more
Appear, — they too from sight are gone.
The schemes to which a hope can cling
Are like the floating buoy they fling
Upon the sailor's changing trace;
Which but recedes in mounting swell
The vessel's measured course to tell
That cleaves the sullen water's face.

"My days, discolored by my woe,
Uncounted glide away;
My heart, alas! beats even now
'Neath vanished pleasure's sway.
Beneath my steps the earth is clad
With many a palm yet green and glad,
But they survive my weak desire;
Objects of cherished love and trust
Still, still are there, upon the dust
Cooled by my sighs, which there expire.

"I see pass on and smile again
The enchantress of each early year;
Who held me long in passion's chain,
Whose very steps my heart held dear.
Her golden locks yet downward stream,
The bright tints born of morning's beam
Blush on her cheek, like crimson rays;
In her blue eyes whose glance could thrill,
Enough of light there lingers still
To fascinate a lover's gaze.

"The crowd who on her way divide,
Pursue her with admiring glance;
Their homage swells her youthful pride,
The murmurs sweet her ears entrance.
For me, I smile while passing on;
All lightly from my heart is gone
That dream of deep felicity.
I ask, with pity in my soul,
'Love! can thy flame that scorns control,
Ere beauty that awakes it, die?'

"Ah! what remains to life bereft,
When youthful love is borne away?
What to our dazzled eyes is left,
When dies the lovely summer's day?
That which is left the empty sail
When the last faint expiring gale
Is hushed upon the slumbering main;
That which is left the barren mead,
When tempest wings, with thunderous speed,
Have swept to earth the scattered grain.

"Yet still must live this breathing clay,
Must watch and sleep and wake in turn;
Still lingering on from day to day,
The waxing burden must be borne.
When to the very dregs we drain
The foaming cup of life, — what gain
Could we the empty bowl destroy!
To hope, — to wait, — and this is life!
What need to count 'mid cares and strife
Days that can bring no more of joy?

"Lo! therefore, wearied is my soul,
The thrall of empty fears again;
Therefore my fancies restless roll,
Like sickness on his bed of pain.
Therefore my wild and wandering thought,
Even as the wounded dove, hath sought,
But nowhere found, its wished repose;
Therefore I've turned me from the view
Of this sad world, vain, wild, untrue,
And cried to God, whence comfort flows.

"As the stern north's tempestuous blast
Lifts the poor sparrow from his nest,
And bears him up the storm-clouds past,
Far from his parent spot of rest, —
Unharmed his fainting wings, — the gale
Upholds him still, — he seems to sail
Safe cradled on its wings of might;
So that sole thought with heavenly sway
Bears my oppressed soul away
Even to the Eternal Source of light!" &c.

The following graceful little *morceau* is in a different strain;

"LE PAPILLON.

"Born with the spring, with summer's rose to die,
To float in heaven on zephyr's pinions bright,
Cradled upon the half-closed flower to lie,
Drunken with sweets, with beauty, and with light,—
Then, the dust shaking from his wings elate,
Like the light breeze ascend the blue serene,
Such is the butterfly's enchanted fate!
How like desire, that ne'er at rest hath been,
But still unsated o'er earth's bright things flies,
Then soars to seek his pleasures in the skies!"

L'Homme is in manner an imitation of Pope; it has many striking passages, though we object to the exuberance of epithets at its commencement. *L'Enthousiasme* is full of beautiful imagery, though apparently imitated from an ode of Rousseau. The following idea in one of the stanzas is forcible and highly poetical;

"Foyers brûlans de la lumière,
Nos cœurs de la nature entière
Doivent concentrer les rayons."

Le Lac is remarkable for elegance and harmony, and, we have heard, is a particular favorite with the author. *La Gloire*, to the banished Portuguese poet, Manoël, is also admirable, and breathes the sentiments of a lofty and independent mind. Among M. de Lamartine's fine figures, we were struck by the following, illustrating the destiny and resources of the poet in misfortune;

"Ainsi l'aigle superbe au séjour du tonnerre
S'élance, et, soutenant son vol audacieux,
Semble dire aux mortels; 'Je suis né sur la terre,
Mais je vis dans les cieux.'"

La Foi and *La Prière* are worthy of notice from their solemnity of religious feeling. *Le Génie* contains a beautiful comparison, which we cannot refrain from quoting;

"Hast seen, in old Olympic race,
Around the steeds and chariots light,
The rising dust-clouds fill the space
And snatch them from the wondering sight?

So on the track of genius long
The clouds of pale-eyed envy throng,
Hang o'er the still-disputed ground;
Till, reached at length the glorious goal,
Forth from the mists that round him roll,
The victor is revealed and crowned."

Le Golf de Baya has much fine poetry. In *Bonaparte*, some of the verses are imitated from Manzoni. *Le Poète Mourant* is one of the most magnificent lyrics we ever read. Its grandeur and richness of imagery are unsurpassed. Every line is poetical in conception and style. It would alone have secured to its author a place among the highest. There is a gorgeous brilliancy in every stanza of the poem; but its ornament is never misplaced or meretricious. What, for instance, can be more striking than such verses as the following?

"Je jette un nom de plus à ces flots sans rivage,
Au gré des vents, du ciel, qu'il s'abîme, ou surnage,
En serai-je plus grand? Pourquoi? ce n'est qu'un nom.
Le cygne qui s'envole aux voûtes éternelles,
Amis! s'informe-t-il si l'ombre de ses ailes
Flotte encore sur un vil gazon?

"Mais pourquoi chantais tu? Demande à Philomèle,
Pourquoi, durant les nuits, sa douce voix se mêle
Au doux bruit des ruisseaux sous l'ombrage roulant;
Je chantais, mes amis, comme l'homme respire,
Comme l'oiseau gémit, comme le vent soupire,
Comme l'eau murmure en coulant."

Les Préludes are entitled to especial admiration, on account of the harmony of the language with the various subjects treated. The clamorous onset of the battle, the wailing of sorrow, and the soft, sweet strains of pastoral aspirations, are appropriately expressed. The *Chant d'Amour* is luxuriant in description. Of the "*Harmonies*," *La Perte de l'Anio*, *Le Tombeau d'une Mère*, *Hymne de la Mort*, *Hymn de l'Ange de la Terre*, *Cantique*, and *Novissima Verba*, are among the best. *Hymne de l'Enfant à son Reveil* is not in good taste, as the child thinks of every thing most unlikely to be thought of by a child under such circumstances.

The following lines occur in an apostrophe to Italy.

"Mais, semblable à César à son heure suprême,
Qui du manteau sanglant s'enveloppa lui-même,

Quel que soit le destin que couve l'avenir,
Terre! enveloppe-toi de ton grand souvenir!"

The elaborate comparison of the human soul to a torrent and the wind, is very fine, but evidently suggested by the lines of Metastasio on the same subject. — The annexed verse is from the "Hymn of Death";

"Thou diest, ay, thy mortal frame
Earth's common law doth now obey;
No more thou feel'st the sickening claim,
The soul-debasing weight of clay!
And that debasing weight was life!
The moment which doth end the strife,
Men call it death! So, freed from pain,
The bondsman fancies, with the chain,
The limb that wore the fetters borne away!"

The philosophy of "A Mother's Tomb" would hardly be convincing to a determined skeptic; yet it is full of tenderness, and shows a right heart. Lamartine's reply to Sir Walter Scott's "Farewell" is a noble production, and displays an intense appreciation of the genius of the person he addressed. The opening is very beautiful; and we were also particularly struck by the following lines, illustrative of the mutable spirit of the present age.

"C'en est fait; la parole a soufflé sur les mers,
Le chaos bout et couve un second univers,
Et pour le genre humain que le sceptre abandonne,
Le salut est dans tous, et n'est plus dans personne.
A l'immense roulis d'un océan nouveau,
Aux oscillations du ciel et du vaisseau,
Aux gigantesques flots qui croulent sur nos têtes,
On sent que l'homme aussi double un cap des tempêtes,
Et passe sous la foudre et sous l'obscurité
Le tropique orageux d'une autre humanité!"

We have heard it said by a relative of the poet, that M. de Lamartine composes with surprising facility. We should have supposed as much, for it is only from a soil of overflowing richness, that such flowers can spring; and their growth must always be spontaneous. In his own example he has asserted the truth of the adage, "Poeta nascitur."

"Jamais aucune main sur la corde sonore
Ne guida dans ses jeux ma main novice encore.

L'homme n'enseigne pas ce qu'inspire le ciel;
Le ruisseau n'apprend pas à couler dans sa pente,
L'aigle à fendre les airs d'une aile indépendante,
L'abeille à composer son miel."

In an essay recently published upon the "Destinies of Poetry," Lamartine has expressed his conviction that a change, corresponding with the spirit of the age, is to take place in poetry. It has no longer sustained vigor or spontaneous freshness, sufficient for productions like those conceived at its earliest period, at the "first waking of human thought." Hence it can no more be lyric, in the old and strict sense of the term. Nor is the epic any longer suited to the condition of men. They have lived, as he says, too long, and reflected too much, to find amusement in protracted narrative or description; while the realities of existence have destroyed their taste for the marvellous. Nor do the vicissitudes of real life leave much room for the dramatic; and society requires more of stirring and startling interest than formerly, for its amusement. The stage cannot afford the stimulus which may be found in every-day incidents. Poetry in future, proceeds M. de Lamartine, will partake of the coloring of the times through which it is to pass. It will be more sincere, more intimate, more real than before. It will imbody the inmost thoughts of men. Such is the kind of poetry Lamartine himself has given us. The deep feelings, the enthusiasm, the pious affections of his nature are laid open to us. It is philosophical and religious, like the mind of the author.

He has beautifully painted the ministrations of the spirit of poesy in the different periods of life, in a poem called the "Guardian Genius," published in his essay on the "Destinies of Poetry." This ever-sympathizing power is represented as accompanying man in every age, the inspirer of elevated thought, the partaker of every joy, the alleviater of every sorrow.

We take leave with regret of M. de Lamartine, of whom we have so little reason to complain, and turn to Béranger, whom we have often heard styled his rival, though in truth they are by no means rivals, being eminent in different departments. Gayety and wit belong as appropriately to the one, as elevation to the other. Béranger has more originality, but his themes are newer, and he has studied to please the multitude. The persecution to which he has been subjected has

contributed also in no slight degree to the popularity of his works, if his light and graceful effusions can be called by such a name. They have been eagerly sought after and read, both at home and abroad. Perhaps he is better known in this country, than any living French poet; and the numerous translations of his songs, printed in various periodicals, render it almost a superfluous task to comment upon them. But most of the English versions we have seen, have failed to give an adequate idea of the *manner* of the gay *chansonnier*. It is almost impossible to imitate successfully the ease, vivacity, and playful satire, which constitute the charm of his poems. Sometimes he is serious, pathetic, and even solemn; and then the task is easier. *Le Dieu de bonnes Gens*, *La Déesse*, *Les Hirondelles*, *Les Étoiles qui filent*, and many others, are of this class. *Le Chant du Cosaque* and *La Sainte Alliance des Peuples* are spirited and noble odes, particularly the last. *Le Juif créant* has a touching moral, as also *La Pauvre Femme*, which we must make room for. We have a reminiscence of having somewhere read a translation of this poem, and though we cannot recall it to memory, we are not clear that some few of the lines are not in the version we have made. This we suspect, from the facility with which some of the words have been suggested to our mind.

"LA PAUVRE FEMME.

"It snows, — it snows, — and on the pavement there
An aged woman kneeling prays;
Keen blows the wind, her tattered limbs are bare,
She waits for bread with anxious gaze.
Groping, alone, upon the church-door stone,
Winter and summer, there is she;
She 's blind, alas! this poor old crone;
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"And know you who she was in other days,
This withered creature, sad and wan?
The idol of a wondering people's gaze,
She charmed all Paris with her song.
The young in transports sweet of smiles or tears
Before her beauty bowed the knee,
To her all owed the dreams of earlier years, —
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"How often, turning from the brilliant scene,
Still followed by the eager crowd,
The idol of their worship has she been,
Pursued by plaudits long and loud!
To lead her to the car her gate before,
The servants of her will to be, —
How many waited, emulous, at her door!
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"When all the arts had wove her brilliant crown,
How stately was her dwelling then!
What crystals, bronzes, columns of renown,
Tributes of love to love again!
In all her banquets faithful minstrels sung
The cup of her prosperity, —
Now in those domes the swallows rear their young, —
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"Terrible fate! one day of sickness dread
Destroyed her voice, sealed up her eyes;
And, poor and lonely, she has begged her bread
For twenty years, where now she sighs.
No hand more ready e'er abroad to send
Her gold to gladden misery,
Than that which now she scarcely can extend, —
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"The wind blows keener, — Jesu shelter thee!
Her tattered limbs are stiff and cold;
Scarce can her fingers grasp the rosary
That soothed her every grief of old.
Crushed by such woes, if her sad bosom more
Can nourish tender piety,
For faith in Heaven, whose mercy she implores,
Ah! give the wretch your charity!"

One of the most deeply pathetic of these songs is *Le vieux Caporal.* We doubt if many can read it without disobeying the injunction of the veteran, — "Ne pleurez pas." We confess we prefer Béranger's pathos to his humor, and would rest on his more serious productions his claims to immortality. We think our readers will thank us for directing their notice to the following stanzas.

"LES ÉTOILES QUI FILENT.

" — Berger, tu dis que notre étoile
Règle nos jours et brille aux cieux;
— Oui, mon enfant; mais dans son voile,
La nuit la dérobe à nos yeux.
— Berger, sur cette azur tranquille,
De lire on te croit le secret;
Quelle est cette étoile qui file
Qui file, file, et disparait?

" — Mon enfant, un mortel expire;
Son étoile tombe à l'instant;
Entre amis que la joie inspire,
Celui-ci buvait en chantant;
Heureux, il s'endort immobile
Auprès du vin qu'il célébrait; —
— Encore une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparait.

" — Mon enfant, qu'elle est pure et belle!
C'est celle d'un objet charmant.
Fille heureuse, amante fidèle,
On l'accorde au plus tendre amant;
Des fleurs ceignent son front nubile,
Et de l'Hymen l'autel est prêt; —
— Encore une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparait.

" — Mon fils, c'est l'étoile rapide
D'un très grand seigneur nouveau-né;
Le berceau qu'il a laissé vide
D'or et de pourpre était orné.
Des poisons qu'un flatteur distille
C'était à qui le nourrirait; —
— Encore une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparait.

" — Mon enfant, quel éclair sinistre!
C'était l'astre d'un favori,
Qui se croyait un grand ministre
Quand de nos maux il avait ri.
Ceux qui servaient ce dieu fragile,
Ont déjà caché son portrait; —
— Encore un étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparait.

"— Mon fils, quels pleurs seront les nôtres!
D'un riche nous perdons l'appui;
L'indigence glane chez d'autres,
Mais elle moissonait chez lui.
Ce soir même, sûr d'un asile,
A son toit le pauvre accourait; —
— Encore une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparait.

"— C'est celle d'un puissant monarque!
Va, mon fils, garde ta candeur;
Et que ton étoile ne marque
Par l'éclat ni par la grandeur.
Si tu brillez sans être utile,
A ton dernier jour on dirait,
Ce n'est qu'une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparait."

We doubt whether any thing more poetical in explanation of a falling star could have been conceived. — *Jacques* touchingly displays a scene of distress such as the author must have been frequently compelled to witness, familiarly as he has observed the habits of the lower classes. We resist the temptation to quote it and many more, and must content ourselves to recommend it, with others of equal beauty, to the attention of our readers. To most of them, this recommendation will be superfluous.

Before we close the chapter of French poetry, we must not forget to mention the minor poems of M. Victor Hugo, many of which do honor to the distinguished novelist. He has published a collection entitled "Leaves of Autumn," which will hardly prove as fugitive as their name would indicate. We shall content ourselves with presenting as a specimen of his powers in this way, his beautiful lines called *Son Nom*, unrivalled, in our opinion, in love poetry.

"Le parfum d'un lis pur, l'éclat d'un auréole,
La dernière rumeur du jour, —
La plainte d'un ami qui s'afflige et console,
L'adieu mystérieux de l'heure qui s'envole,
Le doux bruit d'un baiser d'amour, —

"L'écharpe aux sept couleurs que l'orage en la nue
Laisse, comme un trophée, au soleil triomphant,
L'accent inspiré d'une voix reconnue,
Le vœu le plus secret d'une vierge ingénue,
Le premier rêve d'un enfant, —

"Le chant d'un chœur lointain, le soupir qu'à l'aurore
Rendait le fabuleux Memnon,
La murmure d'un son qui tremble et s'évapore,
Tout ce que la pensée a de plus doux encore,
O lyre, est moins doux que son nom!

"Prononce-le tout bas, ainsi qu'une prière,
Mais que dans tous nos chants il résonne à la fois!
Qu'il soit du temple obscur la secrète lumière!
Qu'il soit le mot sacré, qu'au fond du sanctuaire
Redit toujours la même voix!

"O mes amis! avant qu'en paroles de flamme
Ma muse, égarant son essor,
Ose aux noms profanés qu'un vain orgueil proclame,
Mêler ce chaste nom que l'amour dans mon âme
A caché, comme un saint tresor,

"Il faudra que le chant de mes hymnes fidèles
Soit comme un de ces chants qu'on écoute à genoux;
Et que l'air soit ému de leurs voix solennelles,
Comme si, secouant ses invisibles ailes,
Un ange passait près de nous." *

We hope we have succeeded in showing, that there is at present no dearth of poetical talent in France. It is, indeed,

* A translation of this poem, before printed, may not be unacceptable to our readers.

"HER NAME.

"The lily's perfume pure, fame's crown of light,
The latest murmur of departing day,
Fond friendship's plaint, that melts in pity's sight,
The mystic farewell of each hour in flight,
The kiss which beauty grants with coy delay,—

"The sevenfold scarf that parting storms bestow
A trophy to the proud, triumphant sun;
The thrilling accent of a voice we know,
The love-enthralled maiden's secret vow,
An infant's dream, ere life's first sands are run,—

"The chant of distant choirs, the morning's sigh
Which erst inspired the fabled Memnon's frame,—
The melodies that, murmured, trembling die,—
The sweetest gems that 'mid thought's treasures lie,
Have nought of sweetness that can match HER NAME!

"Low be its utterance, like a prayer divine,
Yet in each warbled song be heard the sound!

perverted by corrupt taste, and clouded by gross faults. The prevalence of dramatic productions, and the eagerness with which the populace throng to witness exhibitions hideously immoral, but sustained by the vitiated tastes and political passions of the multitude, have exerted the most pernicious effect both on their writers and the public. But such minds as that of M. de Lamartine cannot be without their influence; and we may therefore hope that a change in this respect, as complete as the recent one from the monotonous formality of the old school, will before long take place.

ART. IV. — 1. *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée, par* MM. LÉON DE LABORDE *et* LINANT. Fol. XII. Livraisons. Paris. 1830–1834.

2. *Journey through Arabia Petræa, to Mount Sinai and the excavated City of Petra, the Edom of the Prophecies.* By M. LÉON DE LABORDE. London; Murray. 1836.

THE French work named above is a splendid memorial of private taste and enterprise. MM. Laborde and Linant, after having previously travelled, the one through the deserts and desolate monuments of antiquity in Asia Minor and Syria, and the other among the ruined temples and mysterious remains of still remoter ages in Upper Egypt and Nubia, associated themselves for an excursion from Cairo over the peninsula of Mount Sinai to the ruins of Petra, the ancient capital of Edom, and subsequently of the kingdom of Arabia Petræa. The fruits of their enterprising spirit are displayed in this work; which

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Be it the light in darksome fanes to shine,
The sacred word which at some hidden shrine
The self-same voice for ever makes resound!

"O friends! ere yet, in living words of flame,
My muse, bewildered in her soarings wide,
With names the vaunting lips of pride proclaim,
Shall dare to blend the *one*, the purer name,
Which love a treasure in my breast doth hide, —

"Must the wild lay my faithful harp can sing,
Be like the hymns which mortals, kneeling, hear;
To solemn harmonies attuned the strings,
As, music shaking from his viewless wings,
On heavenly airs some angel hovered near."

contains no less than ninety-seven plates and maps, and forty-seven wood cuts, representing scenery and objects which they met with in their journey; but devoted chiefly to the delineation of the wondrous ruins of the Idumean metropolis. The plates are accompanied by a body of text, consisting of an historical Introduction, an Explanation of the Plates, (in which the wood-cuts are interspersed,) and an Itinerary from Suez to Akaba and Petra. The drawings from which the engravings were made, are the joint productions of the two travellers; while the text is from the pen of M. Laborde alone. The whole forms a splendid folio volume, corresponding in size and plan to the great French work on Egypt, to which it thus becomes an appropriate supplement. The subscription price is two hundred and forty francs, or something more than forty-five dollars.

When we first arranged the plan of this article, we must confess, that, like some of our London brethren,* we had not seen the original work; nor could we learn that a single copy of it had reached this country. We have, however, since seen a copy in a bookstore in New York, the only one, of which we have as yet been able to hear. The little attention which has hitherto been directed to it abroad, is probably the cause of this neglect on the part of our literary men and public libraries. We cannot but hope, that even our present notice may bring this important work to the knowledge of some, who will be prompt to procure it; and we trust that at least the library of Harvard University, which is justly proud of having long possessed the magnificent work on Egypt, will suffer no great interval to elapse, ere the present supplement shall be added to its treasures.

Of the English work, professing to be a translation of M. Laborde's text, with copies of the plates on a reduced scale, we cannot speak in terms equally favorable. It was doubtless the wish and intent of the eminent publisher, Mr. Murray, to place before the English reader in *octavo*, and at a moderate expense, all that the French work exhibits in folio at a far higher cost. Such a plan could not but be in every respect laudable; and it might also be entirely proper to omit a portion of the less important plates, such, for instance, as present only architectural plans and minor details. But, unfortunately,

* See the British Critic, and the Asiatic Journal, for October, 1836.

the preparation of the work was intrusted to an anonymous editor, who has proved himself entirely incompetent to the task. The merest tyro in the French language and in historical geography, could not have made a worse translation, nor a more bungling use of the materials before him in the original work. To say nothing further of the frequent Gallicisms, which disfigure the style and often obscure the sense, the translator, instead of following the simple plan above suggested, has undertaken to construct a new work out of the materials of M. Laborde's text. He professes to have brought together the different parts into one "continuous whole," throughout which the plates are interspersed in a reduced form; thus changing entirely the character and object of the original work, by making the plates subsidiary to the text. Nor is this all; for out of the one hundred and forty-four plates and cuts contained in the French work, only sixty-five are given in the English copy. The consequence of this change of arrangement in the text is, that the descriptions of M. Laborde, which, as merely explanatory of the plates, were very properly disconnected and general, become, as parts of a continuous narrative, meagre and unsatisfactory, such as the French author doubtless would not have given, had they been the main object of his work. The translator has also prefixed to the work "two chapters, comprising an account of ancient Idumea, and a summary of the remarks made upon Petra by preceding travellers." This would have been a very fitting addition, if well executed; but these "two chapters" are so superficial and loose in respect to facts, and so full of mere assumptions, that the reader is left quite as much in the dark as before. Besides, they are so inserted as to seem to belong to M. Laborde's own text; at least the three or four first pages of Chap. I, are certainly from his pen; and the language then proceeds without the least hint of a change of writers. Whatever our estimate may be of M. Laborde's own contributions, we cannot hold it honest, thus even apparently to foist upon him the opinions of another person, which are obviously worth nothing.

The very title of the English volume is a misnomer. The simple "Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée," becomes in the translator's hands a "Journey *through* Arabia Petræa, *to* Mount Sinai and the excavated city of Petra, *the ancient Edom!*" What could we think of the knowledge and accuracy of a

writer, who should translate the title "Voyage de la Palestine," as follows; "Journey through Palestine, to Mount Tabor and Jerusalem, the ancient Judea"? Yet this would be a case exactly parallel. — Another blemish, which has arisen doubtless from reducing the original materials to a "continuous whole," is the omission of many dates. We were for a long time unable to ascertain even the year in which the journey of M. Laborde was performed; incidentally we discovered from a note in Ruppell's *Reisen* (p. 250), that it took place in the year 1828; and we afterwards found in the English work itself (p. 51) the date of February 25, 1828, assigned as the time of the departure of the travellers from Cairo. This and the notation of a few succeeding days up to the time of reaching Akaba, are the only dates given in the whole volume; although in the original, the daily dates of the Itinerary are continued until the arrival of the travellers at Petra, on the 26th of March.

We have neither time nor patience to proceed further with this catalogue of error and incompetency; but there are yet two examples of ignorance so glaring, that justice to ourselves requires us not to pass them over in silence. The first is found on pp. 140, 141, of the English copy, where M. Laborde, in travelling up the great valley El Araba from Akaba to Petra, mentions the Wady Garandel or Gharendel, a valley which descends from the eastern range of mountains, and opens into El Araba some leagues south of Petra. This Wady was also traversed by Burckhardt, through its whole length; and, emerging from it, this traveller crossed El Araba on his way to Cairo, over the western desert.* The English editor intended doubtless to subjoin to M. Laborde's text the account which Burckhardt gives of this same valley; but instead of this, he has given in a note Burckhardt's account of the other Wady Gharendel or Ghirondel, which is found on the western coast of the peninsula of Mount Sinai, about two days' journey from Suez! This is done apparently without the slightest suspicion as to the identity of the two places; and is very much the same, as if a geographer should undertake to elucidate the position of Bethlehem in Judea, by subjoining a description of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. "There is a

* Travels in Syria, etc., 4to. p. 441.

river in Macedon ; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth . . . . . and there is salmons in both."

The other instance is, if possible, still worse. M. Laborde relates (p. 106) that two of his guides went out to hunt the gazelle, the timid and delicate animal of the antelope genus, whose large and brilliant eye is the standing emblem of beauty in all Oriental poets. These animals are not infrequent in the peninsula ; and at another time our traveller himself aided in shooting one from a flock near Mount Serbal (p. 246). On the present occasion, however, the guides returned without a gazelle, but bringing in their cloaks a whole family of the little animal called by the Arabs Weber, Waber, or Wober, consisting of the male, female, and two young ones. This animal is known to naturalists as the *Hyrax*, of which there were formerly supposed to be two species, Hyrax Syriacus, and Hyrax Capensis. Cuvier and other late naturalists regard these as not distinct species ; although Nitzsch (not Ritzsch, as even M. Laborde has it,) still speaks of the former. Cuvier has also transferred the hyrax from the class of *rodentes* to that of *pachydermes*, where he places it next after the rhinoceros ; remarking, that with the exception of the horn, the hyrax may be regarded as the rhinoceros in miniature.* In its general appearance it is not much unlike the Guinea pig. All this is set forth in the French original with entire perspicuity ; a drawing of the animals is given, and they are spoken of only as the hyrax or *oueber ;* for so M. Laborde writes it. But the English editor, knowing nothing either of gazelle or hyrax, seems to have taken it for granted, that, because the guides went out to hunt the gazelle, therefore the animals they brought back were of necessity gazelles ; and he goes on to speak of them repeatedly as such, where in the original there is not the slightest ground for even the possibility of such a misconception ! As well might any one in this country confound a deer with a woodchuck, or a calf with a rabbit.

We turn now to the French travellers ; and, after a brief account of their route and personal adventures, we shall endeavour to present some general views of the topography and history of Mount Sinai, and the Land of Edom, with its singular metropolis, chiefly as connected with the illustration of the Scriptures ; not confining ourselves to the materials fur-

* Cuvier, Règne Anim. 1829, Vol. I. p. 248.

nished by M. Laborde, which of course are scanty; but drawing from all the sources within our reach, and pointing out, as we go along, whatever additions M. Laborde and his companion have made to the materials furnished by their predecessors.

The reader must not look, in M. Laborde, for that patience and accuracy and thoroughness of observation which characterize the Travels of Niebuhr and Burckhardt; nor, on the other hand, does he exhibit the looseness and glowing hyperbole of Bruce and Chateaubriand. He seems to have travelled rather as a man of taste than of science, — for the gratification of his own spirit of enterprise in archæological pursuits, rather than with the view of making scientific researches for the benefit of the learned world. The self-complacency of the Frenchman never forsakes him; and we see in his frequent errors of fact and of historical opinion, evidence of superficial research and a too ready credulity. The portions on the ancient commerce of Phenicia and Arabia Petræa, are merely conjectural, and in many parts contradictory of known facts.

The travellers left Cairo on the 25th of February, 1828, and were a month in reaching the object of their journey. The party consisted of MM. Laborde and Linant, a French veteran named Petit-Jean, who had been in the service of the Pasha of Egypt, a dragoman, and a Berber servant. They had nine dromedaries, and put themselves under the direction of four guides from the peninsula of Mount Sinai, Arabs of the Tohrat or Towara, the Bedouins of Tor. They set off from Suez on the 29th, and passing along the usual route of the peninsula, after visiting the ancient tombs of Sarbout el Kadem, they left Mount Sinai on the right, and descended along the Wady Zakal to Dahab on the coast of the Elanitic gulf, perhaps the ancient Dizahab, Deut. i. 1. From this place to Akaba "the coast is bordered by mountains, which, lofty in the distance, decline into low hills as they approach the sea; they afford no traces of vegetation;" and the shore is deeply indented with gulfs. At Akaba the travellers were hospitably received by the Egyptian governor, and entertained in the castle. Hence they despatched messengers to Abou Raschid, the chief of the principal tribe of Arabs in the vicinity of Wady Mousa or Petra,* (well known as the brave and faithful protec-

* M. Laborde speaks of Abou Raschid as chief of the Alouein Arabs, apparently confounding these with the much larger tribe of the Howeytat,

tor of Mr. Bankes and his party ten years before,) requesting him to come and meet them at Akaba. During the absence of the messengers, the remaining party made an excursion to the valleys on the western shore of the gulf, and visited the little island of Graia or Emrag, of which we shall speak further in the sequel. They left Akaba on this excursion on the 13th of March; and this is the last date which we find in the English volume. The messengers at length returned, not having found Abou Raschid himself, who was absent on an excursion, but having negotiated with a brother and four nephews of that chief, and also with Abou Djazi, the chief of another portion of the same tribe, who was said to have great influence over the Fellahein inhabiting Wady Mousa. This latter chief, as it afterwards turned out, was the very individual who made such violent opposition to the progress of Mr. Bankes and his party, and was only overcome by the noble and determined spirit of Abou Raschid in their favor.* "He was a little old man with a white beard, whose delicate features and cheerful look indicated great benevolence. His costume was characterized by all the simplicity of the desert; the only thing he wore by way of refinement was a piece of white muslin round his kefieh" or turban. These six chiefs arrived soon after, mounted on dromedaries, and accompanied by two men on foot. After an enormous repast at sunset, a regular divan was held in the presence of the governor, and the business of the travellers brought under discussion.

"The first question was put on our side; our object being to know if we could go to Wady Mousa mounted on our dromedaries. Abou Djazi assured us that we could; adding, at the

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who inhabit the region around Wady Mousa, though not that valley itself. According to Burckhardt (p. 512), the Alouein are confined to the lower end of the great valley El Araba, near Akaba. In the English copy the name *Akmed* Raschid is often erroneously substituted for *Abou* Raschid, as on pp. 123, 144, 145. It is hardly necessary to remark, that in all which relates to the Arabs and their various tribes, the authority of Burckhardt is far greater than that of M. Laborde.

* Mr. Legh, and also Messrs. Irby and Mangles, call this chief Abou Zatoun, i. e. Father of Olives; and the latter gentlemen mention (p. 391) another chief as one of their opposers, whom they call Ebn Jarzee. To judge from the resemblance of names, the Abou Djazi of M. Laborde was more probably this latter individual. There is great confusion in the use of the words *Abou* and *Ebn*, i. e. father and son, in proper names; Mr. Legh gives the name Ebn Raschid to the chief whom Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, and Laborde, all call Abou Raschid.

same time, that he would be answerable for them, and would look upon them as his own. We would [should?] undoubtedly have been perfectly satisfied with this promise; but our Tohrats forthwith proceeded simultaneously to exclaim, and to protest that they would not enter a territory where they had no guarantee for their safety. On the other side, the Alaouins [Howeytat] vociferated that they had nothing to fear, inasmuch as engagements were made in their behalf in the presence of the governor and the topshi (gunner). 'And,' cried out Hussein [our guide] solemnly, standing up at the same time, 'if one of our party be killed, we shall have two Alaouins in exchange.' Upon this the clamor became still louder; each man was anxious to take part in the discussion, and ranged himself on one side or the other. We knew not how to obtain a hearing; and to put an end to this uproar, as our Tohrats no longer listened to us, we arose and returned to our apartments, doubting whether some obstacles to the completion of our journey might not proceed from our own guides. They followed us; but judge of our astonishment when we were alone, on seeing them break out into a burst of laughter, saying that all this clamor was nothing but a *ruse*, in order to compel the Alaouins to pay strict attention to their promises, and to establish, before setting out, all the conditions of the bargain in the most positive manner..... It only remained for us to admire the tactics, by which they contrived to conceal their real fears under the mask of simulated passion throughout this discussion. The whole of this comic scene, so characteristic of the manners of these tribes, served as a lesson to us for the future, teaching us to extract all the benefits we could from the 'hubbub wild' of these Arabs."

The treaty was at length satisfactorily concluded, and their departure fixed for the next day. The chiefs were then questioned as to Burckhardt's visit to their country; but they did not remember having seen or heard of any Frank at that period. So thoroughly had this celebrated traveller acquired the language and manners of the Arabs, that he passed through the midst of their nomadic encampments, regarded simply as a "townsman," and without awakening a suspicion of his real character. As to Mr. Bankes and his companions, Abou Djazi was prudently silent; but the younger chiefs, a few days after, were more communicative. The visit of Messrs. Strangways and Anson was also spoken of, who were said to have reached Wady Mousa under the guidance of a single Arab from Gaza. No account of this visit has ever been

published, so far as we know; nor indeed have we ever seen any other notice of it.

The chiefs, like true sons of the desert, chose rather to sleep on the ground by the side of their camels in the court, than occupy the rooms which were offered them in the castle. In the afternoon of the following day, March 24th, the whole party set off for Wady Mousa, taking their course along the great valley El Araba, leaving on the right the large valley or Wady Jetoum (Wady Ithem of Burckhardt, p. 511,) which comes down from the northeast, nearly parallel to El Araba. On the morning of the third day, March 26th, at nine o'clock, they had arrived nearly opposite Mount Hor; here they left the great valley and turned into a side valley, called by M. Laborde Wady Pabouchebe, though marked on his map as Wady Abou, which comes down from the east around the southern side of Mount Hor. This brought them at length to the high ground above the ruins of Petra, the great object of their journey. Among these ruins they remained eight days, employed without interruption in examining and sketching the wonders of antiquity by which they were surrounded. They then returned to Akaba by a more eastern route, near the edge of the great eastern desert, and through the Wady Jetoum above mentioned. Soon after leaving Akaba on their return, M. Linant proceeded directly to Cairo; while M. Laborde took a more southern route than before, and, having visited Ras Mohammed, and Tor, returned to Suez by way of the Convent, Mount Serbal, and Wady Mokatteb.

Our travellers appear to have been exempted in a great degree from most of the difficulties and dangers usually incident to a journey in the desert, and among the lawless hordes to whom it is a home. Their means would seem to have been ample, and their previous arrangements were such as to guard against the ordinary privations in respect to food and exposure, to which travellers are subject. They were attended by chiefs of the territory through which they passed, and were thus insured a safe protection. Their only fear appears to have arisen from the Fellahs or Fellahein, inhabiting Wady Mousa and its immediate neighbourhood; from whom, however, they received no molestation. Burckhardt often had to encounter physical want and suffering; and once, when passing with three attendants along the shore to the southward of Akaba, he was attacked by Arabs of another tribe, and one of

the assailants fell by the hand of his brave and faithful Hamd. Mr. Bankes and his companions were exposed to great difficulties, and even to imminent danger of bloodshed, ere they could reach Wady Mousa. Yet, in the face of all this, the English translator does not hesitate to remark (p. xix), that M. Laborde accomplished his journey "under many serious difficulties and no ordinary privations and dangers;" and that "it will entitle him to be ranked among the most courageous, as well as the most instructive of modern travellers"!

The interest which clusters around the countries of which we have been speaking, has its chief source in their connexion with the events of Scripture history. The peninsula of Sinai was the theatre of that great scene of legislation, which is without a parallel in the records of the world; and which, in its external operation, converted ultimately a collection of nomadic tribes into a nation of fixed abode, and of agricultural and commercial pursuits. It is the hallowed spot, where was founded that theocracy, which, resting upon the knowledge and revelations of the only true God, was the forerunner of the pure and spiritual kingdom of Christianity. Idumea, too, is chiefly distinguished by its early relations to the history of the Jews, and acquires a strong interest from the frequent references made to it by the writers of that nation, especially by the Hebrew prophets.

Not less close and remarkable is the connexion of Edom and Mount Sinai with Palestine, in respect to their physical geography. Near the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean, a branch is thrown off towards the south from the great chain of Mount Taurus, which, under various names and aspects, extends along and beyond the eastern coast of the Mediterranean to the northern shores of the Red Sea. A peculiar feature of this long range of mountains is, that they consist, almost throughout their whole extent, of a double ridge, or two parallel ridges, between which are long valleys extending north and south, watered by rivers. Thus the Orontes flows off to the northward, along the eastern base of Mount Casius, through which it breaks its way to the sea below Antioch. Then come the lofty peaks of Lebanon and his twin-brother, and the deep vale between, along which the Leontes flows towards the south, and meets the sea near Tyre. Nearly opposite Damascus, the ridge of Anti-Lebanon throws off a spur to the south-south-east, under the names of Djebel Sheikh and Djebel

Heish, the ancient Hermon. In the fork thus formed between Hermon and Anti-Libanus rises the Jordan, which takes its course along the valley, and through the Lake Houle or Merom, into the basin occupied by the Lake of Tiberias. The ridge of Anti-Lebanon, at its southern extremity, sinks down into the hills of Galilee around the western shore of this basin, and terminates in the cliffs which form the northern border of the great plain of Esdraelon, including Mount Tabor. The eastern shore of the basin is formed in like manner by hills, which are the continuation of Hermon. From this lake to the Dead Sea, the deep and strait valley of the Jordan is skirted on the east by the mountains of Gilead and Moab ; and on the west, first by Djebel Gilbo, or Mount Gilboa, between the valley and the great plain, and then by the mountains of Ephraim and Judea, which spread themselves out into broader tracts of mountainous country. At present, the Jordan loses itself in the mysterious bosom of the Dead Sea; but the same broad and deep valley, now covered with sand, and called El Ghor and El Araba, and the same long and parallel ridges of mountains, continue to run on in a direct course southwards from the Dead Sea, forming the Land of Edom, until the former terminates in the waters of the Elanetic Gulf, while the latter continue to skirt that gulf to its entrance from the Red Sea. On the eastern shore of the gulf itself, the chain of mountains retains its narrow base ; while the chain of the western side, heretofore narrower than the eastern, spreads out into clusters and ranges of mountains, which fill the whole region between the Gulfs of Akaba and Suez, and form the peninsula of Mount Sinai.

This chain of mountains, along its whole extent, from Mount Taurus to the Red Sea, is skirted on its eastern side by a vast and high plain or plateau, known towards the north as the Plain of Syria, and further south as the Great Arabian Desert. On the western side of the ranges of mountains, is the narrow coast of Syria and Phenicia, at first a mere strip of land, often interrupted by spurs and promontories from the mountains. Further south is the plain of Sharon ; and then, to the southward of Palestine, comes the desert, the Paran of the Scriptures, extending from the southeast corner of the Mediterranean to the valley El Araba, and to the mountains of the peninsula of Sinai.

After this general sketch, we turn to a more specific view of the countries in question.

I. The Peninsula of Mount Sinai may be compared in its general form to a right-angled isosceles triangle, of which the right-angle is at Akaba, and the coast from Suez to Cape Ras Mohammed is the hypothenuse. This cape is the dividing point between the Gulf of Suez on the west, and that of Akaba on the east; it lies in lat. 27° 43′ north, and about long. 32° 5′ east from Paris. The general course of the western gulf is from S. S. E. to N. N. W., terminating at Suez in lat. 29° 50′ north, and long. 30° 11′ east. The eastern, or Gulf of Akaba, runs nearly in a direction from south by west to north by east, and ends at Akaba in lat. 29° 31′ north, and about long. 32° 35′ east. Hence, the length of the eastern gulf, from Ras Mohammed to Akaba, is one hundred and eight minutes of latitude, or about one hundred and twenty-five English miles; and the distance from Akaba to Suez is one hundred and forty-eight minutes of longitude, in lat. 30°, which is equivalent to about one hundred and twenty-seven English miles. A straight line, however, from Suez to Akaba, falls wholly to the northward of all the mountains of the peninsula, and coincides nearly with the ancient Roman road marked in the Peutinger Tables, and with the modern Hadj route from Cairo to Mecca.

Near the coast, opposite Suez, begins a range of low hills or mountains, called Ruhat by M. Laborde, which run parallel to the coast for some distance, until interrupted by a high mountain called Sarbout el Djemel by Burckhardt, and Djebel Sal by M. Laborde. Here the range turns more to the eastward and takes the name El Tyh, until it reaches another lofty mountain called El Odjme; where it divides into two ridges, which continue to run parallel until they join the mountains on the western shore of the Gulf of Akaba. North of these mountains is the wide desert, still called El Tyh, or the Desert of Wandering, in allusion to the wanderings of the Israelites, of which it was doubtless in part the scene. Adjacent to the same mountains on the south, is also a narrow desert plain, bearing toward the west the name of Raml el Morak, and toward the east marked on Laborde's map with the name El Seyh. Further south are the proper mountains of the peninsula, comprising the central region of Sinai, as also Serbal, Shomran, and other lofty mountains; with numerous ridges intersected in every direction by deep and precipitous valleys or *wadys*. Of these latter some of the principal are

Wady Gharendel (the Ghirondel of Niebuhr), probably the Elim of the Israelites, Wady Taybe, Wady Naszb, all running down to the western coast; Wady Mokatteb, parallel to the same coast, and celebrated for its inscriptions; the great Wady el Sheikh extending from northwest to southeast, and forming the usual route from Suez to Sinai; and Wady Zakal, connecting with the preceding on the north of Sinai, and running eastward to the eastern gulf. South of these, the Wady Feiran or Faran leads down from the westerly part of El Sheikh to the western coast; and Wady Hebran leads from Sinai to Tor. On the north, the great Wadys Safran and Salaka extend in the direction from Sinai towards the northern desert and Akaba; and, according to M. Laborde, form the only valley which penetrates the chain of El Tyh, thus affording the only practicable route from Sinai towards the north.

According to Rüppell,* the whole peninsula, in respect to its geological character, may be divided into two parts, by supposing a line drawn from Akaba to the lower extremity of Wady Feiran. To the southeast of this line, the mountains consist chiefly of primitive rocks, of syenite and porphyry formation, and mica slate. The ridges of the primitive mountains run mostly from north to south. On the coast, occasional tracts of limestone are found leaning upon the primitive rocks; as at Tor, Sherm, near Akaba, &c. A plateau, or horizontal stratum of marl, is also found covering a portion of the primitive range southwest of Wady Salaka. On the northwest of the above line, the prevailing formation consists of horizontal strata of limestone, with occasional layers of gypsum, forming throughout a desert almost wholly destitute of vegetation. In this region are also the ancient copper mines near Wady Naszb, among hills of sandstone, which are also occasionally interspersed with thin layers of iron ore.

Water is found in the peninsula in different quantities and of various quality, according to the geological formation. Throughout the granite region, the rain which falls annually is treasured up among the rocks, and flows off gradually through the valleys and under the sands, producing in some of the valleys a luxuriant vegetation. Rüppell mentions four places in the peninsula, as exhibiting the phenomenon of a brook flowing permanently for a few hundred yards, and then again sinking beneath the sands; these are Wadys Ain and Salaka on

* Reisen, p. 179.

the route from Sinai to Noebe, Wady Feiran, and Wady Hebran. Wady Sheikh also affords good pasturage, and is much frequented by the Bedouins. Burckhardt remarks, that water is always found in plenty in the upper region of Sinai; on which account it is the place of refuge of all the Bedouins, when the lower country is parched up.* Here are found large acacias, and the tarfa tree, from which is produced the modern manna, occasioned by the puncture of an insect. — In those regions where the formation is chiefly of lime and sandstone, the rain-water which falls quickly disappears; and the water occasionally found in the valleys is brackish. The chalky plateaus are here everywhere frightful deserts; while in the wadys is sometimes found a meagre vegetation, and occasional groups of wild palm-trees around the fountains, as in Wady Gharendel. On the western coast, warm springs are found in two places; at Hamam Faroun, near the Birket Faroun, visited by Niebuhr; and that of Hadger Elme, in the garden of the Greek convent Raito, an hour's distance N. N. W. of Tor.

The climate of the peninsula is pure and healthy, although the difference of temperature in the various seasons is great. In the mountains, the winter nights are very cold; and at the Convent, water often freezes in the open air as late as February; while in the summer months, and in the sandy valleys, the sun sends down his burning rays with resistless power. In the month of May, Rüppell experienced on his journey from Akaba a temperature of 34 degrees Réaumur, or 108 Fahrenheit. On the coasts, there falls at all seasons a heavy dew. Fevers and dysenteries are unknown, and ophthalmia is infrequent. The disease which the Arabs stand most in fear of, is the small pox; but as vaccination has been introduced among the Christians of Tor, the benefits of it will also probably spread among the Arab tribes.† But notwithstanding the salubrity of the climate, Rüppell remarks, that very few aged persons are to be found among the inhabitants; and he attributes this to the general deficiency of nourishing food, to the scantiness of their clothing, which affords little protection against the changes of temperature, and to the exposure and

* Travels in Syria, &c., p. 574. In August, 1833, a brook was flowing through the valley of the Convent, and another in El Ledja on the west of Sinai.

† Rüppell, p. 186.

expenditure of physical strength, incident to their wandering habits of life among these deep valleys and desolate mountains.

The general barrenness of the peninsula is doubtless the reason why the animals found there are so few. Flocks of the mountain goat, Capra Arabica, the *Beden* of the Arabs, are found in the more inaccessible parts of the mountains. The hyrax, of which we have spoken above, makes its abode in the crevices of the rocks, but is rarely found. There are also a few hares, and an occasional troop of gazelles. The *dipus* occurs very rarely; while a species of small porcupine is not unfrequent in the valleys around the convent. The number of hyenas and foxes is very small; yet they are often compelled to resort for food to the fish and marine animals thrown up from the sea. In the adjacent gulfs are found three species of dolphin; and, according to Rüppell, a peculiar species of manatus or sea-cow, belonging probably to the genus halicore, which may have been the animal whose skins the Israelites used for covering the tabernacle, and also for shoes.* Burckhardt also saw "the skin of a large fish, killed on the coast, which was an inch in thickness, and is employed by the Arabs instead of leather for sandals."† The number of land birds is likewise very small; among them are the Pterocles and Perdix, Silviæ and Saxicolæ, a species of finch, and a few larks; but the most frequent are various species of the falcon, especially Falco Brachidactilis and Ater, which prey on fish.

But the great object of attraction in the peninsula, the spot on which the interest, and in some sort the affections, of the whole civilized world are involuntarily turned, is Mount Sinai and its environs. Here the Jew, the Christian, and the Mahommedan find, as in Jerusalem, a point around which their religious feelings all cluster in like manner, if not in like degree; and the wildness and desolation of the scenery around accord well with the solemn awe which religion pours upon the spot. The upper region of Sinai, possessing numerous sources of water, a temperate climate, and the most fertile valleys of the peninsula, was the part best adapted for the residence of a nomadic people, like the Israelites; and here they remained for nearly a year, during which time they were

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* Rüppell, p. 187. Comp. Ex. xxv. 5. Num. iv. 6. Ezek. xvi. 10.
† Travels, &c. p. 532.

numbered and received their laws from the Most High.* This tract is thus described by Burckhardt.

"The upper nucleus of Sinai, composed almost entirely of granite, forms a rocky wilderness of an irregular circular shape, intersected by many narrow valleys, and from thirty to forty miles in diameter. It contains the highest mountains of the peninsula, whose shaggy and pointed peaks, and steep and shattered sides, render it clearly distinguishable from all the rest of the country in view. It is upon this highest region of the peninsula, that the most fertile valleys are found, which produce fruit-trees; they are principally to the west and southwest of the Convent, at three or four hours' distance. Water, too, is always found in plenty in this district; on which account it is the place of refuge of all the Bedouins, when the low country is parched up. I think it probable that this upper country or wilderness is, exclusively, the *Desert of Sinai*, so often mentioned in the account of the wanderings of the Israelites." †

In approaching this elevated region from the northwest, through the Wady el Sheikh, on the 1st of May, Burckhardt writes;

"We now approached the central summits of Mount Sinai, which we had had in view for several days. Abrupt cliffs of granite, from six to eight hundred feet in height, whose surface is blackened by the sun, surround the avenues leading to the elevated region to which the name of Sinai is specifically applied. These cliffs enclose the holy mountain on three sides, leaving the east and northeast sides only, toward the Gulf of Akaba, more open to the view. At the end of three hours we entered these cliffs by a narrow defile about forty feet in breadth, with perpendicular granite rocks on both sides. The ground is covered with sand and pebbles, brought down by the torrent which rushes from the upper region in the winter time." ‡

This defile, where the Wady Sheikh thus breaks through the gigantic bulwarks of Sinai, is also mentioned by M. Laborde, as well as by many other travellers;

"The sides of the valley make a transition from limestone

* We refer here, once for all, to two articles by Professor Robinson, in the earlier volumes of the Biblical Repository; one on the Exodus of the Israelites, Vol. II. p. 765 seq., and the other on the History and Topography of Idumea, Vol. III. p. 287 seq. Whoever consults those articles, will perceive to what extent we are indebted to them.

† p. 573.

‡ p. 488. Compare Niebuhr's Descr. of Arab. p. 401. Carne's Letters from the East, Vol. I. p. 208.

and chalk to granite, disclosing to view a high primitive mountain, through which there is no passage except a narrow opening between two perpendicular walls of great height. At an angle made by two turnings of this gigantic defile, the point where its seclusion protects it from the rays of the sun, and the voice of man and the cry of the camel are reflected back in sonorous echoes, stands a remarkable isolated rock seven feet in height, [an object of great veneration to the Arabs.] On quitting this passage, the traveller perceives Mount Sinai, whose prominent point is overhung by the mountain St. Catharine, which is more rounded in its form. They were then both capped with snow, and their dark bases seemed to bring out their whitened summits in bolder relief upon the azure ground of the sky." *

In travelling from Akaba to the Convent, Rüppell approached Sinai from the N. N. E. through the Wadys Salaka and Safran ;

"The nakedness of the landscape is frightfully mournful. In the distance lay before us a lofty chain of mountains ; and three summits lift their heads above the whole chain. That in the middle, directly before us, is Djebel Mousa or Sinai ; the southwestern is St. Catharine, the Horeb of some. We penetrated into the chain from the north ; very soon we turned towards the east ; all is here of perpendicular and ragged granite formation. After some hours, we reached the convent, situated in a very narrow valley or chasm of the mountains, which extends from northwest to southeast. One chief object of my visit here was to determine the geographical position of the convent by means of lunar observations; but the mountains around the convent, especially to the south and west, are so lofty and perpendicular, that the moon was visible only for a very short time ; and never at the same time with the sun or planets. †

"The convent is situated," according to Burckhardt, "in a valley so narrow, that one side of the building stands on the side of the [south] western mountain, [Djebel Mousa,] while a space of twenty paces only is left between its walls and the eastern mountain. The valley is open to the north, from whence approaches the road from Cairo; to the south, close beyond the convent, it is shut up by a third mountain, less steep than the others, over which passes the road to Sherm." ‡

The number of monks, when Burckhardt visited the Convent

* Laborde, p. 86, 88, Eng. edit. An engraved view of the upper part of Wady el Sheikh, with Mount Sinai in the distance, is found in Finden's Illustrations of the Bible.

† Reisen, p. 257. ‡ p. 541.

in 1816, was twenty-three; ten years later, Rüppell gives twenty-six as the whole number of monks and lay brethren. Many of them are old men, in the full possession of their bodily and mental faculties. The relation in which the monks and Arabs stand towards each other is in many respects one of mutual dependence; though the latter domineer over the former, and subject them to all possible exactions and deprivations. Sometimes they even fire into the convent from the neighbouring heights; and while M. Laborde was there, a pilgrim received a shot of this kind in the leg, intended doubtless for some one of the monks toward whom the Arab had a grudge. On account of these troubles, the gate of the convent has been walled up for more than a century; and the only entrance is through a window, to which the traveller is drawn up by a windlass. The monks have a pleasant garden without the convent, to which there is a subterranean passage; the fruit is of the finest quality; but the garden is seldom visited by them, because, although surrounded by high walls, it is not inaccessible to the Bedouins, who often carry off the fruits; thus compelling the monks to repurchase their own fruits from the pilferers, or to buy it in other parts of the peninsula.* M. Laborde gives us several views of the convent and the adjacent scenery, which are far superior to those of Pococke and Niebuhr.

Immediately behind the convent, towards the southwest, rises Djebel Mousa, or the proper Sinai; and the path begins to ascend directly from the walls of the convent. This path consists of stone steps regularly laid, but now greatly out of repair. After a steep ascent of three quarters of an hour, there is a small plain, or lower summit, called Djebel Oreb, which is not improbably the Horeb of the Scriptures, where the fiery bush was seen by Moses, and where the law is sometimes said to have been given. M. Laborde remarks, that "Mount Horeb forms a kind of breast, from which Sinai rises. The former alone is seen from the valley." On this part of the mountain is a large building called the Convent of St. Elias, now abandoned. From hence there is a yet steeper ascent of half an hour, still towards the southwest, through a species of ravine, to the summit of Djebel Mousa, where are found the ruins of a church and of a mosque. The view from this summit is very grand. On the W. S. W. of Sinai lies the

* Burckhardt, p. 549.

still higher mountain of St. Catharine, separated from Sinai by a narrow valley, in which there is a deserted convent called El Erbayin, or the Convent of the Forty Martyrs. The eastern side of St. Catharine is famous for its pasturage; and a luxuriant vegetation reaches nearly to its summit.* But all the rest of the landscape, as seen from Sinai, "is a sea of desolation. It would seem as if [the peninsula] had once been an ocean of lava; and that while its waves were running literally mountains high, it was commanded suddenly to stand still."† In the valley between the two mountains, where the convent El Erbayin is situated, monkish tradition has fixed the site of Rephidim; and about twenty minutes' walk northward from this convent, is shown the rock out of which water is said to have issued. This valley is very narrow and stony, and is now called El Ledja; at forty minutes' walk northeastward from El Erbayin, it opens into the broader valley which leads southeastward to the convent. At this point, on the northern side of Sinai, the valley has considerable width, and forms a plain capable of containing a large number of people. The sketches which M. Laborde has given us of different points in these valleys, and likewise of the ascent of Sinai, probably afford us as good an idea of these places, as one can hope to obtain without personal observation on the spot.

The altitude of these mountains has never been accurately determined. Ehrenberg, on very defective thermometrical data, estimates the elevation of the convent above the sea at 5400 [Paris?] feet.‡ Rüppell, judging as it would seem more correctly from the botanical productions of the region, and from the fact that even in winter snow rarely falls here and lies only a short time, supposes the convent to be certainly not more than 3500 Paris feet above the sea.§ The former traveller also estimates the height of Sinai above the convent at 2000 feet, and that of Mount St. Catharine at 3000 feet; making the latter higher than Sinai by one half. Without raising a question as to the height of Sinai, (which we are disposed to hold as being given with tolerable correctness,) we apprehend there must be an error in the estimate respecting St. Catharine; for although all travellers represent the

* Burck. p. 572. † Sir F. Henniker's Travels, p. 235.
‡ Naturgesch. Reisen, Th. I. p. xvii, xviii. Berl. 1828.
§ Reisen, p. 260 seq.

latter as higher than Sinai, yet no one speaks of the difference as so enormously great. The data, too, on which the estimate of Sinai is founded, viz. the number of steps in the ascent, seem to us not to bear out the conclusion; for in the first place, we doubt whether there were ever exactly 3000 steps, as stated by Pococke and Ehrenberg; and then, we know that they are not all of them over one foot in height, as the latter traveller affirms. If so, the height of the mountain could not be taken at less than 3000 feet. But we have the testimony of a very intelligent eyewitness, who visited the peninsula in 1833, that the steps are in many places interrupted for a quarter of a mile or more; and further, that they are sometimes three feet high, and sometimes three inches.*

The time when Mount Sinai began to be visited as a place of religious reverence and pilgrimage, is veiled in the mists of antiquity. Deeply as this spot was venerated by the Jews, their Scriptures contain no mention of any visit made to it, except by the prophet Elijah in his flight from the machinations of Jezebel. † It was most probably in the earliest centuries of Christianity, when pilgrimages to shrines and holy places came in vogue, that the peninsula also became the scene of pious journeys, and at length the frequent abode of hermits and monks. The numerous inscriptions in Wady Mokatteb and elsewhere, (of which we shall say more anon,) go to show that the throng of pilgrims must have been very great at an early period. The convent of Mount Sinai dates, according to tradition, from the fourth century, when the empress Helena is said to have built a church here; but the present building was erected by the emperor Justinian, in the sixth century.

But however firmly the identity of the present Sinai as the place of the giving of the law, may be fixed, both by tradition

* We allude here to Mr. Catherwood, well known in Europe and this country, in all that relates to Palestine and Egypt, as a skilful architect and draftsman, whose acquaintance we have had the pleasure of making since the preceding paragraphs of the text were written. He estimates the height of Sinai above the convent at about 2000 feet; and supposes Mount St. Catharine to be not more than from 50 to 100 feet higher. The elevation of the convent above the sea he does not regard as being much, if any, more than 2000 feet. We are happy to learn from this gentleman, that the accurate trigonometrical survey of the Red Sea by order of the English East India Company, in 1833, included also the Gulf of Akaba. The public will wait impatiently for the publication of the results.

† 1 Kings xix. 8.

and by various circumstances, yet other circumstances would seem to indicate a still earlier tradition in favor of another mountain, Serbal, situated at some distance west by north of Sinai. "Mount Serbal is separated from the upper region of Sinai by some valleys, especially Wady Hebran; and it forms, with several neighbouring mountains, a separate cluster, terminating in peaks, the highest of which appears to be as high as Mount St. Catharine. It borders on Wady Feiran."* Burckhardt ascended Mount Serbal, and found a regular path of steps leading up to the summit, and many inscriptions on the rocks; while Sinai and St. Catharine exhibit no inscriptions. These facts seem to indicate that Serbal was at one time the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula, and was then considered as the place where Moses received the law; though Burckhardt gives it expressly as his conviction, founded on personal observation, "that the Israelites encamped in the upper Sinai, and that either Djebel Mousa or the Mount St. Catharine is the real Horeb."† At present neither the monks of Sinai, nor those of Cairo, consider Mount Serbal as the scene of any Scripture events; nor have the Bedouins any tradition among them respecting it.

Various other circumstances serve to show, that in the earlier periods of the Christian era, the peninsula of Mount Sinai was not only thronged with pilgrims, but was also the seat of convents, and even the residence of a Christian population. We have already mentioned several deserted convents on and around Mount Sinai; and it is a tradition in the present convent, that at the time of the Mohammedan conquest six or seven thousand monks and hermits were dispersed over the mountains; and convents, chapels, and hermitages, the remains of many of which are still visible, were built in various parts of the peninsula.‡ Further, on the sides of the Wady Feiran, northwest from Mount Serbal, are still seen the ruins of a city of some extent, known likewise by the name of Feiran. Rüppell found here the remains of a church, the architecture of which he assigns to the fifth century.§ Burckhardt speaks of the ruins of some two hundred houses, and also of the remains of several towers as visible on the neighbouring hills. This city was once the seat of a bishopric, and

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* Burckh. p. 575. † Ib. p. 609. ‡ Ib. p. 546. § Reisen, p. 263.

from documents still existing in the convent of Mount Sinai out of the fifteenth century, there appears to have been here at that time an inhabited convent. Makrizi, the Arabian historian, of about the same age, gives a description of the city Feiran, which is copied by Burckhardt.*

Other traces leading to the same conclusions, are the numerous inscriptions found in the valleys of the peninsula. These seem to have been first brought to notice in modern times, by the prefect of the Franciscans in Cairo, an emissary from the Propaganda at Rome, who visited Mount Sinai in 1722. His journal is mentioned by Pococke, and was afterwards translated by Clayton, bishop of Clogher. It is now usually appended to the editions of Maundrell's Journey. On his return he passed through Wady el Mokatteb (the written valley), the sides of which, for miles together, are covered with inscriptions cut in the perpendicular sandstone rocks, in a character which has never yet been fully deciphered. The prefect remarks, that these "unknown characters probably contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans or some other persons, long before the coming of Christ."† Bishop Clayton, in a note, supposes this to be "the ancient Hebrew character, which the Israelites having learned to write at the time of the giving the law from Mount Sinai, diverted themselves with practising it on these mountains during their forty years' abode in the wilderness." So zealous indeed was the good bishop to have this ancient Hebrew character recovered, that in 1755 he offered £500 sterling, towards defraying the expense of an expedition to copy these inscriptions. Niebuhr and his companions received particular instructions to the same effect. More modern travellers have found similar inscriptions in various other valleys and parts of the peninsula, as in Wady Naszb, where they are very numerous, Wady Osch, El Ledja, on Mount Serbal, &c. Copies of many are also given by Pococke, Niebuhr, and more accurately by Seetzen and Burckhardt. They are first mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote near the end of the sixth century. The character and contents of these inscriptions, as we remarked, have never yet been fully made out; but the general results to which

* Burck. p. 616 seq. † Maundrell's Journey, App. p. 262.

scholars have arrived in respect to them, are thus given by Gesenius.* They are probably the work of Christian pilgrims, who travelled from Egypt to Mount Sinai before the end of the sixth century; being found only on the most frequented routes, and in places affording shade; and that they are of Christian origin appears from the occasional Greek names, and from the frequent crosses. The character is everywhere the same, and belongs to that species of the Phenician or rather Aramæan, which in the first centuries of the Christian era was extensively employed throughout Syria and also in Egypt; it has most affinity with that of the Palmyrene inscriptions. The most probable conjecture as to the contents of the inscriptions is, that they contain the names of pilgrims, with the dates and perhaps the circumstances of their pilgrimages.

Of a different nature, and pointing apparently to a still higher antiquity, are the remains of ancient copper mines, and monuments covered with hieroglyphics, which are found at Sarbout el Kadem, two and a half hours' distance south-west from the fountain in Wady Naszb. The chief works for copper seem to have been around this fountain, where are still to be seen large heaps of cinders and the remains of several smelting furnaces. The shafts themselves are at the distance of an hour and a half north-west, and appear to have been wrought to a great extent and with profit; and Rüppell ascribes the abandonment of them to the gradual failure of wood for smelting.† The present pasha of Egypt, among all his other schemes of profit and aggrandizement, had formed the plan of again opening these mines, and asked Rüppell's advice upon the subject. The traveller wisely dissuaded him from the undertaking; because, although the ore yields eighteen per cent. of pure copper, yet this would not be enough to satisfy the cupidity of a Turkish government. M. Laborde asserts the existence of other similar works at Sarbout el Kadem and further south in Wady Magary; but he does not describe them, nor are they mentioned by other travellers. Rüppell speaks of mines anciently wrought for antimony, at the distance of seven hours southeast from Naszb.

The hieroglyphic monuments at Sarbout el Kadem, indicate doubtless an ancient Egyptian cemetery. This spot was first discovered by Niebuhr in 1761; inquiring for the inscriptions

* Notes to Burckhardt, p. 1071. Germ. edit. † p. 265.

of Wady el Mokatteb, he was brought by his guides to this place, as one of still greater interest and wonder. The drawings which he has given of it are said by M. Laborde to be very imperfect. The next European visiter was the French traveller Boutin in 1811, who was afterwards murdered in Syria; and he was followed by Rüppell in 1817. Many other travellers have since taken it in their way to Sinai; and MM. Laborde and Linant have given very complete drawings and views of the place and of the principal monuments. Here, on the level summit of a hill, between abrupt mountains of sandstone, in the midst of a gloomy wilderness, the traveller is surprised at the appearance of tombstones standing erect, carved in the Egyptian style, covered with hieroglyphics, and placed here in solitude and silence, without any apparent connexion with the surrounding desert. They are found in an enclosure, one hundred and sixty feet long by seventy broad, surrounded by heaps of stones, the ruins of former buildings. The monumental stones, some of which have been thrown down, vary in height from seven to nine French feet,* in breadth from eighteen inches to two feet, and in thickness from fourteen to sixteen inches. There are also the ruins of a small temple; three catacombs hewn in the rock, with receptacles for dead bodies; and the fragments of several Egyptian statues, among which is a figure of Isis wrought in the best Egyptian style. On most of the tombstones is found the well-known Egyptian symbol of sepulchral monuments, the winged globe with two serpents; and below it one or more priests who sacrifice to Isis or Osiris. M. Laborde has copied the hieroglyphics on two of these monuments; but we are not aware that they have been deciphered, or their date discovered. Rüppell and after him Laborde regard this spot as the cemetery of an ancient Egyptian colony connected with the mines in the vicinity; nor is there any ground to question the correctness of the hypothesis.

We subjoin here the latitude and longitude of several places in and near the peninsula, as calculated from the very careful astronomical observations of Rüppell.†

Suez. Lat. 29° 57′ 40″ N. Long. 30° 11′ 15″ E. from Paris.

Tor. Lat. 28° 13′ 43″.8. Long. 31° 17′.

* Rüppell, p. 268.

† Reisen, p. 291 seq.

Cape Ras Mohammed. Lat. 27° 43′ 24″.
Sherm. Lat. 27° 50′ 27″.
Castle of Akaba. Lat. 29° 30′ 58″.2. Long. 32° 40′ 30″.
Convent of Sinai. Lat. 28° 32′ 54″.7. Long. 31° 37′ 45″.

II. The Land of Edom, or according to the Greek pronunciation Idumea, comprises the double range of mountains, with the broad and sandy valley between them, extending from the basin of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akaba. Twenty years ago this region was utterly unknown. The striking features of its physical geography, as well as the sites of its numerous cities, had been stricken from the memory of civilized man; and the position of Edom on maps was assigned only by conjecture, in a direction somewhere to the southward of Palestine, quite distant from its true situation. The pall of utter oblivion rested upon this devoted land, the subject of so many fearful denunciations of ancient prophecy; and it is only the researches of recent travellers that have in a degree lifted this pall, and shown us the skeleton beneath.

The great sandy valley which forms the principal feature of this region, called towards the north El Ghor, and towards the south El Araba, was first brought to light in modern times by Burckhardt. Abulfeda indeed mentions it, in the fourteenth century; * and it must of course have been known to the crusaders, who for a time had possession of Aila or Elath; though it is not mentioned by any of the writers of that age. The exact length of the valley cannot well be ascertained, because the latitude of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea has never been determined. Assuming this to be 31° 15′, which is probably not far from the truth, we have between this point and Akaba in lat. 29° 31′, an interval of 104 minutes of latitude, or about 120 English miles. With this estimate the distances as given by travellers very nearly accord. The valley is in general from three to five miles broad; it is covered throughout with sand, apparently driven up by the winds from the Red Sea; and a ridge of sand-hills runs quite across it at the distance of a few miles from the Dead Sea.† Through this great valley there can be little doubt that the Jordan once rolled its flood, and emptied itself into the Gulf

* Tabula Syriæ, ed. Köhler, p. 13, 14. Comp. Bibl. Repos. III. p. 443.
† Irby and Mangles, p. 353.

of Akaba, before the great catastrophe which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and converted the fertile plain, in which they stood, into a gloomy reservoir of dead and bitter waters. Even at the present day, we might suppose, (if such a hypothesis were at all necessary,) that the waters of this lake continue to percolate beneath the sands along the rocky bed where they once openly flowed; for both Rüppell and M. Laborde inform us, that all along the shore at the northern extremity of the Gulf of Akaba, where the valley El Araba meets it, on digging holes a foot deep in the sand at the time of ebb, they are instantly filled with the purest water. In this way the wants of the fortress are supplied. "The existence of this water," says Rüppell, "can be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing a very copious filtration of the water which collects in Wady Araba, through the layer of sand which covers the granite formation beneath." * The Ghor, throughout its whole extent, is of course for the most part a desert; yet in winter, when the torrents from the neighbouring mountains produce a copious supply of water, a few shrubs spring up along their banks, affording pasturage to the sheep and goats of various Bedouin tribes which then encamp here.† Towards the southern extremity, vegetation is more frequent in the valley; and Rüppell, in April, 1822, found it here shaded with bushes and covered with luxuriant pasturage.‡

This great valley seems to have, throughout, a rapid slope; the mountains on each side appear to increase in height the farther we proceed southward, while the desert plains or plateaus beyond them apparently continue on the same level. The range of mountains on the western side is in general much lower and narrower than those on the eastern, and they appear never to have been the site of towns or cities; unless we may suppose that Kadesh Barnea, which lay "in the uttermost border of Edom," and was the southeastern limit of the territory of Israel,§ was somewhere in the vicinity of their northern extremity. Being adjacent to the great desert of Paran on the west, they may not improbably, either alone, or in conjunction with the chain El Tyh, be regarded as the Mount Paran of the Scriptures.‖ The descent from these mountains near Akaba is estimated by Rüppell at 1500

* Rüppell, p. 251. Laborde, p. 121. Engl. † Burckh. p. 444.
‡ p. 247. Comp. Laborde, p. 135.
§ Num. xx. 16; xxxiv. 4. Josh. xv. 3. ‖ Deut. xxxiii. 2. Habak. iii. 3.

French feet. The eastern chain is much higher and broader, and is often interrupted by deep wadys running down from the eastern plateau into the great valley. Near Akâba, the same traveller estimates their altitude at 3000 French feet. The breadth of these mountains, between the upper desert and the Ghor, is in general from eight to twelve hours of distance, or from twenty to thirty miles. The tract which here skirts them on the east, is the vast and stony plain of the Arabian desert. Its level is much higher than that of the Ghor; so that the mountains appear from it only as low hills.

This eastern range of mountainous country, extending from Wady el Ahsa south of Kerek in Moab, to the Gulf of Akaba, we suppose to have been the original Land of Edom. Not but that the Edomites probably extended their possessions across the Ghor and over the desert of Paran, as they also did towards the northeast, as far as Bozra; yet these mountains were their peculiar national territory. This tract is divided into three nearly equal portions, by two large wadys, El Ghoeyr and Gharendel, descending from the eastern desert to the Ghor, and affording easy and frequented routes to travellers and caravans. The northern part, from Wady el Ahsa to El Ghoeyr, is now called *Djebal* (i. e. mountains), in which we cannot but recognise the *Gebal* of the Scriptures and the Roman *Gebalene*. The tract between the wadys El Ghoeyr and Gharendel, in which lies Wady Mousa, bears the name of *Djebel Shera;* perhaps in allusion to the Mount *Seir* of Scripture, though this is doubtful. South of Wady Gharendel the mountains take the name of Djebel Hesma.

Our historical notices of this region and of its inhabitants, must be condensed into the fewest words possible. The earliest name by which the country is known in Scripture is Mount Seir; and it is said to have been inhabited by Horites, or dwellers in caves, Troglodytes.* Indeed Jerome informs us, that even in his time, "the whole of the southern part of Idumea, from Eleutheropolis to Petra and Ailah, was full of caverns which were used as dwellings;" † and such doubtless were many of the excavated chambers of Petra itself. At a later period, Esau or Edom removed into this region from the face of his brother Jacob; ‡ and his descendants are said to have succeeded the Horites in Mount Seir, "when they had

* Gen. xiv. 6. † Comm. in Obad. v. 1. ‡ Gen. xxxvi. 6 seq.

destroyed them and dwelt in their stead.* The dukes or chiefs of Edom, so often mentioned in Scripture, were probably much like the modern Arabian *sheikhs*; and there were occasionally kings, whose power seems not to have been hereditary, and who were probably only distinguished chieftains. The rivalry of the patriarchs Esau and Jacob, was transmitted to their descendants. When the Israelites, after their long wanderings, arrived a second time at Kadesh, they sought permission of the Edomites to pass through their country by the "king's highway," (not improbably Wady el Ghoeyr,) in order to reach Palestine from the east. This permission was refused, and the Israelites were compelled to return to Elath (Ailah), and thence cross the mountains and make the circuit of the whole land of Edom.† In later times Saul made war upon Edom; David subdued the whole country; and Solomon made Ezion-geber a naval station, whence he despatched fleets to Ophir. But the Edomites again recovered their independence; and although the Jewish kings waged several successful wars against them, yet it is related that Rezin, king of Syria, ultimately expelled the Jews from Elath, of which the Edomites (according to the proper reading) now took permanent possession.‡ From the prophetical books of the Old Testament we further learn, that while the Jewish state was in its decline, and fast verging to ruin, the Edomites became prosperous; and, indulging their hereditary hatred towards the Hebrews, they joined the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar, and assisted in the subversion of the Jewish state. Hence the national hatred of the Jews against Edom became inflamed to the highest pitch; and the direst denunciations are uttered by the Hebrew prophets against that land.§ During the interval of the Jewish captivity, it would seem, the Idumeans pressed forward into Palestine, and took possession of the southern parts of that country as far as to Hebron;‖ here they were attacked by the Maccabees in successive wars, and finally subdued about 125 B. C.¶ They appear henceforth only as living among, or at least subservient to, the Jews; although particular families and individuals attained to great

* Deut. ii. 12, 22. † Num. xx. 14 seq.

‡ 2 K. xvi. 6. See the much fuller notices in the article above referred to in the Bibl. Repos. III. p. 250 seq.

§ Ps. cxxxvii. 7 seq. Obad. 1 seq. Jer. xlix. 7 seq. Ezek. xxv. 12 seq.; xxxii. 29; xxxv. 5.

‖ Jos. Ant. 10. 9. 7. ¶ Ibid. 13. 9. 1. Ib. 13. 15. 4.

wealth and power. The Herods were of Idumean origin, and were on this account the more odious to the Jews, over whom they ruled with a rod of iron. Josephus mentions a body of Idumeans who entered Jerusalem just before its siege by Titus;* but from this time onward, they vanish, as a people, from the pages of history. Most probably, like the other nomadic nations adjacent to Palestine, the Moabites, Amalekites, Midianites, &c. they became amalgamated with the nomadic Arab tribes who overpowered them, and who occupy their places to the present day.† The original country of Edom was now called Gebalene, or the Desert of the South.‡

But while the Edomites had thus been extending themselves towards the north, they in their turn had been driven out from the southern portion of their own territory, and even from their metropolis itself, by the Nabatheans, the descendants of Nebajoth, the eldest son of Ishmael. This nomadic people had spread themselves over the whole of Arabia Deserta, from the Euphrates to the borders of Palestine and the Elanitic gulf. At what time they thus supplanted the Edomites in their ancient possessions, cannot be ascertained; but so early as the time of Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, who died 301 B. C., that prince sent two expeditions from Babylon against the Nabatheans in Petra.§ At this time they were still essentially nomadic; but they appear gradually to have become more fixed in their habits, and were in the course of the following century consolidated into the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, occupying very nearly the same territory which was comprised in the limits of the ancient Edom. The sovereigns of this kingdom usually bore the name of Aretas or Obodas; and during the two centuries preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, they came into frequent contact with the Jews and Romans,

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* B. J. 4. 4. 5 et al.

† The name Idumea, as used by Josephus, includes only the northern part of Edom proper, and the southern part of Palestine, where the Idumeans then had possession. Hence Roman writers often speak of the whole of Palestine under the name of Idumea; e. g. Silius Italicus III. 216, speaking of Vespasian:

"Palmiferamque senex bello domitabit Idumen."

So also Martial, speaking of Vespasian and Titus, Epigr. II. 2.

"Frater Idumæos meruit cum Patre triumphos."

See Reland Palæst. p. 48. Cellarius Notit. Orb. II. p. 578.

‡ Reland Palæst. p. 70. § Diod. Sic. 19. 95.

both in war and peace. Frequent mention of this kingdom and people occurs in Josephus ; * and their sovereigns appear to have been in a manner dependent on the Roman emperors, though not directly subject to the power of that nation. Two or three years before the Christian era, an expedition was sent by Augustus from Egypt into Arabia, under Ælius Gallus, the friend of Strabo, and then governor of Egypt. After various hindrances, Gallus arrived with his forces at Albus Pagus (*Λευκὴ Κώμη*), the emporium of the Nabatheans. Here he was kindly received by the king Obodas, and his favorite Syllæus, as allies of the Romans ; and remained a summer and winter to refresh his troops. He afterwards marched into the interior, and returned through Arabia Felix.† At the beginning of the second century, the kingdom of Arabia Petræa was overrun and conquered by Palma, governor of Syria, and formally annexed to the Roman empire under the reign of Trajan.‡

The inhabitants of this region had already become extensively engaged in commerce, as the carriers of the rich produce of the East between the Red Sea and the ports of the Phenicians. Strabo relates that the merchandise of India and Arabia was transported on camels from Albus Pagus to Petra, and thence to Rhinocolura and other places. Under the Romans, the trade of these regions appears to have become still more extensive and prosperous. The country was rendered more accessible, and the passage of merchants and caravans was facilitated, by military ways, and by the establishment of military posts to keep in check the plundering hordes of the neighbouring deserts. One great military road, of which the traces still remain, had its direction from Ailah northwards to Petra; thence it divided and led on one side of the Dead Sea to Jerusalem, Gaza, and other ports of the Mediterranean ; and on the other side to Damascus. A line of military posts

* See these notices collected, Bibl. Repos. III. p. 264.

† Strabo XVI. 22 seq. This geographer afterwards speaks of Albus Pagus as the port of Petra, XVI. 24. It was therefore probably identical with Elath or Ailah, or at least not far distant from that place. We are aware that Danville, Heeren, and some other writers, find this port at Havra on the coast of the Red Sea, far to the eastward of the Gulf of Akaba ; but it is hardly conceivable that the inhabitants of Petra should pass by a port at the distance of about sixty miles, and journey, by land, some one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles further, to find only a less favorable harbour.

‡ Dio Cass. 68. 14. Amm. Marc. 14. 8.

was also drawn along the eastern frontier of Arabia Petræa towards the desert; some of which became the sites of towns and cities.*

In the beginning of the fifth century, we find a new division of Judea and the adjacent country, into *Palæstina Prima, Secunda, et Tertia;* the latter comprehending the countries on the east and south of the Dead Sea, corresponding to Arabia Petræa and the ancient Idumea.† Long before this time, the Christian religion had extended itself over the whole of this region; and the names of several cities have been preserved, which, like Petra, were the seats of bishops. Indeed the acts and records of councils, in the fourth and fifth centuries, have served to rescue the names of many bishops and their sees from the oblivion in which they must otherwise have been engulfed. But in the seventh century, the Mohammedan conquests extended over these regions; Ailah was subdued by the warrior prophet himself;‡ and the Arab hordes, however distinct in other respects, were united into one great community of religious zealots. The country remained, apparently for centuries, much in the same state as at present, the seat of nomadic tribes, who were the ancestors of the present Bedouins; with here and there a city, whose inhabitants yielded allegiance to one tribe or another, according to circumstances.

The invasion of the crusaders interrupted for a time the monotonous tide of Oriental life in Palestine and the adjacent countries. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they penetrated at different times into the regions east and south of the Dead Sea, then known by the name of Arabia Tertia, and also Syria Sobal.§ In A. D. 1115, King Baldwin I, at the head of two hundred knights and four hundred esquires, advanced as far as to Mount Horeb [Hor]; and rebuilt in the vicinity an ancient fortress on a hill, in a pleasant region abounding in corn, wine, and oil. To this he gave the name of *Mons Regalis*, by which it is known in Occidental writers;

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* These facts are derived not from historians, but from the specifications of the celebrated Peutinger Tables, or *Tabula Theodosiana.* Compare Rennell's Comparat. Geogr. of Western Asia, I. p. 83 seq. Heeren's Ideen, I. ii. p. 95 seq.

† Reland Palæst. p. 205 seq. ‡ Gibbon, 4to. Vol. V. p. 245.

§ Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzzüge, II. p. 616, p. 403.

the Arabian geographers call it Shobak or Shaubak.* It still remains a place of considerable importance. In the succeeding year, Baldwin made an excursion with sixty knights to the shore of the Elanitic gulf.† Not improbably he then took possession of Ailah; of which at any rate the Christians were not long after masters; and which was taken from them by Saladin in A. D. 1167. Fifteen years later, in A. D. 1182, the impetuous and reckless Rainald of Chatillon, who was for some years governor of the fortress of Kerek, made a rapid incursion upon Ailah and the Egyptian fleet collected there, which he seized; and, having despatched a portion of the fleet, manned by Christians, against the coast of Arabia Felix, he prosecuted with his remaining troops the siege of the citadel of Ailah. He was, however, unsuccessful in both these objects, and compelled to a shameful retreat.‡ In 1188, Saladin subdued the fortresses of Kerek and Shobak, and became master of the whole region.

From this period onward, there are few, if any, notices of this tract of country, until the present century. Volney seems to have been the first traveller whose attention was drawn to it, by the reports of the Arabs around Gaza, who related to him that within three days' journey to the south of the Dead Sea, there were upwards of thirty towns absolutely deserted, some of which they described as distinguished by large edifices, decorated with numerous columns.§ In 1806, Seetzen penetrated as far as Kerek, and received such accounts of a place called *Bedra*, as led him to conjecture that the ruins of Petra were to be sought at Wady Mousa.‖ Seetzen himself never entered the proper territory of Edom. Burckhardt is the first European traveller, who, in modern times, has visited this region. On his way from Damascus to Cairo in the summer of 1812, he chose the route on the east of the Dead Sea, and traversed the land of Edom as far as to the Wady Gharendel, whence he struck across the Ghor and the western desert, until he fell into the great Hadj route between Suez and Akaba. He travelled as an Arab, a "townsman"; and, although he was thus subjected to many difficulties and to much extor-

* Wilk. Tyr. 22. 5. Schulten's Ind. Geogr. in Vit. Salad. s. voc. *Sjaubechum*. Abulfeda Tab. Syr. p. 88. Wilken, ib. II. p. 403.
† Wilken, l. c. ‡ Wilken, III. ii. p. 139.
§ Volney's Travels, ch. 31. ‖ Bibl. Repos. III. p. 284, p. 444.

tion, he was doubtless in this way brought into nearer contact with the people, and was able to collect more full and accurate information, which he has embodied in one of the most interesting portions of his travels.* To him, beyond all question, belongs the merit of having brought again to light the great valley of the Ghor, and the lost wonders of Petra; although, in the circumstances in which he was placed, he was able to spend but a single day in a hasty visit to the latter.

Notwithstanding the interest which the report of Burckhardt's visit could not but awaken in Europe, six years elapsed before the land of Edom could again be visited by any Occidental traveller. In 1818, Mr. Bankes and Mr. Legh, both well known by their previous travels in Nubia, and their companions Captains Irby and Mangles, succeeded, after great hindrances and with much difficulty, in penetrating from Kerek as far as Wady Mousa, by the same route which Burckhardt had taken. They spent two days among the ruins, ascended Mount Hor, and returned by the way of Kerek to Jerusalem. An interesting account of the excursion was given by Mr. Legh, as a supplementary chapter to Macmichael's "Journey from Moscow to Constantinople." London, 1819.† A fuller description is contained in the unpublished work of Captains Irby and Mangles.‡

Thus far travellers had entered Edom from the north, and explored the country as far south as to the Wady Gharendel. At a later period, we believe in 1826, Messrs. Strangways and Anson are said to have reached Wady Mousa by the direct route from Gaza; but we know nothing further of their movements. There remained then only the distance between Wady Gharendel and Akaba, as yet unexplored; and for a knowledge of this portion we are indebted to the journey of MM. Laborde and Linant in 1828. These travellers, the latest, we believe, who have visited Petra, approached it, as we have seen, from the south through the Ghor; and returned to Akaba by a more eastern route among the mountains. Here they found, about half way between Petra and Akaba,

* Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 395 seq. Reprinted in the Bibl. Repos. III. p. 401 seq.

† Reprinted in the Bibl. Repos. III. p. 614 seq.

‡ Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor, during the Years 1817 and 1818. 8vo. Lond. 1823. This work is characterized by great simplicity and directness of manner. The only copy we know of in this country, is in the library of the Boston Athenæum.

the ruins of a city, which M. Laborde calls Ameimé, having an extensive aqueduct. Nearer to Akaba, several of the valleys which afford a passage to the interior, are shut up with walls, and defended by other fortifications, probably the work of the Arabs. The great valley of Jetoum exhibits in one place the ruins of such a wall, of which Burckhardt also received information.* It was while passing from the gulf around the land of Edom, that the Israelites were bitten by serpents;† and M. Laborde expressly affirms, that on his return from Petra, he found in this region "vast numbers of these reptiles."‡

We subjoin here a list of those cities of ancient Idumea, (exclusive of Petra,) of which some traces are supposed to remain in the names or other circumstances of modern places.§

Zoara, the Zoar and Bela of Genesis, is spoken of by Eusebius, under the names of Zoar, Bala, and Segor, as near the southern extremity of the Dead Sea on the eastern shore, and as being a Roman garrison. It was afterwards one of the episcopal cities of Palæstina Tertia.‖ It stood, most probably, in the entrance of the Wady el Draah or Daru, which comes down to the sea from the east, and forms the usual route of travellers from Hebron to Kerek. Captains Irby and Mangles describe this as a beautiful spot, and add; "There is very clearly to be perceived an ancient site. Stones that have been used in building, though for the most part unhewn, with bricks and fragments of pottery, are strewed over the uneven surface for at least half a mile, quite down to the plain."¶

Phænon, or *Phanon*, situated, according to Eusebius, between Zoar and Petra. Burckhardt finds a resemblance in the modern *Tafyle*, a town of six hundred houses, and corresponding with Phænon in its situation.**

Psora may perhaps be the modern Beszeyra.

Thana is mentioned by Ptolemy, and corresponds well with the modern Dhana.

Zodocotha seems to have its corresponding name in the

* Laborde, p. 207 seq. Engl. Burckhardt, p. 511.
† Num. xxi. 4 seq. ‡ p. 138, Engl.
§ The names of Idumean cities, as far down as to the fifth century, have been faithfully collected by Reland, Palæst. p. 204–234. Compare Bibl. Repos. III., p. 272 seq.
‖ Reland Pal. p. 1064 seq. ¶ p. 448.
** Reland, p. 951. Burckh. p. 402.

modern Szadeke, where is a hill with extensive ruins of an ancient town.*

Arindela was the seat of a bishop, but no trace of it remains; except that Burckhardt suggests a resemblance in the name of Wady Gharendel, near the mouth of which M. Laborde remarked some ruins. The ruined city which the latter traveller calls Ameimé is in the vicinity of this valley; is this perhaps the ancient Arindela? It would seem to be too far south for the Havara marked on the maps as one of the Roman posts.

Elath and *Ezion-geber*, the former called also by the Greeks and Romans *Elana*, and by the Arabs *Ailah*. These two cities were situated at the northern extremity of the Gulf of Akaba, and must have been near each other; perhaps on different sides of the *embouchure* of the great valley. Eziongeber was the port of Solomon. Josephus says it was afterwards called Berenice;† and it may not improbably have been afterwards revived in the later Albus Pagus, mentioned above. But Elath appears early to have supplanted it in importance;‡ and in the first centuries of Christianity the latter was a great emporium, and the seat of a Roman garrison. The bishops of Ailah also held a prominent place in the councils of those days.§ The occupation of it by the crusaders in the twelfth century, and the recovery of it by Saladin, we have already spoken of in the preceding pages; as also of the unsuccessful assault upon its citadel by Rainald in A. D. 1182. In the fourteenth century, it was already abandoned; for Abulfeda, who wrote in the first half of that century, expressly says of Ailah; "In this our day it is a tower or castle, to which a governor is sent from Egypt. It had a small citadel in the sea; but this is now destroyed, and the governor transferred to the fortress on the shore."‖ Such as Ailah was in the days of Abulfeda, is Akaba now. Mounds of rubbish alone mark the site of the city; while a fortress occupied by a Turkish governor, and a small garrison under the Pasha of Egypt, serve to keep the neighbouring tribes of the desert in awe, and to protect the pilgrims of the annual Egyptian Hadj.

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* Burckh. p. 435. † Jos. Ant. 8. 6. 4.

‡ For the notices of it by Greek and Roman writers, see Cellarius, Orb. Not. II. p. 582 seq.

§ Reland, p. 554 seq.

‖ Schulten's Ind. Geogr. in Vit. Salad. voc. *Aila.* Rommel's Abulfeda, p. 78.

The "citadel in the sea," of which Abulfeda speaks, is probably the same which was besieged in vain by Rainald;* and is doubtless the small island near the western shore of the gulf, opposite Wady Emrag, on which modern travellers have observed ruins. It was described to Burckhardt by his guides; but he did not himself see it.† Rüppell describes it under the name of Emrag; and gives a view of it as seen from the western shore. He supposes the buildings to be of Arabian structure, and refers them to the twelfth century. M. Laborde speaks of the island under the name of Graia; on what authority we are not aware. He and his companion swam over to it on a raft; and in a strange fit of national vanity, planted a flag upon the highest rock, and took possession of the island in the name of France! His description and views add little to the information afforded by Rüppell.

Up to the time of Burckhardt, the darkness which rested upon the Elanitic Gulf, was not less than that which shrouded the neighbouring land of Edom. On many of the best maps, even in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, no such gulf is to be found. Danville, following a Turkish map, gave to its northern extremity a bifurcation; at one point of which he placed Elath, and at the other Ezion-geber. The information collected by Burckhardt served to do away this bifurcation; and this has been abundantly confirmed by the personal observation of later travellers.

III. We turn now to Petra, which in ancient times was the celebrated metropolis of this whole region, and received its name from its singular site. The Greeks and Romans named it ἡ Πέτρα, Petra, i. e. the rock; in Hebrew it was called סֶלַע, Sela, also signifying a rock. In the Scriptures it is spoken of only as the capital of Edom. The earliest distinct notice appears to be in Josh. i. 36. In 2 Kings xiv. 7, Amaziah is said to have taken Sela by war, and called the name of it Toktheel. It is mentioned again in Isa. xvi. 1; and also, as some suppose, in ch. xlii. 11. The last of these notices cannot be later than 700 B. C.

Four centuries afterwards, it had already passed into the hands of the Nabatheans, and had become a place of trade. The two expeditions sent against it from Babylon by Antigo-

* Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 223. † p. 511.

nus, who died B. C. 301, we have already had occasion to mention. In speaking of these expeditions, Diodorus describes Petra as being a very strong place, though without walls, not far distant from a celebrated emporium. At the time of the first expedition, under Athenæus, the Nabatheans were mostly absent at this emporium for the sake of traffic. Athenæus seized the place by surprise; and found in it a great quantity of frankincense and myrrh, and also five hundred talents of silver. But on his retreat the Nabatheans pursued him, and, attacking him unawares, killed not less than eight thousand of his troops. Of the second expedition the Nabatheans had notice, and made preparations to resist an attack by depositing all their wealth under a strong garrison in Petra, "to which there was but a single approach," made, as Diodorus says, by hand, χειροποίητος.*

During the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus, Petra was the capital of the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, of which we have already spoken. It is thus described at this period by Strabo; "The metropolis of the Nabatheans is called Petra; because it lies in a situation which in other respects is plain and level, but is surrounded by a circular *rock* or mountain, externally precipitous, but internally affording several fountains, sufficiently copious for a supply of water, and for the irrigation of gardens. Beyond this enclosure the whole region is a desert, and particularly towards Judea." † The stoic philosopher Athenodorus, the friend of Strabo, spent some time in Petra, and related that he found many Romans and other strangers residing there; that these often had legal processes with one another, and with the inhabitants; while the latter lived in entire harmony and union, under excellent laws.‡

The testimony of Pliny, in the first century, is still more definite and exact. "The Nabatheans inhabit the city called Petra, situated in a valley or amphitheatre less than two thousand paces in amplitude, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream flowing through the midst."§ About the same time, Petra is often mentioned by Josephus as the capital of Arabia Petræa. With that kingdom it passed under the immediate sway of the Romans, during the reign of Trajan. Adrian, his successor, would seem to have given his own

* Diod. Sic. 19. 95 – 98. † Strabo Geogr. 16. 4. 21. ‡ Ibid.
§ Pliny, H. N. VI. 28 or 32.

name to Petra; at least, coins apparently of this city are still extant, bearing the inscription Ἁδριάνη Πέτρα Μητρόπολις.* In succeeding centuries, Petra appears in the ecclesiastical records and *notitiæ*, as the principal see of Palæstina Tertia.† But in the *notitiæ* made at the time of the crusades, the see of Petra is no longer found mentioned.‡ It would seem even then to have been abandoned and forgotten; and its site already bore in Arabic the name of Wady Mousa.

Several ancient writers also assign the geographical position of Petra, with a tolerable degree of accuracy. Josephus, as also Eusebius and Jerome, speaks of Mount Hor, where Aaron died, as adjacent to Petra.§ In their time, therefore, a long tradition had marked the mountain which overhangs Petra as the burial place of Aaron; and the same tradition has come down through the vicissitudes of ages to the present day. Diodorus places the city at the distance of three hundred stadia south of the Dead Sea. Strabo makes it three or four days' march from Jericho. Pliny says it is six hundred Roman miles distant from Gaza, and one hundred and thirty from the Persian Gulf; where we do not hesitate to assume, with Cellarius, a transposition of the numbers, which then will be nearly correct. The *Tabula* of Peutinger places Petra about eighty Roman miles northward from Ailah. The estimate of M. Laborde makes Wady Mousa to be twenty-two French leagues from Akaba; which is equivalent to some fifty or sixty English miles. All these notices, coupled with the descriptions of Strabo and Pliny above given, go to prove beyond question the identity of Petra and the ruins of Wady Mousa.

Such was all that could be known of Petra to the Occidental world, before the time of Burckhardt. An Arab from that region had indeed described the spot to Seetzen, exclaiming; "Ah! how I always weep when I behold the ruins of Wady Mousa, and especially those of Faroun!" That traveller too would doubtless have wept tears of joy, had he likewise been permitted to behold those ruins; but the sight was denied to his eyes. Burckhardt could visit them only by stealth, as if in the performance of a pious vow to sacrifice a goat at the tomb of Aaron on Mount Hor. As it was, he could only pass through them, and return on the same day; and yet we

* Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. III. p. 503.
† Reland, p. 212, 218. p. 933. ‡ Reland, p. 220, 226.
§ Jos. Ant. 4. 4. 7. Euseb. Onom. art. Ὤρ.

cannot but admire the tact and accuracy of his observation, as evinced by the fact, that succeeding travellers, with far more leisure, have added comparatively little to the fulness of his general description. Minor details have indeed been given, and the general outlines more carefully filled out; especially in the account given by Captains Irby and Mangles, which we consider as the most graphic. The merit of M. Laborde here lies not in his pen, but in his pencil; he and his companion have brought Petra itself before our eyes; and those strange ruins, which till now could only be visited, through dangers and hardships, in the midst of naked rocks and desert solitudes, now present themselves to our view in our very chambers and by our firesides.*

The French travellers ascended to Petra from the Ghor on the west, and arrived at the ruins by a very rugged descent on the southwestern part of the amphitheatre. But the "single approach" of which Diodorus speaks, was from the east; and by it all other travellers, who have visited the place, have made their way to the ruins. In the very brief notices which our limits permit us to make of the site and remains of this celebrated spot, we shall follow the latter order, referring the reader for further details to the accounts of Burckhardt and Legh, and especially to that of Captains Irby and Mangles.

In looking at the wonders which here lie before us, we are at a loss, whether most to admire the singularity of the natural scenery, or the taste and skill with which it has been fashioned by art into a secure retreat, and adorned with splendid structures intended for the abode both of the living and the dead. The two, however, are so connected, that they cannot well be separated even in contemplation; and we can only speak of them as mutually heightening the effect of each other. Wady Mousa is at first a small valley, with a copious fountain at its eastern extremity, from which a brook flows along the valley westward. Lower down it is joined by another brook, descending through a ravine from the southern mountain. On a hill in the angle formed by the two, stands the village of Wady Mousa, or Eldjg. Following the rivulet farther to the

* The plan of Petra given by M. Laborde is by far the best; although he has unfortunately neglected to mark upon it the points of the compass. The patch-work character of his descriptions, as wrought into a "continuous whole" by the English editor, sets at defiance all attempts to acquire from them a correct idea of the topography of the place.

westward, the valley becomes narrower, and here the antiquities of Wady Mousa may be said to begin; — a suburb, as it were, to the city of Petra, situated before its principal entrance. These remains consist of sepulchral chambers hewn in the perpendicular rocks which form the sides of the valley, with fronts either plain, or ornamented with columns and pilasters. These continue for several hundred paces, presenting a continued street of tombs; beyond which the rocks approach each other, and seem all at once to close without any outlet. There is, however, a frightful chasm for the stream, which also furnishes now, as formerly, the only avenue to Petra on this side.

This approach is in the highest degree wild and sublime. The width is just sufficient for two horsemen abreast; the sides are in all parts perpendicular, varying from four hundred to seven hundred feet in height; and they often overhang to such a degree, that the sky is intercepted, and the full light of day shut out, for a hundred yards together. The tamarisk, wild fig, and oleander, grow luxuriantly along this chasm, often rendering the passages difficult; and in some places they hang down gracefully from the cliffs and crevices, where they have taken root. The Arabs call this pass El Syk. About fifty paces from the entrance, a bold arch is thrown across the chasm at a great height, connecting the opposite sides of the cliff; and underneath it are niches, apparently for the reception of statues. M. Laborde ascertained this to be a highly ornamented arch of triumph.* The ravine holds its general direction from east to west; but presents many elbows and windings in its course, so that the eye can seldom penetrate beyond a few paces forwards, and is often at a loss in what direction the passage will open. Artificial watercourses are here carried along the sides of the rocks, probably for the better supply of the ancient city.

This singular passage continues for nearly two miles; the sides increasing in height as the path continually descends, while the tops of the precipices retain their former level. Where they are just at the highest, a beam of stronger light breaks in, and opens to view, at first half seen through the tall, narrow cleft, the columns, statues, and cornices of a temple,

* A copy of M. Laborde's view of this arch is given in Finden's Illustrations of the Bible.

executed in stone of a pale rose color, of a light and finished taste, and fresh as if just from the chisel. Only a portion of an extensive architectural front is seen at first; but it has been so contrived, that a statue with expanded wings, perhaps of Victory, just fills the centre of the opening in front, which, being closed below by the projecting sides of the chasm, gives to the figure the appearance of being suspended in the air.* The rest of the design opens gradually as one advances, until the narrow defile spreads on both sides into an area of a moderate size, girt in by lofty and inaccessible rocks of the same general character. The traveller then finds himself in front of a magnificent temple, the richness and finish of whose decorations contrast strangely with the savage scenery around. No part is built; the whole being purely a work of excavation, in the highest state of preservation, even to its minutest embellishments. On the summit is an urn, which Arab superstition regards as the depository of the treasures of the Pharaohs; and hence the structure bears the name Khasneh el Faraoun, or Treasury of Pharaoh. This is the most beautiful and striking of all the monuments of Petra. M. Laborde has given two different views of it.†

The rock in which this temple is sculptured, (as indeed all the rocks through which the extraordinary chasm leads, and in which all the tombs and monuments of the city have been excavated, even to the summit of Mount Hor,) is freestone or sandstone of a reddish color, which continues towards the south to skirt the eastern side of the great valley or Ghor. The forms of the summits of these rocks are so irregular and grotesque, that, when seen from a distance, they have the appearance of volcanic mountains. The softness of the stone afforded great facilities to those, who excavated and sculptured the sides of the mountain; but the same cause has naturally operated against their preservation. Above the Khasneh, the face of the rock is left as an overhanging vault; and it is to this, and the projection of the adjacent rocks, that the excellent preservation of its details is to be ascribed. The interior of this structure presents nothing corresponding to its splendid

* A view taken from this point by Mr. Bankes, is given on the title-page to the first volume of Finden's Illustrations. The drawings of Mr. Bankes have long been promised to the public; and we hope that M. Laborde's work will not have the effect to make this promise vain.

† One of these is copied in Finden's Illustrations.

front ; a large plain room, and two side chambers, constitute the whole. The architecture is supposed by Captains Irby and Mangles to belong to an age posterior to the time of Trajan's conquest.

The area before this temple is about fifty yards in width, and one hundred and fifty in length. Towards the south, it terminates in a wild precipitous cliff, rendered accessible by a flight of steps cut in the rock ; as is also done in various other parts of the cliffs. Towards the N. N. W. the defile again assumes, for about three hundred yards, the same features which characterize the eastern approach, with an endless variety of tombs, both Arabian and Roman, on either side. Here the valley again widens ; and on the left is a theatre cut entirely from the rock, with all its seats, capable of containing perhaps three thousand spectators ; the area of it is now filled up with gravel, brought down by the winter torrents.

From this spot the ruins of the city itself burst upon the view in their full grandeur,* shut in on the opposite side and all around, by barren, craggy precipices, from which numerous ravines and valleys, like those already described, branch out in all directions. Here is the "valley or amphitheatre" of Pliny, "less than two thousand paces in amplitude, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream flowing through the midst." Nothing can be more definite than this description ; as any one may see by looking at M. Laborde's plan. This area or plain opens about one hundred and fifty paces beyond the theatre ; and is described by Burckhardt as being two hundred and fifty or three hundred yards across, bordered by heights somewhat less precipitous than before. The stream flows across it in a N. N. W. direction, and enters another similar ravine, where it is lost for a time beneath the rocks. The whole of this open area is covered with heaps of hewn stones, foundations of buildings, fragments of columns, and vestiges of paved streets ; all clearly indicating that a large city once existed here. On the left side of the stream is a mound or rising ground extending westwards, entirely covered with similar remains. On the right bank, where the ground is more elevated, ruins of the same description exist. In the level ground, near the left bank of the stream, would seem to have

* M. Laborde gives a view from this spot, which is also copied in Finden's Illustrations.

been some of the principal edifices. Here is an archway of a very florid architecture, much ruined, and serving originally as an introduction to a large pile of buildings, called by the Arabs Kaszr Bent Faraoun, or the Palace of Pharaoh's daughter. M. Laborde calls it simply the Palace of Pharaoh, and has given drawings both of the palace and of the arch. Further to the west, and on higher ground, are the ruins of a temple, with one column yet standing, to which the Arabs have given an indecent name. Hence the ground descends towards the W. N. W. and then the traveller ascends in the same direction, through a narrow lateral valley, towards the rugged mountain on which stands the Tomb of Aaron.

One other structure of imposing beauty was seen by Mr. Bankes and his companions from the summit of Mount Hor, situated in a lateral valley in a direction N. N. E. from the ruins of the city; but from the intricacy of the ravines and want of time, they were unable to reach it. The French travellers were more successful, and have given a view of the edifice, which bears a general resemblance to the Khasneh; though the latter is of a lighter taste and purer architecture. It is called by the Arabs El Deir, or the Convent.

But the great singularity of the whole place is, not that there are occasional excavations and sculptures like those we have described, but that the whole extent of perpendicular rocks around the chief area and in all the lateral valleys, is full of innumerable excavations of a similar character and of different dimensions, whose entrances are variously, richly, and often fantastically decorated with every imaginable order of architecture. Indeed it is impossible "to give the reader an idea of the singular effect of these rocks, tinted with the most extraordinary hues, whose summits present us with nature in her most savage and romantic form, whilst their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades and pediments, and ranges of corridors adhering to the perpendicular surface."* A great proportion of these were doubtless sepulchres; even the theatre is surrounded by them; indeed in every quarter the depositories of the dead must have presented themselves constantly to the eyes of the living, and almost have outnumbered the habitations of the latter. The largest of these sepulchres are

* Irby and Mangles, p. 423.

usually of three stories, with great varieties of ornamental sculpture. One of the largest, a mausoleum of seventy or eighty feet high, with porticos, appears to have been afterwards converted into a church; an inscription within it, in red paint, records the date of the consecration; and this is the only vestige of Christianity which has yet been found among these ruins. Only two or three sepulchres have been found with inscriptions; the letters of one of which Mr. Bankes found to be exactly similar to those found in the peninsula of Mount Sinai.

But although so many of these excavations were doubtless sepulchres, yet we cannot well admit that all were so. Indeed the inhabitants of all this region of country were known as Troglodytes, or dwellers in caverns, as we have seen above; and the supposition would be hardly admissible, that in Petra alone, with its countless excavated chambers, none of them were employed as dwellings for the living. Captains Irby and Mangles remark, (and we may probably regard them as speaking in accordance with the opinion of Mr. Bankes,) "that there are here grottos in great numbers, which were certainly not sepulchral, especially near the palace; there is one in particular, which presents a front of four windows, with a large and lofty door-way in the centre. This, which seems the best of all the excavated residences, has no ornament whatever in the exterior. The access to it is by a shelf gained out of the side of the mountain; other inferior habitations open upon it, and more particularly an oven, and some cisterns. These antique dwellings are close to an angle of the mountain, where the stream, after having traversed the city, passes again into a narrow defile, along whose steep sides a sort of excavated suburb is continued, of very small and mean chambers, set one above another without much regularity, like so many pigeon-holes in the rock, with flights of steps or narrow inclined planes leading up to them. The main wall and ceiling only of some were in the solid rock; the fronts and partitions being built of very indifferent masonry with cement."*

But we must stop. What a city, and what a people! Whence came so much wealth, and such magnificence, when the country had already lost its independence, and its me-

* Irby and Mangles, p. 426 seq.

tropolis had sunk to be merely a provincial city, far remote from the great seats of taste and art? A volume would not suffice to recount the external wonders of Petra; and still less to bring out to view the striking illustrations of the writings of the Hebrew prophets, afforded by the present state of the land of Edom. We had intended to conclude this article with some remarks upon the latter topic, and the abuse of it by literal interpreters; but we have already exceeded our limits.

ART. V. — *The Duchess de la Vallière. A Play. In Five Acts.* By the Author of "Eugene Aram," &c. New York; Saunders & Otley. 12mo. pp. 131.

OBJECTS seen through a prism have a gorgeous, fantastical, unnatural appearance, quite striking at first, but wearisome in the repetition. So it is with life and manners, as seen in Mr. Bulwer's novels. They show us virtues caricatured, vices seductively garnished, generous qualities degraded by paltry motives, petty objects magnified, vulgarities glossed by fashion, and manners tinged with affectation. Whatever is veritable, honest, useful, and truly noble, finds little place in this *bizarre*, fictitious world. Such is the character of these works in general; but we will analyze them more in detail.

The author does every thing by rule, as mechanically, and with as little inspiration, as the cook makes a ragout from one of his thousand recipes. In the introduction to a recent edition of "The Disowned," he gives us his *modus operandi*, showing at the same time how he has achieved his works, and by what rules they should be judged of. In the same spirit, he gives us occasional comments and explanations in his notes, to elucidate the incidents and the language of his *dramatis personæ*. This is virtually admitting the mediocrity of his work; for it is easy to imagine how out of place and trivial such analyses, keys, and running commentaries by the author himself, would be in the *chef-d'œuvres* of literature. Imagine Milton to have given a key to his Sampson Agonistes, or his Comus, or Shakspeare to his Falstaff or Hamlet, Addison to his Sir Roger, or Sir Walter Scott to his Baillie Jarvie. Genius does not

descend from its "highest heaven of invention" to justify its flight by metaphysical or historical disquisitions, by an affidavit or a rule of Quintilian. But Mr. Bulwer's is not a "muse of fire"; it is only a rhetorical muse, of a good high-school education, that is never "enraged, possessed, till madness rules the hour." He is in no danger of being carried away with his characters; like his "consummate puppy," as he rightly makes his "gentleman," Mr. Henry Pelham, denominate himself, he always knows what he is about, and not only so, he is very obligingly ready, by a side whisper, to let his readers into his secret.

It is in entire accordance with this industrious, mediocre, mechanical mode of proceeding, that he very often introduces his personages with an inventory of their features and dress, height of the person and of the forehead, color of the hair, teeth, and the model of the nose, whether Grecian, bottle, or eagle-beaked, and so on to the end of the catalogue, with the regularity of an anatomical lecture or a gazette of the fashions. But after all, it is only an aggregation of materials. *The being, the creature*, does not appear and make himself present to the reader. Forms are not to be conjured up in this way from the vasty deep of imagination. All the epithets of beautiful, lovely, cruel, fierce, odious, and so on, serve, it is true, to let us into the writer's design, but the qualities do not become embodied; they are still but so many abstractions. The ideal figures, if any, floating in the author's fancy, do not, in the end, breathe from the canvass. The reader does not imagine them to have ever been alive. His landscapes are wrought after the same method, and with like success. When Milton speaks of trim meadows pied with daisies, shallow brooks, and wide rivers, mountains on whose barren breasts rest laboring clouds, and towers and battlements bosomed high in tufted trees, the few expressions used, by that enchantment which belongs to the power of genius, open before you a vivid scene, more distinctly than can be done by exhausting the whole vocabulary of architecture and landscape gardening.

Another characteristic of these productions, as we have already hinted, is the utter selfishness and profligacy of sentiments that pervade the characters. Flattery is represented as one of the great instruments of success, and this, not by way of indirect satire upon a class in society, but as a just delineation of practical human nature. Thus Clarence Linden is

made, at the first encounter, to salute with a kiss Dame Bingo, the gipsey hag. Upon the same principle the same personage proceeds with the tradesmen among the electors; and by the same process Pelham makes his brilliant career, as the author considers it, in the Parisian circles of fashion. To redeem this fault, of which the writer seems to be sensible, he gives us Mordaunt, accompanied with a dissertation upon his purity and exaltation of principle. But it is a sickly sort of energy, and a shy, unsocial sensitiveness, and dreamy philosophy, which constitute the elevation of this character; quite admirable, it is true, for misses far gone in the novel mania and boarding-school lore, but of quite secondary interest with sensible men and women who distinguish true beauty and excellence. To such these novels are not adapted; they are more congenial to the selfish, the heartless, the hypocritical, and those whose highest conceptions and aims do not rise above cleverness and cunning address; who, feeling nothing of generous nobility and sincere enthusiasm, deem all mankind to be of the same stamp with themselves. These are the "fit audience" and not "few" of the author of Pelham, &c., their fit oracle.

We would not be understood to insist that the fabricators of airy nothings, with names and local habitations, for the amusement of idle persons, should limit themselves to the production of insipid pattern characters. *Quicquid agunt homines, est farrago libelli;* the world is their stage, and they may well introduce such heroes of vice and folly, no less than of virtue and wisdom, as it supplies. But selfishness and egotism, with the vices and bad passions, have not blighted the whole surface; there is something of moral beauty and majesty still extant, and the false pictures which virtually represent them as extinct, are libels upon human nature in general, however faithful they may be as likenesses of the artists who make them. The new school in imaginative literature, of which Byron is a leader, and Mr. Bulwer one of the followers, delights in confounding moral distinctions, and making the unsocial passions the predominant motives of action in the least depraved characters, and the vices in others. Pirates, highway robbers, thieves, and murderers are the heroes, and kept mistresses the heroines. They may say that they represent these personages as warnings rather than as models; but what signify professions of this sort, when the fortunes of a raga-

muffin with a dirk in his bosom and pistols in his belt, or of a reprobate in a fashionable coat, are followed with a grave solicitude through a long series of extravagant adventures and surprising achievements in his line, to which all other events and interests are merely collateral and subordinate. It is in vain to allege a moral which is contradicted by the whole tone of the narrative. It is the spirit and principle of the work to extol what is diabolical, and elevate what is contemptible, and accordingly to degrade what is worthy and estimable.

In one of those passages in "The Disowned," where the author speaks aside to the reader, he says, "The manners of the times, the characters which from peculiar constitutions of society derive peculiarities of distinction, become the natural, though, I confess, not the noblest, province of the novelist. The noblest sphere of his art is to add to exterior circumstances, which vary with every age, a painting of that internal world which in every age is the same; and, besides describing the fashion and the vestment, to stamp upon its portraits something of the character of the soul." This classification is sufficiently obscure; as well as we can make it out, it seems to be, that the best novelists represent character with manners; the second-rate, manners and modes of thinking without character; in which second class the author modestly ranks himself. It is hardly conceivable how a writer can invent and produce a character, without having in view the motives and principles of action and inmost sentiments. If he thus conceives and displays his characters, then he undertakes to "paint that internal world which in every age is the same"; if he does not so conceive and display them, the conception is crude, and the execution wavering, indistinct, and perhaps inconsistent. These are the very faults we have objected to in Mr. Bulwer's delineations. His notion, that his execution in this respect is the result of his system, or belongs to his province of novel-writing, is, we apprehend, an entire mistake; it is, we think, a matter of sheer necessity. His specimens are not merely in a subordinate line; they are incomplete; they do not come up to the mark aimed at. They consist too much of superficies; they have not soul enough, good or bad. As a part of the brain suffices for thinking, and a part of the lungs for breathing, so a fragment of a soul serves to animate these personages. And this is owing to a secondary style of

execution, not to the cultivation of a subordinate province in novel-writing.

But we are digressing from the subject proposed in quoting the above passage from our author, namely, his delineation of manners. By *manners* we mean the display of the social or unsocial sentiments in conversation, conduct, and deportment towards others. Good manners may be the spontaneous offspring of social dispositions, and they are then pleasing to all persons, whether polished gentlemen and ladies, or clowns and the wives of clowns. And so manners of this origin are pleasing, in whatever subject they are found. It is only the silliest and most frivolous of people, such as either have not qualities enough in mass to come up to what may be ranked as a *character*, or have overlaid and smothered what little nature they originally possessed, with conventional forms and affectation, — it is only such, who stop at the external signs or modes of indication, whereby the social and unsocial dispositions are manifested. All persons, of even a moderate share of sense, look at the true meaning of the indications. They care whether the meaning is kindness, respect, delicacy and refinement of sentiment; regarding less whether those indications are made in well-trained looks and tones of voice, and easy and graceful, or awkward and angular, movements; as a reader for instruction cares more about the sense itself, than whether it is expressed in Hebrew, or Greek, or Roman characters. The teachers of manners, accordingly, attempt to embody the tones, expressions, and other external indications of social dispositions, in a system of rules of good breeding. The pupil is taught to simulate those dispositions; and as, in acting, it is said that those performers who feel least, often personate best, so in manners, those who are conscious of the total want of social impulses, are the most scrupulous cultivators of their external signs. They are polite, in proportion as they are selfish and heartless. While on the other hand it often happens, that persons of great generosity and overflowing philanthropy, not having the most remote apprehension that their real sentiments can be mistaken, are comparatively careless of their formal deportment towards others, and this negligence may occasionally amount to impoliteness. But those of a kind and social nature do not, by any means, always carry their harshness and simplicity to rudeness, or even to negligence; and, on the other hand, those void of all sympathy, do not always

affect to conceal their real indifference or malevolence under address and polish. In choosing intimate companions or friends, we ought to regard their real qualities; for mere acquaintances, the exterior indications serve tolerably well as a criterion. Persons incapable of friendship and thorough intimacy, are apt not to seek beyond the external symbols in others; they attach no particular meaning to the word *heart*, except as the name of a muscle. We see, then, how people must necessarily disagree respecting the manners of particular individuals, for the superficies of manner is all that some look for, or suppose to exist; while others are easily satisfied of the truth of external indications, though these may be a lie; and this deception is not to be wondered at, for simulators and dissemblers, like hypocrites, are the most rigid observers of ceremony. But others again may penetrate, or at least think they penetrate, the thin veil of courtesy, and see, under it, selfishness, paltry cunning, and impertinent egotism; and to these the same bland, punctilious, and studious practice of the rules of the art of pleasing, as laid down by the best authorities, will sometimes be odious, as it will aggravate the deformity of the dissocial sentiments thus attempted to be dissembled, and, besides, will imply disrespect in supposing that others can be so easily deceived. Accordingly, manners that are quite charming to one, will be insipid or annoying, or seem to be impertinent, to another.

Now Mr. Bulwer dwells very much on the outside of his personages, as already remarked, and as is proved by his elaborate dissertations upon the springs and clock-work, and his pointing out to you the strings he pulls to make the automata work. The delineation of manners is, accordingly, a great part of his undertaking. And in this respect he gives himself a wide field, not hesitating to place his heroes and heroines in situations, by which his own knowledge of society is very severely tested; and he does not fail to show his acquaintance with a great variety of forms of social intercourse. He appears to plume himself particularly on his skill in portraying fashionable life and manners. But in whatever scene he puts his persons, the manners are not the spontaneous incidents to the characters. Many of them, at least, as the author candidly confesses in the passage already cited, have no distinctive characters at all. His system is to take some passion, or *penchant*, or mode of thinking, or foible, and conduct it through various situations and adventures. The

conversation and conduct are collateral accompaniments to this passion or abstract quality, foible, or mode of thinking, making a very incoherent, ill-defined whole. In the works of the masters, the manners are natural and characteristic, flowing spontaneously from principles of action and motives and propensities, with which the reader is made familiar, not by a collateral dissertation by the author in the capacity of a looker on, but by the action. In Mr. Bulwer's novels, accordingly, there is an affectation and fastidiousness of manners pervading almost the whole *dramatis personæ*. The lesson of these works is, as already suggested, that veritable honor, veracity, principle, and sincerity of purpose, if they exist at all, have little to do with the happiness and fortunes of men or women; that men come in contact only at the superficies, and that our exterior selves, being factitiously superinduced, take the place of our real selves, and, unless counteracted by fatality of circumstances, determine our fortunes. We are accordingly instructed, upon the Chesterfieldian system, to bestow our whole care upon the shell, — that the nucleus, the soul, the mind, the sentiments, and affections, are of little account. Now as the system of manners in these novels is, in general, avowedly based upon selfishness and prompted by egotism, the effect is similar to that of manners, influenced by the same motives in the actual intercourse of the world, where the disguise is seen through, and the hollowness and hypocrisy detected. For though the author discloses the motives, he does not disapprove of them; on the contrary, he holds up plotting, designing *bienséance*, and hypocrisy, practised according to conventional rules and forms, as the true models of manners. A sensible reader, therefore, lays down the book in disgust with its practical doctrines; a superficial, unprincipled reader, with fantastical notions of men and affairs, on the contrary, finds something quite congenial with himself in the book, and lays it down at the end with a very high opinion of his own and the author's philosophy and knowledge of mankind, and imagines the world to be tolerable, if it be indeed so, because there are so many people in it liable to be gulled, and used by means of their blind sides, follies, foibles, and simplicity. But he is the dupe, and honest, true men are the wise; for selfishness, egotism, and conceit, and small cunning, carry their just penalty with them; and a life of artifice and manœuvre is barren of all satisfaction, as well as pitiful.

The conduct of the plot is as difficult in a novel as in a drama. It is so difficult that many authors have no plot at all, but merely carry their hero through a series of adventures and scenes, having no connexion or common bearing. The whole is a fictitious journal. Mr. Bulwer makes a plot, but sometimes digresses, which is allowable upon sufficient reasons given. But he has one artifice, which, we think, has an effect contrary to his intention. He apparently pleases himself with mystifying the reader, by way of working up his interest, instead of which he sometimes fairly runs down his curiosity. He is kept in the dark so long that he becomes indifferent to it; or, if he sees through the design, it is a failure on the part of the author. Thus, in the case of Mordaunt, whom Mr. Bulwer considers a model in his kind, and an answer to some objections that had been made to his novels, he is kept a long time under the disguise of Glendower. The reader indeed suspects who he is, but if this is intended by the author, it is inartificial to affect to keep him in the dark, when that is not the design; if, on the other hand, he is supposed to be deceived and really is so, he is quite fatigued with following so long the fortunes of one, who apparently has not any connexion with the main plot. So in the same novel, as in some of the others, the author brings up his different divisions of persons from time to time; and for this purpose, to all appearance at the time, stops the progress of the plot. In this way, in the novel just mentioned, the main plot, namely, the disposing of the hero, stands still three quarters of the time, in consequence of the author's keeping his secret so well; whereas it seems to be more skilful and more exciting, to keep the reader, as he goes along, expressly apprized of some connexion of all the parts, and not leave him merely to suspect it. He must be made to wish most vehemently that Mr. Clarence should marry Miss Clara, and he may be permitted to suspect that it may so turn out, though he is not to be so assured of it, as not to be exceedingly distressed with the difficulties.

Whatever may be thought of these novels in other respects, the literary execution is certainly very fine; *fine*, in the better sense of the term, seems to us to give its general character. It is sparkling, brilliant, sententious, and full of classical allusion and antithesis. The stories embody a great mass of superficial knowledge, collected from a very wide circuit.

From this source the reader may bring away something for his pains.

But, of the philosophy and thinking, which occupy so great a space, we cannot speak in so high terms. These are not books of wisdom in respect to politics, political economy, or the philosophy of history, of society, or of the mind. In all these respects they seem to us to be always quite superficial, and often very false and pernicious.

Of the different novels, "The Pilgrims of the Rhine" is, in our estimation, decidedly the best. The author's brilliant sprightliness is applied, with remarkable success, in the burlesque way, to the fairies; and the digressions are pleasing, and introduced with address.

We should put next in rank, "Pelham" and "The Disowned." In one respect the latter may be classed with the historical novels of "The Last Days of Pompeii" and "Rienzi," and with "The Duchess de la Vallière," as it professes to give the manners and characteristic modes of thinking of seventy years ago; but, as a record of the past, we cannot think this, any more than the other historical novels, very successful. A false, fantastical glare is shed over the whole scene, as far as history is concerned. The labored eulogies upon Bolingbroke serve, as it seems to us, rather to depress the eulogist, than to raise the subject of them. The author cannot disengage himself from his own times, and identify himself with other times. It is all but disgusting, for instance, to meet with present Cockney dandyism, in the streets and *atria*, and Cockney slang, in the pot-houses of Pompeii, antedated some two thousand years, besides being placed far out of their true latitude.

Of "The Duchess de la Vallière" we have but little to say. It is said to play much more like Mr. Maelzel's automata worked by machinery, than like a genuine, dramatic performance. The attempt at a drama, with all the help of history to supply personages, betrays at once the defect apparent in the author's novels. The character, the individual entity, does not show himself. The persons move with a sort of spasmodic action, more as if they were put in motion by a galvanic battery, than as if animated by Promethean fire.

ART. VI. — *Chemins de Fer Américains ; Historique de leur Construction ; Prix de Revient et Produit ; Mode d'Administration adopté ; Résumé de la Législation qui les régit.* Par GUILLAUME-TELL POUSSIN, ex-Major au Corps du Génie Américain, et Aide-de-Camp du Général du Génie Bernard. 4to. Paris, 1836.

WHEN we last took occasion to discuss a subject having relation to rail-roads, we labored to convince the public, that there were adequate motives for undertaking one of these great works of improvement, between the cities of Boston and Albany. The splendid results, which might be anticipated from such an undertaking, appeared worthy of exciting the efforts of the rich commonwealth of Massachusetts. But we felt then, that we were arguing to the deaf. Projects of this sort were, without ceremony, denounced as visionary ; and those who urged them with any degree of confidence were regarded, by that class of men, who place the highest estimate on their own superior judgment and prudence, not merely with distrust, but literally as persons of unsound mind. There were, it is true, many individuals, who had calmly examined the subject, and who clearly foresaw, that this great improvement was destined to produce a revolution in the habits of society. There were also great numbers, who readily listened to, and as readily believed, the splendid predictions which were daily published, of the future success of this improvement. But the great mass of sober men, — those who mutually look to one another for lessons of prudence, who fully understand the mystery of making profitable investments, and who lead the counsels of legislative bodies, in all matters relating to public revenue and expenditures, — were as incredulous of any practical benefit to result from the introduction of rail-roads, as they still are of the utility of the aeronautic labors of Mr. Durant or Mr. Lauriat. The futility of the projects which were urged upon them, by those who had taken a different view of these subjects, was so self-evident to their minds, that they deemed all demonstration, argument, or examination altogether superfluous. They boldly shut their minds against conviction, with the intrepidity of men who believe that an appeal to their understandings is but a prelude to an attack upon their pockets.

This prejudice did not prevail with equal force throughout the country. Its influence was strongest in New England. Here the triumph of this improvement has wrought its way, in opposition to the determined incredulity and apparent hostility of a great majority of that class of men, who, by the share which they hold in the wealth of the country, are most interested in its success, and who, from their general intelligence and foresight, might have been expected to be its earliest patrons. In Massachusetts, particularly, rail-roads have been successfully introduced in spite of the opposition of many who will be most benefited by them, and without the aid of such as alone could have given it without personal sacrifice. It is now proved by actual experience, that these works, when introduced with judgment, may become a source of reasonable profit to those who invest their property in them, and that their influence in promoting the public welfare is even more extensive and more striking, than the most sanguine of their advocates had ventured to predict. Throughout the country, there is now no want of confidence in the efficacy of this improvement on the public prosperity, and in general no want of disposition to patronize it. On the contrary, there is in almost every part of the country, too much ardor in pushing forward projects for these works, without sufficient consideration, and in undertaking enterprises beyond the means which can be brought to their support. The danger is that the country will suffer rather from the undertaking of too many, than too few works of this description.

We cannot admit, however, that the most ardent have formed an over-estimate of the benefits, which are to result from this new instrument of social and commercial intercourse. It will make a new era in the history of civilization. It multiplies the resources of society, by facilitating the intercourse between distant places, and still more, by enlarging the circle in which the members of the same community may act together with a concentrated effort. The distance by which towns and States are separated, is reduced by it, for all practical purposes, more than one half. The circle, within which the whole population may have a daily or hourly intercourse, is enlarged, at least, threefold, and the practical effect of this change is to leave to the population, scattered throughout this enlarged area, the advantages of their respective local positions, and to secure to them at the same time all the benefits

of a frequent and easy communication with one another, which before could have been obtained only by means of actual juxtaposition. The city of Boston, for example, possessing within her own limits about eighty thousand souls, is surrounded, within a little more than forty miles, by a population of four hundred thousand persons, engaged in various occupations for which their respective situations are adapted, with the advantages of soil, ample space, water power, and many other privileges, which could be enjoyed by them, only in their respective dispersed places of residence. By means of the four rail-roads stretching towards the four points of the compass, with their respective branches diverging in all directions, the most remote of this population, instead of being distant a day's journey, will be placed within the compass of a three hours' ride from the city, and many of them within the limits of a single hour. In other words, the advantages of vicinage to the metropolis are extended to twice the distance, and of course embrace four times the area, over which the same advantages extended, before this improvement was known. What will be the ultimate effects of this concentration, it is impossible to foresee ; but it is evident that it will give an impulse to the movements of society, which no other known cause could produce.

It having been at length demonstrated, beyond the power of contradiction, by the actual success of rail-roads already in operation, that they are destined to have an important influence on the welfare of communities, it is natural that each portion of the country should exhibit an eagerness to secure its share in the benefit. All men have discernment enough to perceive, that while the public at large are about to derive a benefit from the general introduction of this improvement, its most striking advantages are of a local character, and are to be secured only by an appropriate direction of the respective improvements. They perceive also, that there must be a limit to the number and extent of these improvements, and that in many cases, to secure the benefit to a particular tract of country, it is necessary to seize the occasion of appropriating it, before it is appropriated by more active competitors in some neighbouring region. The improvement consists in the introduction of new and improved channels for the intercourse of society. When it was first discovered that rivers were not the only channels for this intercourse, the whole country

was open for a new competition. There was a wide field for selection, in the choice of these channels. But when the selection is once made and the ground occupied, it will be obviously much more difficult to change the direction of these channels, or to introduce substitutes for them, than it would have been in the first instance, by a prudent foresight, to have given them a different direction. For this reason, a much greater degree of eagerness in the pressing of works of this description is excusable, in situations in which the immediate prospects of business seem hardly to justify it, than would otherwise be thought judicious. The great channels of business have been often formed by the mere force of a current, which was produced at first by slight and perhaps accidental causes. Cities continue to grow, not because their situation is intrinsically the most advantageous, but because they have already acquired a certain growth, which of itself contains within it the elements of further increase.

The commercial advantages of the city of New York secure to her a decided preëminence over the other ports of the Union. Her unrivalled inland navigation, — her steamboats stretching their regular and rapid voyages to Albany, to Hartford, to Providence, and even to Charleston, — her lines of packets, to Liverpool, to London, to Havre, and to many other ports, — her canals, extending the line of navigation to Lake Champlain and Lower Canada, to Lakes Ontario and Erie, and to the whole western country, — and her unlimited resources in the wealth and enterprise of her citizens, seemed destined to give her, at no remote period, a monopoly of the great foreign trade of the country. The towns of a secondary class, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and Charleston, were approaching daily the condition of provincial towns, dependent for all the principal operations of commerce on the port of New York. A great part of the domestic trade of Massachusetts had by degrees formed a direct connexion with that city. Canals were dug leading in that direction, from the counties of Hampden, and Hampshire, and even from Worcester, the very centre of the State. Boston, the metropolis formerly of New England, had almost ceased to be the commercial metropolis of her own State. The other cities of the Union were suffering under a similar influence. The whole trade of the country seemed destined to be re-

stricted to those channels, which were adapted to either steam or canal navigation.

In this state of things, rail-roads were introduced on public routes in England, and became known in this country. It was evident from the first proofs of their efficacy, as a method of travelling, that they were capable of producing a great change in the face of things; that the currents of traffic and of personal intercourse, instead of passing only through channels where water could be made to flow, might be led across mountains, and through every region enlivened by human industry; and that the prosperity of cities, instead of depending on the accident of being placed on a navigable stream, which can float its commerce to a vast interior, would hereafter depend upon the foresight and energy of their inhabitants, in forming for themselves the channels of intercourse, and in supplying them with the fruits of their industry.

These considerations serve to account for the earnestness of the early friends of rail-roads, in endeavouring to impress on the public mind a conviction of their utility and importance; and for the eagerness of the public, in undertaking these improvements, as soon as they become convinced of their utility. Under these circumstances it is not surprising, that in many instances the zeal of those who undertake these works, should far outstrip their ability to carry them into execution; or that among the many judicious projects, which promise successful results, there should be also many, which are likely to disappoint the expectations of their projectors, and still more which are impracticable and visionary.

The volume of M. Poussin, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, consists of a classification and general description of all the rail-roads which are completed, and which are in the process of construction in the United States. Had it embraced also but a brief notice of the rail-roads projected, the volume would have been swollen to a much larger size. On the list of those which are yet but projects, there are many which are destined to form an important part of the system of internal communication in the United States. But those which are completed, with those which are in rapid progress, form an ample subject for an important and interesting work. M. Poussin classifies the different works which came within the scope of his plan, under two heads; 1st, those

which form the line of the Atlantic, and 2d, those which lead from places on the Atlantic to the interior.

The works of the first of these classes are destined to form, with the addition of a few connecting links of steam navigation, a line of communication from Portland in Maine, to Wilmington in North Carolina, a distance of nine hundred miles. Over eight hundred miles of this distance, viz. from Boston to Wilmington, as soon as the works now commenced shall be completed, the ordinary passage will probably be performed in four days, without night travelling.

The works of the second class, some of which are projected on a most magnificent scale, besides a great number of rail-roads leading from towns on the sea-board to places in the interior of the same State, or an adjoining State, embrace not less than six or seven lines of communication, from cities on the Atlantic to the navigable waters of the Western States. M. Poussin, in his work, confines himself to a description of those portions of these grand lines of communication, which are either finished or are actually commenced. To form an idea, however, of the true character of these works, and of the bearing which they are destined to have on the future prosperity of the country, it is necessary to look at them as parts of the grand system of improvement, to which they respectively belong, and to take notice of some of the parts of the system, which are not yet completed, or even in the actual process of execution. We shall, therefore, take a hasty review of the principal projected systems of improvement, taking care to distinguish those which are completed, and in actual operation, from those which are in progress, and these again, from such as are merely projected. This review, we think, will strike with some surprise those who have not carefully watched the progress of these improvements, and will show, that the country is in the way to be supplied, in the course of a very few years, with facilities of communication which will rival those of any other country.

In New England, the line of the Atlantic will begin at Portland or perhaps at Bangor, and, proceeding near the sea-coast, through Saco, Portsmouth, Newburyport, and Salem to Boston, will continue its course through Providence to Stonington, and after crossing Long Island Sound, where it is twenty-five miles in width, it is proposed to carry it along nearly the whole length of Long Island, through Jamaica to

Brooklyn, near the city of New York. This will constitute the immediate sea-coast line. But there will be others through a great part and perhaps the whole of the distance, a little farther inland, viz. from Portland through Dover, Exeter, and Haverhill to Boston, thence through Worcester to Norwich or New London, and thence by steam navigation to New York; and also from Boston through Worcester, Springfield, Hartford, and New Haven, by a connected series of rail-roads to New York. Of the series of works which will form this double and triple line of communication, along the coast of the New England States, four are already completed, viz. from Boston to Providence, from Boston to Worcester, from Boston to Andover, including a part of the Lowell rail-road, and from Brooklyn to Jamaica, making an extent of an hundred and twenty miles; and six others are commenced and in active progress, by organized joint stock companies; viz. from Providence to Stonington, from Boston to Newburyport, from Andover to Haverhill, from Worcester to Norwich, from Worcester to Springfield, and from Hartford to New Haven, making a farther extent of two hundred and twenty miles. The series will thus far be finished in the course of two or three years, and the other portions of the lines described there is reason to believe will, in great part at least, be completed at no remote period thereafter.

When these lines of rail-road are completed, the ordinary passage from Portland to Boston will be performed in about six hours, and that from Boston to New York in twelve. The projected roads, between Boston and New York, will present to the traveller a choice among three routes; one by way of Providence, Stonington, and Long Island, which will give about a hundred and ninety miles of land travel, and twenty-five of steam navigation; one by way of Worcester, Norwich, and Long Island Sound, which will give a hundred and three miles of land travel, and a hundred and twenty-five of steam navigation; and the third by way of Worcester, Springfield, and New Haven, with two hundred and twenty-five miles of land and steam, or continued land travel. The difference of time required for the three routes will not be sufficient to give either a decided precedence over the other two, to those who may take an interest in viewing the country passed through. Any one of the routes will reduce the passage

from Boston to New York, to an easy day's journey, the whole of which may be usually performed by daylight.

In proceeding southwardly from New York, we find two distinct lines of rail-road uniting that city with Philadelphia. The first of these is the Camden and Amboy rail-road, constructed with a double track, and leading from the port of South Amboy, in a southwesterly direction across the State of New Jersey, a distance of sixty miles, to Camden, on the easterly banks of the Delaware, opposite to the city of Philadelphia. The passage from New York to Amboy is made by steamboat navigation, a distance of twenty-five miles through an inland passage, which separates Staten Island from the shore of New Jersey. The passage from New York to Philadelphia is made in five and a half hours.

The other line is entirely distinct from that just described. It is of about the same length, and leads from the ferry, opposite to the city of New York, through the city of Newark, and the towns of Brunswick and Trenton, directly to the city of Philadelphia. This line consists of three distinct rail-roads united in one line; one extending from the ferry to New Brunswick, the second from New Brunswick to Trenton, and the third from Trenton to Philadelphia. The second of these roads is not yet finished; the other two are in full operation. This route will have the advantage of passing through the principal towns of New Jersey, while the other passes directly through a very barren and desolate region.

In continuing the Atlantic line from Philadelphia to Baltimore, there will also soon be a choice of several routes. That which has been hitherto chiefly travelled, is the New Castle and Frenchtown rail-road, which extends only across the peninsula from the Delaware River to Chesapeake Bay, a distance of sixteen miles, and serves as the connecting link of a chain of steamboat navigation, by which the rest of the passage is made, from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The distance by the course of the steamboat from Philadelphia to New Castle is thirty-five miles, and that from Frenchtown to Baltimore nearly double, making the whole distance from Philadelphia to Baltimore a hundred and twenty miles. The time usually occupied in making the passage is from ten to eleven hours, that part of it made by the rail-road occupying one hour.

Another distinct route, from Philadelphia to Baltimore, yet

unfinished, but a great part of it nearly ready to be put in operation, consists of three rail-roads; the first leading from Philadelphia to Wilmington in Delaware; the second leading from Wilmington by way of Elkton, to the Susquehannah River; and the third from Port Deposit, on this river, to Baltimore; the whole distance being one hundred miles. A part of this road, extending from Wilmington to Elkton, a distance of seventeen miles, has been quite recently opened. The work on the other portions of the road is far advanced, and it is anticipated that it will be opened early in the present summer. When the whole is completed, the passage upon it, between the two cities, will be performed in about six hours.

Still another route has been projected, pursuing the Columbia road from Philadelphia, a distance of forty-five miles, and diverging thence by a new rail-road from Coatsville, by Oxford, to Point Deposit, and proceeding thence to Baltimore by the route above mentioned. This route is less direct than that last described, and the distance thereon will be a hundred and twenty miles.

From Baltimore, the Atlantic line extends to Washington, a distance of thirty-eight miles. This road consists of a double track, and is identical for a distance of eight miles with the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road. It is usually travelled in about two hours and a half. Thus the whole distance from Boston to Washington is travelled, nearly in a direct course, either by rail-road cars or by steam navigation; and before the end of the present year, it is probable that the whole distance from New York to Washington, may be travelled by rail-roads, and in the space of fourteen hours.

From Washington, the Atlantic line of rail-road extends in a southerly direction, through the State of Virginia. From the city of Washington, the Potomac runs for about forty-five miles, in nearly a direct southerly course, to Potomac Creek. This part of the river is well adapted to steam navigation, and on this part of the line no rail-road has yet been commenced. A charter has been granted for a rail-road from the city of Washington, passing through Alexandria to Fredericksburgh, with the right of making a branch to Warrenton. Books have been opened for subscriptions to the stock, but the company is not yet organized. From Fredericksburgh to Richmond, the rail-road is already built and in successful operation. It is sixty-one miles in length, and it is traversed

daily by passenger cars, carrying the mail, in something less than four hours. It is proposed to extend this road from Fredericksburgh to Potomac Creek, a distance of seven miles, unless the Fredericksburgh and Washington road is immediately prosecuted, in which case the extension will be rendered unnecessary. In proceeding southwardly from Richmond to Petersburg, the rail-road line is not yet completed. A company is formed for the construction of a road, the distance being about twenty miles, and the work is considerably advanced. The want of this part of the line is the less felt, in consequence of the steamboat navigation between these two places, by the circuitous channel of the James and Appomatox rivers. The completion of the rail-road on this part of the route will materially shorten the line of travel. Between Petersburg and the Roanoke, the rail-road is already completed. This was one of the first, and it is one of the finest rail-roads in the country. It is fifty-nine miles in length, and it forms a channel for the transport of the produce of the rich valley of the Roanoke to a market at Petersburg. It is regularly traversed by locomotive engines, and the mail is daily transported upon it.

Besides the route just described, passing through Baltimore, Washington, and Richmond, to the Roanoke, and terminating near the northern border of North Carolina, there is another, called the Eastern Shore and Norfolk route. It is proposed to construct a rail-road which shall diverge from the Wilmington and Susquehannah road, near Elkton, and after proceeding in a southerly course, and nearly in a right line, over a very level country near the eastern boundary of Maryland, to Princess Ann, terminate at Tangier Sound, near the southern border of the state. The length of this rail-road will be a hundred and eighteen miles. To continue the line of communication from Tangier Sound, to Norfolk and Portsmouth, it is proposed to establish a line of steamboats, to run daily, a distance of eighty-five miles. At Portsmouth, a rail-road is already constructed, leading thence westwardly to Weldon, on the Roanoke River, near the termination of the Petersburg road, a distance of seventy-five miles. On this road a train of cars runs daily, receiving passengers who leave Halifax by stage coaches in the morning, and conveying them to Portsmouth before dinner, where they embark in the steamboats, which now run to Baltimore and Washington. By means of this

route, Norfolk shares with Petersburg in the trade of the Roanoke valley ; and, should the project of the Eastern Shore rail-road be carried into effect, this city will be placed on the shortest line of communication along the shore of the Atlantic.

At the Roanoke River terminates the Atlantic line now in operation ; but it is in a fair way to be soon extended from this point, in one direction to the centre, and in another to the southern extremity, of the State of North Carolina. A company is formed for constructing a rail-road from the termination of the Petersburg and Roanoke Rail-road, at Weldon, in a southwesterly direction through Halifax to Raleigh, a distance of eighty miles. The road is laid out, and the work upon it is in active progress. Another company is formed, called the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail-road Company, by whom a rail-road is laid out, and the work upon it begun, leading from Halifax on the Roanoke, in a southerly direction, a hundred and sixty miles, through the whole width of the State, to Wilmington. It is proposed to construct branches leading from this road to Raleigh and Fayetteville, and also a branch to Newbern and Beaufort. From Wilmington, it is proposed to continue the line of travel by steam navigation to Charleston, a distance of a hundred and sixty miles. There are also projects for extending the line of rail-road from Raleigh to Charleston, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, or to Columbia, a hundred and eighty miles, and thence to Augusta in Georgia ; but they have not yet assumed such a shape, as to authorize any confident expectation that they will be soon carried into execution.

We proceed to notice the principal rail-roads included in the second class, the most important of which are such as form lines of communication, from the shore of the Atlantic, to the navigable waters of the Western States. The first, and one of the most important of these lines, begins at the city of Boston, passes westerly through the whole length of the State of Massachusetts, to West Stockbridge, and thence through the greatest length of the State of New York, by the way of Albany and Utica, to Buffalo, the principal port on Lake Erie, and thence by the southeasterly shore of the lake, to the town of Erie, in Pennsylvania, the whole length being about six hundred miles.

This extensive line will consist of no less than eleven distinct works, constructed by that number of independent com-

panies, each with the right of entire control over its own portion of the line, but so connected with one another, that the same engines and cars may run, if occasion should require it, from one extremity of the line to the other, with the single interruption of a ferry at Albany. Of the eleven portions of the line, three are already completed, and in full operation, embracing some of the most difficult and expensive parts of the route. Three others, embracing the remainder of the difficult parts of the work, are in progress, the whole capital deemed necessary being secured, and portions of the work under contract. The five remaining companies, having in charge parts of the line between Utica and Erie, are either recently organized, or are now engaged in completing the subscriptions to their stock. The comparatively small expense at which this western part of the line may be built, and the entire success of the Utica road, leave no doubt that this remaining portion, at least as far as Buffalo, will be completed at no remote period.

The several works which compose this line are, 1st. The Boston and Worcester Rail-road, which leads from a convenient point on the harbour of Boston, to the centre of the town of Worcester, a distance of forty-four miles. It consists at present, of a single track, but it is of sufficient width for another track, whenever it shall be found necessary. It is built of the edge rail, weighing forty pounds to a yard, supported by cast-iron chairs, on cross sleepers of cedar, which rest on a bed of stone rubble. Although it passes through a hilly country, crossing the principal streams between Boston and Worcester, with the heights of land which lie between them, and reaches an elevation, at Worcester, of four hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea, it has no ascent greater than thirty feet in a mile, and has little curvature, except in the city of Boston near its termination, of less radius than 2000 feet. The cost of this road, including the extensive buildings and depôts in Boston and Worcester, and the intermediate towns, with a liberal supply of locomotive engines and cars, was a million and a half of dollars. The time usually occupied in making the passage from Boston to Worcester is three hours, including the time lost in stopping at ten intermediate places, for receiving and discharging passengers. It has been found by experiment, that the passage may be easily made in two and a half hours, by a slight

increase of speed, and by curtailing the periods of stopping; but a regard for the convenience and comfort of the passengers has led to the adoption of the rate of travelling above mentioned, viz. fifteen miles an hour, including the time lost in stopping once in every four miles. It is also found by experience, on this road as well as on the Providence and Lowell Rail-roads, that twenty miles an hour, without including stops, is a safe rate of travelling, agreeable in its effect on the passengers, and easily maintained by the engines in use on all these roads. A much swifter rate is practicable, but it is hardly consistent with a regard for the safety of the passengers. From these facts it may be assumed, that on a long line of well-constructed rail-roads, on which the long travel is sufficient to justify the maintenance of passenger trains running through the line, without frequent stops for the accommodation of the way travel, the usual speed will be nearly equal to twenty miles an hour, or at least a hundred miles in six hours. At this rate, the passage will be made from Boston to Albany in twelve hours, and from Boston to Buffalo, or Niagara, in thirty hours, or in two days, in the summer season, travelling by daylight only.

The second link in this chain of communication is the Western Rail-road, extending from Worcester through Springfield, to the line of the State of New-York, at West Stockbridge. For the construction of this road, an incorporated company is formed, with a capital of three millions of dollars, of which one million is subscribed by the State of Massachusetts. The conditions of this subscription are, that assessments shall be paid on the stock belonging to the State, in the same proportion as they are levied on that belonging to individuals, and three of the nine directors are appointed by the legislature. Three assessments, amounting to $450,000, have been paid. A part of the road, extending twenty miles west from Worcester across the highlands, which have been denominated the backbone of the State, has been put under contract for the grading and masonry. It is understood that some parts of the line, in crossing the highlands, will be formed with an inclination of forty feet in a mile. The rest of the line along the valley of the Chickopee River, to a point near Springfield, is comparatively easy of construction, and will be formed on a gradual and almost uniform descent. This part of the route is in readiness to be put under contract, and it is

presumed the work will be in progress throughout the line, early in the present season. The length of the line from Worcester to Springfield is fifty-four miles, and from Boston to Springfield, ninety-eight miles. Investigations and surveys have been industriously prosecuted, on various routes from Springfield to West Stockbridge, preparatory to an early location of that part of the line. A considerable portion of the route being yet undetermined, it is not possible to say what will be the precise length of the line, but it may be assumed at not far from sixty-two miles. For the same reason, no precise estimate of the cost of the whole road can yet be made ; but as a great part of the line will follow the channels of the two principal streams, and as the whole line will probably conform more nearly with the natural surface of the ground, than the Boston and Worcester road, on which there is much deep excavation, frequently through rock, it may be fairly presumed that the cost will be less in proportion to its length, than that of the latter road. It will also be exempt from the high charges for land and damages, to which the latter was subjected in and near the metropolis. From these considerations it may be presumed, that the amount of capital already secured will be sufficient for the completion of the work.

The third link in the chain consists of the Albany and West Stockbridge Rail-road. This is already in progress, by a company formed at Albany, under a charter from the legislature of New York. It has a capital of $650,000, of which $250,000 are subscribed by the City of Albany, in its corporate capacity. This fact shows the deep interest which the citizens of that town take in the opening of this new channel of communication with the county of Berkshire, and with the whole of Massachusetts and the other New England States. The business transactions now carried on between the county of Berkshire and the ports of the Hudson River, are very extensive ; and it is reasonable to anticipate that they will be much increased by the facilities which this work will afford. In reliance upon the extent of this business, the people of the city of Hudson have also undertaken the construction of a rail-road, leading directly from that city to West Stockbridge, and to be united with the Western Rail-road, near its junction with the Albany road. These two roads will thus give to the travel and trade from Massachusetts a double outlet to the Hudson River. The directors of the Albany road, after a

thorough examination of a number of routes, one of which followed for some miles the course of the Hudson road, finally selected one leading through New Lebanon, which reaches Greenbush, on the eastern bank of the Hudson, opposite to the city of Albany, in a distance of forty-one miles and three quarters. This route has no descent or ascent greater than forty feet in a mile, and no curve of less radius than a thousand feet. This distance, added to the probable length of the two roads in Massachusetts, will make the whole distance from Boston to Albany about two hundred miles.

The next section of the line, in proceeding westward from Albany, consists of the Hudson and Mohawk Rail-road, which terminates at Schenectady, a distance of sixteen miles. This road was built several years since, with two tracks, at a cost of $1,100,000, amounting to nearly $70,000 a mile. The greater part of this road is made either level, or with planes of moderate inclination. It has, however, two planes, one near Albany of a thousand yards in length, and the other near Schenectady of near seven hundred yards, each of which inclines from a level, at the rate of one eighteenth, and each requiring a stationary steam-engine to enable the trains to traverse them. These two inclined planes subject the company to an extra expense of twelve thousand dollars a year. Notwithstanding the heavy expense of this road, and these disadvantages of location, it is a productive property to the proprietors, though, on account of its heavy cost, not equal in value to the anticipations of its projectors.

The next section, extending from Schenectady to Utica, a distance of seventy-seven miles, was opened on the 1st of August last, under more flattering auspices. It was built, with a single track, in a comparatively short period of time, and at a cost, including eight locomotive engines, and embracing a heavy expenditure for the purchase of land, and for damages to a turnpike company, not exceeding a million and a half of dollars, or about $20,000 a mile. On the celebration of the opening above alluded to, four hundred gentlemen left Albany, in eighteen cars, drawn by two locomotive engines, and, after passing over the Mohawk road, and stopping occasionally along the Utica road to receive the congratulations of its friends, reached Utica for dinner. After dinner they returned to Schenectady in less than four hours, and, deducting the aggregate of the stops, in three hours and twenty-one minutes, being a

rate of twenty-three miles an hour. They then proceeded to Albany, where they arrived about sunset, having completed a journey of one hundred and eighty-eight miles within the day, and devoted some hours to the festivities of the occasion. From the date of the opening, two trains of cars, drawn by locomotives, have left each end of the road daily, one in the morning and the other at noon. The receipts, within the two months from the opening, amounted to an average of near $1200 daily. This was from the fare of passengers only, the company being forbidden by their charter to carry freight, except in winter, lest it should detract from the income of the Erie Canal, which runs parallel to it, and is the property of the State.

The next section of the line extends from Utica to Syracuse, a distance of fifty-four miles. A company has been formed for the construction of this road with a capital of $800,000; but we do not learn whether they have made any progress in the execution of the work. The route is entirely level, the canal between the two towns being constructed without a single lock. A company is also formed with a capital of $650,000, to construct a rail-road from Utica to Oswego, a port from which steamboats regularly take their departure from the principal ports on the lake, and from which there is a continued navigation, through the Welland Canal, to Lake Erie and the upper lakes. The next succeeding section of the great western line extends from Syracuse to Auburn, a distance of twenty-six miles. The maximum of inclination is thirty feet in a mile, and there is no curvature of a less radius than fifteen hundred feet. The construction of this road was some time since commenced, by a company with a capital of $400,000, more than half of which has been already expended on the work. The rails are contracted for, to be delivered in May next, by which time it is anticipated the grading and masonry of the road will be completed. The eighth section of the line extends from Auburn, by way of Geneva and Canandaigua, a circuitous course, to Rochester, a distance of seventy miles. The cost of this road is estimated by the engineer at $820,000 if built with a single track, and $1,013,000 if with a double track. The stock of the company is taken up, to the amount of $1,200,000, and they have a right by their charter to increase it to $2,000,000. The two next sections extend from Rochester to Attica, and from Attica to

Buffalo. Companies are organized for the construction of these two roads, but their progress hitherto is limited to the making of the surveys. The route is not difficult or expensive. On the Attica and Buffalo section the greatest inclination will be thirty-five feet in a mile. A company is formed for the construction of the rail-road from Buffalo to Erie, with a capital of $650,000, the whole of which is subscribed.

We have been thus particular in the description of this line of rail-roads, on account of the effect it is destined to have on the interests of the East and the West. It opens a channel by which the currents of moving population and the tide of commerce may flow backward and forward, between the manufacturing States of the East and the agricultural regions of the West, in place of a mountain barrier, which has hitherto turned the course of both towards the ports of the Atlantic. It is easy to foresee that the benefits, which must result from it, to the inhabitants at each extremity, must be of the most striking character. Whether we regard it as merely opening new sources of wealth, or as extending the means of social intercourse, and strengthening the bonds of union between distant States, we cannot place too high an estimate upon its advantages. Some of the other lines of communication promise similar results to the tracts of country which they are intended to serve. But we shall be obliged to despatch them with a more cursory notice.

The next line of rail-road from the Atlantic to the Western States, is the New York and Erie Rail-road. This road will commence at Tappan on the western shore of the Hudson River, twenty-four miles from the city of New York, and, after running northwesterly and westerly, within the State of New York, near the northern boundary of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, a distance of near five hundred miles, it will terminate at Dunkirk, a port on Lake Erie. It is estimated that this road will cost six millions of dollars. A capital of $1,800,000 has been subscribed by individuals, and the legislature of New York has engaged to make a loan of $3,000,000, certain portions of which are to be advanced on the completion of specified portions of the road ; the last million not to be paid, until the whole road, with a double track, shall be completed. Books are opened to increase the subscription of capital to $3,000,000. In anticipation of the advantages which will result from the enterprise to the proprietors of real estate at

the western termination of the route, and at other places west of the Genesee River, large donations of land have been made to the company, which are valued at one or two millions of dollars. These donations have enabled the company to offer to those who now are, or who may become subscribers to the stock, six per cent. per annum until the year 1841, on all sums which shall be called in on their respective subscriptions, up to that time, to be provided by sales, as far as shall be necessary, of these lands. This offer has been made with the further proviso, that the residue of the lands, which shall be unsold in 1841, shall be divided among the holders, at that time, of the three millions of stock. It is anticipated that by that time the work will be so far completed, as to admit of an income being derived from the road itself. This is a magnificent project, which must be productive of important results, in increasing the business of the city of New York, and in giving a new accessible frontier, along the whole length of the State, and thereby producing a vast accumulation of valuable property within its limits. Should it far exceed the estimate which has been made of the cost, these advantages will fully justify the expenditure.

On proceeding southwardly to Philadelphia, we meet a third projected system of Western rail-roads, leading from that city to the Ohio River, and Lake Erie. There are already completed and in full operation in Pennsylvania, eight hundred and eighty-six miles of canal, and three hundred miles of rail-road; a part of which is the property of the State, and the rest the property of incorporated companies. There are in the process of construction, three hundred and five miles of canal, and four hundred miles of rail-road, and there are besides many works projected of both descriptions, which are not yet commenced. Among the works completed are a line consisting partly of rail-road, and partly of canal, belonging to the State, leading from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. This line of works, though of great utility, does not admit of that rapidity of communication which is found desirable, and which is afforded by a continued line of rail-roads. The public attention has therefore been lately directed to the importance of a continued rail-road, leading not only to the Ohio River at Pittsburgh, but to Lake Erie. No definite route, however, has yet been designated for this road, and no plan is matured for the construction of it in its whole extent. It is proposed that it

shall consist in part of some of the works already constructed. The principal of these is the Columbia Rail-road, which extends from Philadelphia to Columbia, a distance of eighty miles, and is constructed with a double track. A branch diverging from this road at Lancaster, and extending to Harrisburgh, the seat of government of the State, is nearly finished. A bill is now before the legislature for authorizing a further extension of this line from Harrisburgh to Sunbury, and it is proposed to make a still further extension from Sunbury to Williamsport. A convention of delegates from the counties of the State was lately held at Northumberland, which recommended an application to the legislature for the incorporation of a company with adequate capital, to construct a rail-road from Lake Erie, by way of Williamsport, to Sunbury, thus completing the line to Philadelphia. Various other measures have been adopted, which show a strong direction of the public mind towards the attainment of the main object, in the manner which shall be found on investigation to be the best. Some of the projects recommended tend towards the town of Erie, as the point of western termination, and others, towards Cleaveland in Ohio, by way of Pittsburgh and Beaver. It is, perhaps, safe to infer, that, considering the ample means for the attainment of this object, possessed by the people of this great State, and the stimulus which their patriotism is likely to receive, from witnessing the continued progress of the New York and Erie road on their northern border, and tending to divert a portion of the business of the West from their own capital, these projects will not be suffered to remain unexecuted. The mineral treasures of the State are alone sufficient, in many places, to support these works as mere local improvements, for rendering the mines accessible. In this respect the mountainous regions of Pennsylvania possess a decided advantage over those of New England.

The next line of rail-road leading from the Atlantic to the waters of the West, is the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road. This may be considered the pioneer rail-road of the country. It was not only the first which attempted to traverse the Alleghany, but it was the first rail-road of any magnitude attempted in the United States. We have heretofore fully noticed the early history and progress of this enterprise. It has met with impediments to the attainment of its main object, the crossing of the mountains, of a most vexatious and embarrassing char-

acter, from coming in conflict with a rival improvement, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which had preoccupied the only channel through which it could pass. These impediments are at length removed, by an adjustment, by which both works will pass side by side, through the same channel, at a considerably increased cost to the rail-road. In the mean time, the directors of this road have learned much, from their own experience, as well as from other sources, respecting the best methods of laying out, constructing, and managing a work of this description. From this experience, and from improvements made by their officers, the country has derived great benefit. They can now proceed in the extension of their road towards the east, to much greater advantage, than they could have done six or eight years ago. Several points in the science of rail-roads, which were then either unknown, or not generally admitted, are now considered as settled axioms. Such are the following; slight deviations from a level, in the surface of the road, are not to be regarded as serious defects, as they afford an advantage, in many situations, in the draining of the road, sufficient to counterbalance the slight evil arising from the inequality of draft, required on the ascending and the level or descending portions of the road. Short curves are defects of a more serious nature, than they were esteemed by the engineers who laid out the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road; and even a slight degree of curvature, although it may not be sensibly felt in the motion of the train, tends to increase the wear of wheels and axles. Much steeper inclinations can be advantageously traversed by locomotive power, than was formerly thought practicable. This fact has been satisfactorily established, by experiments made on the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, and by experience elsewhere. It results from this discovery that inclined planes, with stationary power, may be dispensed with on many routes, where formerly they would have been deemed indispensable; yet the limit to which this principle may be carried remains to be tested by experience. Locomotive engines are found to be so decidedly superior as a motive power, for the transport of either freight or passengers, that the use of horses must be entirely superseded by them, on all works of any magnitude. They are cheaper, less hazardous, more manageable, and injure the road less. The iron edge rail resting on cross sleepers, is preferable to the flat rail laid on a continuous support of either iron or wood.

These and certain other truths, which could be learned only from experience, had they been known before the commencement of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, would have enabled the enterprising projectors of that road to make a great saving in some of their items of expenditure.

The Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road is completed with a double track from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, with a branch to Fredericktown, at a cost of $3,474,600. There is, besides, a branch diverging from it at a point eight miles distant from Baltimore, to Washington, built at the additional cost of $1,588,899. This branch last year produced a net income of five per cent., exclusive of a fifth part of the whole receipts from passengers, reserved as a bonus to the State. From Harper's Ferry a rail-road has been built, by an independent company, extending to Winchester in Virginia. This road is connected with the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, by a continuous track, by means of a viaduct across the Potomac River, which has just been opened for the passage of locomotives and cars. Surveys have been made for the extension of the Winchester Rail-road as far as Staunton, which when completed will form a rail-road route from Baltimore, of two hundred and fifteen miles in length. Surveys have been industriously prosecuted, within the last two years, for the extension of the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road, along the valley of the Potomac, in conjunction with the canal, and to the summit of the Alleghany Mountains, with a view of continuing them thence to both Pittsburgh and Wheeling. The engineers report with confidence, that the mountains between Cumberland and the Western waters can be passed, without the use of stationary power, by locomotive engines and their trains. The company has obtained, by virtue of acts of the legislature of Maryland and of the city council of Baltimore, subscriptions to their stock, to the amount of three millions of dollars on account of the State, and an equal sum on account of the city. With these liberal additions to their capital stock, and with such aid as may be anticipated from the citizens of Pittsburgh and Wheeling, there is reason to believe that ample means will be provided for the completion of the enterprise. No definite location of the route has been made, and consequently neither its length has been ascertained, nor its cost accurately estimated. The completion of the road is a very important end to be attained, not only to the individual stockholders, but

to the city of Baltimore and the State; for they are deeply interested in the income of the road, and in the effects it is expected to produce on the business of the city and State. The work, as it is at present situated, is but an insignificant fragment of the whole, and it must remain, until finished, comparatively unproductive. Unlike the first western line heretofore described, it passes through no dense population which can give it an adequate support, independently of that on which it will ultimately rest, the traffic and population of the western country.

Another Trans-Alleghanic rail-road is projected in Virginia. It has two terminations on the Atlantic, one at Richmond, and the other at Norfolk. From these, two lines proceed, one towards the sources of the James River, by way of Farmville and Lynchburgh, and the other by the valley of the Roanoke. The last-named branch is to consist of the Portsmouth and Roanoke Rail-road, already described, the Greensville and Roanoke Rail-road, extending to Danville, a distance of one hundred and seventy-two miles, and the Danville and Junction Rail-road to Evansham, one hundred and thirty-seven miles in length. At some point between Danville and Evansham the two lines will probably unite, and will proceed to near the source of the Holston River, and, pursuing the channel of this stream to near the southwestern corner of the State, will pass into Tennessee, and terminate on the navigable waters of Tennessee River. From Lynchburgh, across the Blue Ridge, the Alleghany Ridge, and the ridge between New River and the Holston, two surveys have been made, by direction of the Lynchburgh and Tennessee Rail-road Company, and the cost is estimated at $14,000 a mile. A survey of the other route has been made, and the cost of the two roads, from the termination of the Portsmouth and Roanoke road, to Evansham, is estimated at $5,254,000. Both routes are pronounced by the engineers practicable for locomotive engines. The legislature of Virginia has granted to the James River and Roanoke Company the right to construct a rail-road from Richmond to Lynchburgh; and that company has voted to construct it, as soon as the Lynchburgh and Tennessee Rail-road shall have been commenced, and has instructed the directors, in that event, to open books of subscription for the necessary stock. It is anticipated that the Lynchburgh and Tennessee Rail-road will unite, near its south-

western termination with the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road, and thus enable the State of Virginia to share in the benefits of that great work. It is proposed also that it shall unite with the line of steam navigation on the Tennessee River, which, with the exception of the interruption by the Muscle Shoals, extends to the Mississippi. To supply the chasm in the line of communication, occasioned by the interruption of navigation at these shoals, a rail-road was constructed and put in operation two years ago by a company formed under a charter from the legislature of Alabama. This was the first rail-road, with the exception of one near New Orleans, in the Western States. It extends from Tuscumbia, a port situated below the Muscle Shoals, to Courtland, and thence to Decatur, at a part of the river above the Shoals, the length of road being forty-three miles. A project has been discussed in Tennessee, and countenanced by a convention of delegates held at Nashville, for establishing a central rail-road, leading through the State from the Virginia line, to the Mississippi River; but no definitive measures have been taken for carrying it into effect.

In a similar spirit of local patriotism, and with an ardent desire for improving the condition of their State, the people of North Carolina have projected a line of rail-roads, to be connected with the roads from Edenton and Beaufort, from Wilmington, and from Halifax and Raleigh, at Fayetteville, and to proceed thence in a northwesterly direction, by the Yadkin River, to unite with the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road, near the northwestern angle of the State. All these roads are projected by private companies incorporated by the State. By a late act of the legislature, the chief part of the surplus of United States revenue which falls to that State is appropriated to a fund for internal improvements, and the commissioners of the fund are instructed to subscribe to the stock of these companies, to the amount of two fifths of their respective capitals, provided the other three fifths shall be subscribed by responsible persons; no payment to be made on the part of the State, until a quarter part of the stock subscribed by individuals shall have been paid in. In all the lower parts of the State the face of the country is remarkably adapted to the favorable location of the respective routes, and for the cheap grading of the roads. In the northwest the route has not been fully surveyed.

We come next to the grand Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road. This is one of the boldest projects of modern times, and it has been engaged in by the people of Charleston and of South Carolina, with an ardor which shows a determination to carry it into effect. It is magnificent in its extent, and, independently of its magnitude, it will be attended with difficulties in the execution, which will require the exertion of great skill and energy, and a very great expenditure of money. We are far, however, from supposing the enterprise in its nature impracticable, or that it is likely to fail from any cause, unless it be from the failure of the necessary means. Even these can hardly fail, if the other States interested in its success imitate the example of South Carolina, and contribute their fair proportion to the expenses of the undertaking. A company has been formed, and incorporated by joint acts of the legislatures of the four States through which the route passes, viz. North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, with all the powers necessary for accomplishing the work. The capital is $12,000,000, and by a supplementary charter, the company is authorized to raise an additional capital, to be employed in banking, not to exceed at any time the amount actually raised for the road. The route is definitively established so far as to adopt the valley of the French Broad River, in North Carolina and Tennessee, as a part of it. This valley presents a most remarkable pass through the mountain, for a great extent. The head waters of this stream rise in an extensive plain on the Blue Ridge, from which there is a descent for sixty miles, in the direction best suited for the rail-road, not exceeding an average of thirteen feet in a mile, and not exceeding forty-five feet in any mile, and with no curvatures, but such as locomotives and their trains may pass without difficulty. Other parts of the route are no further definitively settled than that it shall pass through Columbia in South Carolina, Knoxville in Tennessee, and Lexington in Kentucky. Surveys have been made, which enable Governor Hayne, the president of the company, to state, "that the proposed route is entirely practicable, and may certainly be constructed across the mountains, with an ascent at the maximum of not more than sixty feet in any one mile, and without a single inclined plane, or stationary engine." The distance will be from six to seven hundred miles. It will probably pursue the route, from Charleston to

Columbia, selected by the South Carolina Canal and Rail-road Company, on which they have already constructed a rail-road half the distance, with a single track. A negotiation has been opened between the two companies for settling the terms, by which a junction shall be formed between the two roads. The amount of capital stock already subscribed is $4,333,000, of which $3,525,000 are subscribed in South Carolina. On this stock $216,660 have been already paid in. Measures are taken for an immediate prosecution of the surveys, and for the advancement of the work as expeditiously as possible.

The State of Georgia has undertaken a series of rail-road improvements, traversing the whole length of that great State, from the eastern parts to the Chatahouchee River, and the Tennessee line, hardly less extensive than those of South Carolina. The policy of this State seems to have been, to grant to private corporations the right of constructing rail-roads in the eastern, more settled, and less expensive parts of the State, with such encouragements as are necessary to enable them to proceed with these works, and to undertake, on account of the State, such works in the newly-settled and more difficult parts of its territory, as are necessary for extending the lines of communication, until they shall meet others beyond the limits of the State. The legislature accordingly, at its last session, passed an act directing that "a rail-road communication as a State work and with the funds of the State, shall be made from some point on the Tennessee line near the Tennessee River, commencing at or near Rossville, in the most direct and practicable route, to some point on the southeastern branch of the Chatahouchee River, which shall be most eligible for an extension of branch rail-roads, thence to Athens, Madison, Milledgeville, Forsyth, and Columbus, and to any points which may be designated by the engineer or engineers surveying the same, as most proper and practicable, and on which the legislature may hereafter determine." The act further provides that no more than $350,000 annually shall be appropriated to the prosecution of this work, unless a future legislature shall otherwise direct. It also provides that the governor shall forthwith appoint an engineer, with such assistants as shall be necessary to accomplish speedily and effectually the proper surveys and estimates, and appropriates sixty thousand dollars for the payment of salaries and expenses. The governor, in pursuance of the authority given him, has already appointed a

chief engineer, and evinced his determination to prosecute the work with all practicable expedition. In the mean time, the works of private companies are advancing, with various degrees of energy, to meet the points indicated in the acts above cited. The Georgia Rail-road and Banking Company has begun its line of rail-road at the city of Augusta, with what is called the Union Rail-road, extending westward from that city. A distance of seventy-six miles is under contract for the grading, besides a branch of seven miles in length to Greensborough, and part of a branch to Athens. Fifty miles on the line from Augusta are ready for laying the rails, and the iron is ready at Augusta and Savannah. In a similar spirit, though not so much in advance, the Central Rail-road and Banking Company are prosecuting their work, to connect the city of Savannah with another of the points named for the termination of the State work, near the town of Macon. The selection of the line of the State work is made with special reference to its connexion with a system of works in Tennessee. It is to terminate on the Tennessee line, five miles from Ross's Landing, on the Mississippi River, to which point it will be extended by the Hiwassee Rail-road Company, incorporated in Tennessee, already organized, and waiting only for the movements of Georgia. It will thus have access, through the navigation of the Tennessee River and its tributaries, to the trade of East Tennessee, and a part of North Carolina and Western Virginia, and to the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road, the right of doing which is reserved by the legislature of Tennessee, in its act of concurrence in the incorporation of the company for establishing that road.

These are the great lines of rail-road communication which are projected, and most of which are in active progress, for uniting the East and the West, for traversing that supposed eternal barrier, by which nature had separated them, and bringing the commerce of the Mississippi valley, in direct lines, to the shores of the Atlantic. Two others are projected, to unite the ports of the Atlantic with those of the Gulf of Mexico, one leading from Brunswick, in Georgia, to the Appalachicola River, and the other from Jacksonville, on the St. Johns, to St. Marks. The latter, called the East Florida Rail-road, is actually located, in nearly a direct line, over a level country, the distance being a hundred and sixty miles.

We must defer to another occasion some notice of the ex-

tensive works which are projected and in progress for extending the intercourse between the Western States, and of some of the almost innumerable works which occupy the attention of the people of nearly every State. We cannot close this notice, without offering our testimony to the very creditable manner in which M. Poussin has executed this first History of the Rail-roads of America. It embraces not only the history, but a full and satisfactory description, evidently founded on the most authentic documents, of the principal works which form the subject of his volume. We hope that he will follow up the progress of these improvements, and thus furnish not only to France and Europe, but to our own countrymen, the best evidences of American perseverance and enterprise.

ART. VII. — *The Great Metropolis.* By the Author of "Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons." 2 vols. 12mo. New York; Saunders and Otley. 1837.

"ANY amusement which is innocent," says Paley, "is better than none; as the writing of a book, the building of a house, the laying out of a garden, the digging of a fish-pond, even the raising of a cucumber." If these are all the pastimes which the author of "The Great Metropolis" has within his reach, our opinion is, that, when he is next in want of innocent amusement, he had better raise a cucumber. His "Random Recollections" we have never seen. We rest our opinion on the book before us. There is a coarseness and vulgarity in its style, which is repulsive. No strength; no dignity; no grace; no refinement. In a word, the book has very bad manners. In reading it, you feel that you are walking through London, with a man who wears a "shocking bad hat"; and when your walk is at an end, though you cannot but thank him for the information he has given you, nevertheless you commend him in future to the raising of cucumbers, or the digging of fish-ponds; for you see, that he is "of the earth, earthy."

To us, however, the title of the book is attractive. We have an affection for a great city. We feel safe in the neighbourhood of man, and enjoy "the sweet security of streets."

The excitement of the crowd is pleasant to us. We find sermons in the stones of side-walks. In the continuous sound of voices, and wheels, and footsteps, we hear "the sad music of humanity." We feel that life is not a dream, but an earnest reality; that the beings around us are not the insects of a day, but the pilgrims of an eternity; they are our fellow-creatures, each with his history of thousandfold occurrences, insignificant it may be to us, but all-important to himself; each with a human heart, whose fibres are woven into the great web of human sympathies; and none so small, that, when he dies, some of the mysterious meshes are not broken. The green earth, and the air, and the sea, all living and all lifeless things, preach unto us the gospel of a great and good providence; but most of all does man, in his crowded cities, and in his manifold powers, and wants, and passions, and deeds, preach this same gospel. He is the great evangelist. And though oftentimes, unconscious of his mission, or reluctant to fulfil it, he leads others astray, even then to the thoughtful mind he preaches. We are in love with Nature, and most of all with human nature. The face of man is a benediction to us. The greatest works of his handicraft delight us hardly less than the greatest works of Nature. They are "the masterpieces of her own masterpiece." Architecture, and painting, and sculpture, and music, and epic poems, and all the forms of art, wherein the hand of genius is visible, please us evermore, for they conduct us into the fellowship of great minds. And thus our sympathies are with men, and streets, and city-gates, and towers from which the great bells sound solemnly and slow, and cathedral doors, where venerable statues, holding books in their hands, look down like sentinels upon the church-going multitude, and the birds of the air come and build their nests in the arms of saints and apostles. And more than all this, in great cities we learn to look the world in the face. We shake hands with stern realities. We see ourselves in others. We become acquainted with the motley, many-sided life of man; and finally learn, if we are wise, to "look upon a metropolis as a collection of villages; a village as some blind alley in a metropolis; fame as the talk of neighbours at the street door; a library as a learned conversation; joy as a second; sorrow as a minute; life as a day; and three things as all in all, God, Creation, Virtue."*

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* Jean Paul.

Now of all cities is London the monarch. To us likewise is it the Great Metropolis. We are not cockneys. We were born on this side of the sea. Our family name is not recorded in the Domesday Book. It is doubtful whether our ancestral tree was planted so far back as the Conquest. Nor are we what Sir Philip Sidney calls "wry-transformed travellers." We do not affect a foreign air, nor resemble the merry Friar in the Canterbury Tales, of whom the Prologue says;

> "Somewhat he lisped for his wantonnesse,
> To make his English sweet upon his tongue."

Nevertheless to us likewise is London the monarch of cities. The fact, that the English language is spoken in some parts of it, makes us feel at home there, and gives us, as it were, the freedom of the city. Even the associations of childhood connect us with it. We remember it as far back as the happy days, when we loved nursery songs, and "rode a-horseback on best father's knee." Whittington and his cat lived there. All our picture-books and our sister's dolls came from there; and we thought, poor children! that everybody in London sold dolls and picture-books, as the country boy imagined that everybody in Boston sold gingerbread, because his father always brought some home from town on market days. Since those times we have grown wiser. We have been in Saint Paul's church-yard, and know by heart all the green parks and quiet squares of London. And now, finally, for us, grown-up children, appears the New London Cries, this book of The Great Metropolis.

Forty-five miles westward from the North Sea, in the lap of a broad and pleasant valley watered by the Thames, stands the Great Metropolis, as all the world knows. It comprises the City of London and its Liberties, with the City and Liberties of Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and upwards of thirty of the contiguous villages of Middlesex and Surry. East and west, its greatest length is about eight miles; north and south, its greatest breadth about five: its circumference from twenty to thirty. Its population is estimated at two millions. The vast living tide goes thundering through its ten thousand streets in one unbroken roar. The noise of the great thoroughfares is deafening. But you step aside into a by-lane, and anon you emerge into little green squares half filled with sunshine, half with shade, where no sound of living thing is heard, save the voice of a bird or a child, and amid

solitude and silence you gaze in wonder at the great trees "growing in the heart of a brick-and-mortar wilderness." Then there are the three parks, Hyde, Regent's, and St. James's, where you may lose yourself in green alleys, and dream you are in the country; Westminster Abbey, with its tombs and solemn cloisters, where with the quaint George Herbert you may think, that "when the bells do chime, 't is angels' music"; and high above all, half hidden in smoke and vapor, rises the dome of St. Paul's.

These are a few of the more striking features of London. More striking still is the Thames. Above the town, by Richmond Hill and Twickenham, it winds through groves and meadows green, a rural silver stream. The traveller who sees it here for the first time, can hardly believe, that this is the mighty river which bathes the feet of London. He asks perhaps the coachman, what stream that is; and the coachman answers with a stare of wonder and pity, "The *Tems*, sir." Pleasure boats are gliding back and forth, and stately swans float, like water-lilies, on its bosom. On its banks are villages, and church-towers, beneath which, among the patriarchs of the hamlet, lie many gifted sons of song,

"In sepulchres unhearsed and green."

In and below London the whole scene is changed. Let us view it by night. Lamps are gleaming along shore, and on the bridges, and a full moon rising over the Borough of Southwark. The moonbeams silver the rippling, yellow tide, wherein also flare the shore lamps, with a lambent, flickering gleam. Barges and wherries move to and fro; and heavy-laden luggers are sweeping up stream with the rising tide, swinging sideways, with loose, flapping sails. Both sides of the river are crowded with sea and river craft, whose black hulks lie in shadow, and whose tapering masts rise up into the moonlight like a leafless forest. A distant sound of music floats on the air; a harp, and a flute, and a horn. It has an unearthly sound; and lo! like a shooting star, a light comes gliding on. It is the signal lamp at the mast-head of a steam-vessel, that flits by, like a cloud above which glides a star. And from all this scene goes up a sound of human voices, — curses, laughter, and singing, — mingled with the monotonous roar of the city, "the clashing and careering streams of life, hurrying to lose themselves in the impervious gloom of eternity." And now the midnight is past, and amid the general silence the

clock strikes — one, two. Far distant, from some belfry in the suburbs, comes the first sound, so indistinct as hardly to be distinguished from the crowing of a cock. Then close at hand the great bell of St. Paul's, with a heavy, solemn sound — one, two. It is answered from Southwark; then at a distance like an echo; and then all around you, with various and intermingling clang, like a chime of bells, the clocks from a hundred belfries strike the hour. But the moon is already sinking, large and fiery, through the vapors of morning. It is just in the range of the chimneys and house-tops, and seems to follow you with speed, as you float down the river, between unbroken ranks of ships. Day is dawning in the east, not with a pale streak in the horizon, but with a silver light spread through the sky, almost to the zenith. It is the mingling of moonlight and daylight. The water is tinged with a green hue, melting into purple and gold, like the brilliant scales of a fish. The air grows cool. It comes fresh from the eastern sea, toward which we are swiftly gliding; and dimly seen in the uncertain twilight, behind you rises

> "A mighty mass of brick, and smoke, and shipping,
> Dirty and dusky, but as wide as eye
> Can reach; with here and there a sail just skipping
> In sight, then lost amid the forestry
> Of masts; a wilderness of steeples peeping
> On tip-toe, through their sea-coal canopy;
> A huge dun cupola, like a foolscap crown
> On a fool's head, — and there is London town.*

But let us return to "The Great Metropolis." The first chapter of the first volume is devoted to General Characteristics. In the second the Theatres are described, and we are told all that Mr. Bunn was, did, and suffered, in the histrionic art. We leave him to his fate, and pass on to chapter third, which treats of the Clubs. Here we pause; for the Clubs of London seem to be alike interesting to strangers and to the inhabitants of the metropolis. Nearly every man of note in London belongs to one or more of them. They are central points in society, where a constant interchange of opinion is going on, and every topic of interest is discussed. The clubs are of two kinds. The subscription clubs are those, in which some individual engages to furnish the members with certain conveniences, on the payment of a specified sum as entrance money, and a stated annual subscription. In the other clubs, a number of gentle-

* Don Juan, Canto X.

men unite together, build or rent a house, engage their servants, and are thus furnished with all articles of food and drink, at the market prices.

The Club-houses are for the most part elegant establishments. The finest buildings in Regent Street belong to the clubs. Reading-rooms, dining-rooms, library and parlours, are all furnished with elegance; and there is an air of comfort and gentility about them, which is very attractive. The Clubs, too, are very numerous; and have on an average a thousand members each. The principal are Brookes's; White's; Boodle's; The Carlton; The Reform Club; The Athenæum; The Clarence; The Oxford and Cambridge University Club; The United University Club; The Oriental; The Traveller's; The United Service, and the Junior United Service. But we will let our author speak for himself.

"The Athenæum Club, corner of Pall Mall, is one of the best known institutions in the metropolis. The number of members is about 1,300. The terms of admission are twenty guineas, and six guineas for the yearly subscription. The club was 'instituted for the association of individuals, known for their scientific or literary attainments, artists of eminence in any class of the fine arts, and noblemen and gentlemen distinguished as liberal patrons of science, literature, or the arts.' Such are the words made use of in describing the objects of the institution, by those with whom it had its origin. The qualification of admission consists, of course, in the party's coming under either of the above designations. With the view of securing the annual introduction into the club of a certain number of persons of distinguished eminence in science, literature, or the arts, the committee are vested with the power of electing nine such persons every year. Those who put down their names in the list of candidates are balloted for by the members the same as in other clubs. To get admitted into the Athenæum is considered a great honor, owing partly to the constitution of the club, and partly to the great difficulty of obtaining admission. Of late the members have got what Sir Francis Burdett would call a 'nasty trick' of blackballing the candidates. It is computed that, for some time past, nine out of every ten candidates have been blackballed. Six members only have been elected during the present year. They are all, however, men of more or less distinction. Their names are the Right Hon. James Abercromby, Speaker of the House of Commons; Mr. John Macniel, minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia, and author of 'Researches in the East'; Mr. J. G. Wilkinson, author of a work on 'Thebes,'

and another on the 'Domestic Manners of the Egyptians,' &c.; Captain Back, author of the 'Voyage to the Arctic Regions'; Mr. William Thomas Brande, professor of chemistry; and Mr. Charles Barry, the architect, whose plan for the two Houses of Parliament has been adopted.

"The house in which the Athenæum Club meet, was built some six or seven years ago. The expense of the edifice alone was 35,000*l.*, while nearly 5,000*l.* more were required for furnishing it; it is a very large and elegant building. The interior is unusually splendid. I went through it with Mr. Galt, two or three years ago, — the last time, I believe, he ever was in it. Nothing could exceed the taste and judgment with which the whole of the interior was laid out. Some idea will be formed of the way in which it is fitted up, when I mention that, in addition to 5,000*l.* for furniture, the plate, linen, china, glass, and cutlery cost 2,500*l.* The library alone is valued at 4,000*l*, and the stock of wine which is kept in the cellars, is supposed to be worth on an average from 3,500*l.* to 4,000*l.* After making every deduction for tear and wear, the property of the club, including, of course, the house, is valued at 47,000*l.*, while the amount of its debts is only about 13,500*l.*, 12,000*l.* of the sum being borrowed from the Phœnix Fire Office, at 4 per cent., and the remaining 1,500*l.* consisting of the claims of tradesmen. The club has thus a virtual balance in its favor of about 33,500*l.*

"The trustees of the Athenæum Club are the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir Martin Archer Shee, Lord Yarborough, Mr. John Wilson Croker, and Mr. Gilbert Davies. The yearly income of the club is 9,000*l.*; and the expenditure is about the same." — Vol. i. pp. 123 – 126.

One extract more will give our readers a sufficiently clear view of this part of the Great Metropolis.

"The United Service Club, Pall Mall, is one of the most flourishing institutions of the kind in town. The class of members of whom it is composed will be at once inferred from its designation. The qualification for admission is the having attained to a certain *status* in either service. The house is a very handsome one externally, and is splendidly furnished and fitted up in the interior. Including the furniture, plate, &c., the house has cost little short of 30,000*l.* Of course the club was obliged to borrow a large sum of money before they could proceed with such an undertaking. Of the sum so borrowed, about 18,000*l.* is still owing. The club, however, is in a fair way of liquidating their debt. Last year they reduced the account by

1,440*l.*; while Admiral Stopford, the Chairman of the Committee of Management, is confident, that the balance of money the club will have at their disposal, after meeting the current expenses, will, in round numbers, be 1,500*l.* The estimated receipts for the present year are nearly 10,500*l.*, while it is calculated that the expenditure will be under 9,000*l.* The United Service Club boasts of a greater number of members, with one or two exceptions, than any other similar institution in the metropolis. The number is about 1,550. The entrance-money is unusually high, being thirty pounds. The annual subscription is six guineas. Notwithstanding the amount of the entrance-money, there are always a great many more candidates for admission than can be accepted. In one very important point, the United Service Club has a superiority over all the rest: it has the best cellar. According to the last estimate, the stock of wine is worth 7,722*l.* This looks well. A cellar so amply replenished must be no small recommendation to the club. It goes far to account for the extraordinary anxiety manifested by certain gentlemen to be admitted as members.

"The Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, St. James's Square, is limited, as the name implies, to the members of the two services. By one of the rules of the club the number of persons to be admitted is restricted to 1,500 effective members. Beside these, however, there are usually about 300 supernumeraries. To procure admission to this club is extremely difficult, in consequence of the number of candidates at all times on the list. The number of candidates at present is not much under 2,000. It sometimes happens that gentlemen will be on the list for ten or twelve years before they are admitted. The qualifications for admission are, having been an officer in either service, or taking an appointment in the military department, at home or abroad, corresponding in rank with the commissioned officers of the army; being a captain, or lieutenant of the naval service of the East India Company, or a captain of a regular Indiaman; being a lord lieutenant in Great Britain, or governor of a county in Ireland. Persons who may have retired from the services are also eligible. So are midshipmen and assistant surgeons; but he who belongs to either of the latter classes is considered a fortunate man, who, of late, has found a sufficient number of white balls to open the doors of the club to him. The patrons of the Junior United Service are, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Anglesey, Earl Rosslyn, Lord Hill, Sir George Cockburn, and Sir Herbert Taylor. Among the trustees, there are no gentlemen of any great distinction. Their names are, Sir J. P. Beresford, Bart., Sir John Elly, Sir James Cockburn, Bart.,

Sir Archibald Christie, Lieutenant-Colonel G. Althorpe, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Mills." — Vol. i. pp. 141 – 144.

The next chapter treats of the London Gaming Houses. Here our author gets upon his high horse. We have seldom met with a writer whose imagination was so fond of gold leaf and gingerbread ; seldom with such a gaping, wide-mouthed, Johnny-Raw description, as he gives of Old Crocky's. The great wonder and "contentation" of Simon's wife of Southampton, when she beheld for the first time the goldsmiths' shops in Cheapside and "the mighty weather-cock of clean silver" on St. Paul's steeple, were nothing to those of our author, when he first saw the interior of Old Crocky's. Our own admiration we express in italics.

"No one, I believe, not even those accustomed to visit the mansions of the aristocracy, ever entered the saloon for the first time, *without being dazzled by the splendor which surrounded him!* A friend and myself lately went throughout the whole of it ; *and for some moments, on entering the saloon, we stood confounded by the scene!!* It is a large, spacious room, from fifty to sixty feet in length, and from twenty to twenty-five in breadth. On each side are two mirrors *in magnificent frames.* The plate alone of each of the four cost nearly one hundred guineas. From a glance of the eye, I should take their dimensions to be about sixteen feet by eight. The walls and ceiling of the saloon are most richly ornamented by carved work, *beautifully gilt. The bottoms of the chairs are all stuffed with down, while the carpenter part of the work is of that unique description which renders it impossible for me to describe it!* The principal table has the appearance of being cut out of a solid piece of wood : a piece of more richly carved work, *all gilt except the top or surface*, I have never seen. *The chandeliers are magnificent, and when lighted up with sperm oil, the only thing used, they produce an effect of which it is impossible to convey an idea!!!* On the left hand, as you enter the saloon, is the card-room ; much smaller, but also splendidly fitted up. On the right hand, at the opposite or St. James's end of the saloon, is the hazard-room, with all the paraphernalia of gaming. It is not large, being only about twenty feet in length by fourteen in breadth. There is admission to the hazard-room from the saloon by a large door, which in its massy appearance and the hardness of the wood of which it is made, reminded me of that of a prison ; *it is also a piece of superior workmanship, with the ornamented part of it richly gilt!!!*" — Vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

This is Crockford's Club House, the largest gaming establishment in London; situate in St. James's, a few steps from Piccadilly. The house was built in 1825, and cost with its furniture not far from 100,000*l.* The cellar is 285 feet long, and contains 300,000 bottles of wine, besides "innumearble hogsheads"; all valued at 70,000*l.* Thirty-three servants in livery do their masters' bidding, and that of the seven hundred and fifty subscribers; for Crockford's is a subscription club. "Monsieur Oude" (Ude, we suppose) is chief cook, with a salary of a thousand guineas per annum. The under cook has five hundred. "Superb suppers" are given gratis; and it delighteth the heart of Old Crocky to know that people devour his viands and quaff his exquisite wines. He believes in the old Dutch proverb;

> "Whene'er the wine is in the man,
> Then is the wisdom in the can."

He was formerly a fishmonger; and our author, who has followed him *à la piste* from Temple Bar to St. James's, informs us that he still delights in the lowland accent of Billingsgate. He is what they call in London "a good man"; that is, he is worth 300,000*l.* He is known to have cleared, in one year alone, the sum of 100,000*l.* He seems, also, to aim at the character of a pious man; for his house is invariably shut at twelve o'clock on Saturday night, and not opened again till after twelve on Sunday night. On one occasion, so great was his zeal for good morals, and a strict observance of the Sabbath, that he refused to let a gentleman take home a pack of cards on Sunday. One short extract more, and we have done with the reptile, and his "spiders."

"The hour at which the hazard room is thrown open is eleven o'clock, and the dice are in immediate requisition. Mr. Crockford himself at that moment takes his station in a corner of the room, before a little desk: from that he never stirs until the playing is over. He acts on such occasions as his own clerk. No person belonging to the establishment is allowed, in any circumstances, or under any pretext, to enter the room while the gamblers are at work. There is a Mr. Page, who acts as 'inspector,' or groom-porter, while the games are going on in the hazard room; but he is in the confidence of most of the noblemen and gentlemen who frequent that part of the house; and though paid for his services, — some say at the princely rate of fifty guineas per week, — he can hardly be said to be one of Mr. Crockford's servants.

"The inspector, or groom-porter, or overlooker, — for he sometimes goes by one name, and sometimes by another, — sits on an elevated chair at the centre of the table, facing Mr. Crockford, and looks like a little king on his throne. With a small piece of stick, forming a miniature representation of a hay-rake, he pulls to him the money, which some one, acting for Mr. Crockford, has won; or pushes it towards any other party who may have been successful in the game. He also audibly declares the result of the game. In short, he is a sort of master of the ceremonies, taking always care that the dice be not allowed to be idle.

"Beside Mr. Crockford is 'the bank,' which every poor simpleton is made believe, by those 'knowing ones' who decoy him in, that he will be fortunate enough to break before he rises from his seat, but to whose stability he finds, before he quits the house, he has essentially contributed.

"I have mentioned that the hour for throwing open the hazard room is eleven o'clock. Persons are allowed to enter the house until two in the morning, and may commence playing at any time until then. The doors are all then shut; but though no one is admitted after that hour, those who have been previously in the house are not obliged to leave it. They are allowed to remain as long as they please; and many of them do remain till four or five o'clock. It was only in the beginning of August last, that some parties were so completely spell-bound by the game at which they had been playing, that they never rose off their seats from the time they sat down at eleven or twelve at night, until eight in the morning. * * * * *

"In Crockford's, very large sums are played for with the cards; but it is at the hazard table, when the game is French hazard, that the work of plunder is carried on on the most extensive scale. There, to use gambling phraseology, the 'pigeon is plucked.' And to get the flat prevailed on to throw down the cards, and repair to the hazard room, is the great, though concealed object of those in the interest of the house. A few hours, most probably, will do the work in the latter place. The stakes are usually high: he loses, perhaps, a fourth part of his fortune in less than an hour: he 'tables' another fourth, — he loses again. He becomes desperate: in the delirium, or madness (for that is the proper word) of the moment, he determines on risking his all at one throw. The dice turn up, — his all is lost: he who a few hours before was a rich man, is now a beggar. The sums which young thoughtless noblemen lose at Crockford's in one night, are sometimes incredibly large. Seven years ago one pigeon was plucked, in a few hours, to the tune of 60,000*l.*, — the stakes were 10,000*l.* It is only three years since Lord

C———, the grandson of an aged noble Earl, lost 30,000*l.* in one night. The winner was a noble Marquis, of sporting notoriety, who, according to report, was at that time, if not now, a part proprietor of the establishment. Losses of 5,000*l.*, 7,000*l.*, and 10,000*l.*, in one night, are by no means uncommon when a rich flat is caught." — Vol. I. pp. 168 – 171.

The next three chapters are devoted to Metropolitan Society; the higher, middle, and lower classes being separately considered. The chapter on the Aristocracy is filled with such gossip as you might hear in an ale-house or a cider-cellar. It reminded us of the conversation of Lady Blarney and Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Skeggs, in "The Vicar of Wakefield"; and as we read it we imitated the very impolite conduct of Mr. Burchel, and at the conclusion of every sentence cried out *Fudge!* We have seldom met with so many pages of coarse and indiscriminate abuse. The most important information we gather from the whole chapter is, that Younger Sons are called *Detrimentals*, and that a certain noble lady once gave to Lord Henry Manning the expressive cognomen of the *Beetle-squasher*. Fudge!

The middle and lower classes fare hardly better at our author's hands. Conjugal infidelity is his *cheval de bataille*. On this topic he makes what he is pleased to call "some pointed observations." We confess we saw not their point. We have no appetite for such matters, and think the book would be vastly improved if the three chapters on Metropolitan Society were entirely omitted. If half what he says be true, then do we hold with the German, "*In London ist der Teufel los.*" The account he gives of the "gin-palaces," and the drunkenness of the lower classes, is appalling. It recalled a description in an old play of Beaumont and Fletcher;

> "There 's a dead-sea
> Of drink i' th' cellar, in which goodly vessels
> Lie wracked, and in the middle of this deluge
> Appear the tops of flagons and black-jacks
> Like churches drowned i' the marshes."

We now come to the second volume. It is devoted entirely to the Newspaper Press and Periodical Literature; and, so far as we can judge, is written throughout with great fairness and impartiality. In this part of his work the author is evidently at home. He is not obliged to gather his facts from fashionable novels, nor refer his readers to such sources of information as in his chapter on the Higher Classes.

It seems, that at the commencement of the last century the English newspapers consisted of a single leaf of the quarto size, each page being divided into two columns. Reports of proceedings in Parliament, and in courts of law, and in public meetings, were unknown; and the columns twain of the newspapers were innocent of any original essays and disquisitions. A few paragraphs of general intelligence were furnished forth as the daily bread of the readers. The first original article, which ever appeared in an English newspaper, was from the pen of Dr. Johnson. It came out in 1758, in "The Universal Chronicle and Weekly Gazette," published by Mr. John Newberry of St. Paul's Churchyard; a gentleman of picture-book memory. The essays which Dr. Johnson furnished for this paper were afterward republished in "The Idler."

The number of the daily papers now issued in London, is eleven; that of the weekly, twenty-seven. The aggregate circulation of the former is about 40,000; that of the latter 120,000; making in all the enormous amount of 160,000. Of the eleven daily papers, seven are Liberal; the other four Conservative. The Liberal are, The Morning Chronicle, The Morning Advertiser, The Constitutional, The Globe, The Courier, The Sun, and the True Sun. The Conservative are, The Times, The Herald, The Post, and The Standard. Among the weekly papers there are eleven Liberal, viz. The Examiner, The Spectator, The Observer, Bell's Life in London, The Weekly Dispatch, Bell's New Weekly Messenger, The Atlas, The Satirist, The Weekly True Sun, The News, The Sunday Times, The Patriot, and The Christian Advocate. The Tory weekly papers are only seven in number; Bell's Weekly Messenger, The John Bull, The Age, The Weekly Post, The Watchman, The United Service Gazette, and The London Weekly Journal. The remainder are not political. The Weekly Dispatch has a circulation greater than that of all the Tory weeklies put together. During the last twenty years, some seventy or eighty attempts have been made to establish weekly papers, and all have proved unsuccessful, with the exception of six or seven. For example; in 1833 was established The New Weekly Dispatch. Ere long it fell into the doctor's hands, being bought up by "Universal-pill" Morrison for five pounds. Like the rest of his patients it soon died, after consuming an enormous quantity of pills; 3000*l.* being the loss sustained in

about a twelve-month. The number of weekly papers is not so great as formerly, owing in part to the establishment of provincial papers all over the country. At least one hundred of these have sprung into existence within the last five years. The decrease of the weekly papers is, however, to be attributed mainly to the establishment of unstamped papers. Of these some 200,000 copies were at one period issued weekly. Not less than 50,000 copies of the Police Gazette were sold weekly for a considerable time; and of the Twopenny Dispatch 28,000. But let us go a little more into detail.

The morning papers are six in number. The labor and expense of conducting them is immense. At seven or eight o'clock in the evening the editor goes to his office. The night "brings back his day." For an hour or two he is busy in examining letters and communications, of which, in times of great public excitement, more than three hundred have been received at one office in one day; and from midnight far into the morning watches, his pen is racing over the sheet before him, with the speed of the wind. The expenses, too, of a morning paper are very great. On this point the author shall speak for himself.

"The daily expenses incurred by a morning paper, conducted with any degree of spirit, are enormous. To those unacquainted with them they must appear incredible. The sum weekly paid by the leading morning journals for the intellectual and manual labor expended on them, without regard to the price of stamps, the advertisement duties, &c., is from 250*l.* to 300*l.* The price paid by 'The Times,' which is greater than that of its cotemporaries, owing to the greater frequency of its double-sheet publications, is not much under the latter sum. No morning newspaper could pay its expenses, provided it had no advertisements, with a circulation under six or seven thousand. As few of the morning papers have so large a circulation as this, it is therefore clear that the advertisements are the great source of profit. When these are numerous, they are extremely profitable to the proprietors; for in London they are charged at a very high rate. The smallest, though consisting of only one line, is, in the front page, five shillings. The charge for one of a column in length would vary in different papers, — for the proprietors of the several journals have not a uniform scale of charges, — from fourteen to sixteen guineas. The price, if I remember rightly, which 'The Times' charged for the advertisement, in 1835, of the Conservative Electors of the City of London, which contained 5,000 or

6,000 names adhibited to a petition to Parliament, was two hundred and fifty guineas. The advertisement, if my memory does not mislead me, filled about four pages of a double sheet. On some occasions 'The Times' double sheets contain between nine hundred and a thousand advertisements. The profits, then, from this source, must be enormous. Before the reduction of the advertisement duty, the yearly sum 'The Times' paid to government for advertisements alone, was not much under 20,000*l.* Its own statement of its contributions to the revenue in 1828, was as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
For stamps	48,516	13	4
For duties on advertisements . .	16,269	11	6
Excise on paper consumed . .	3,351	3	0
Making a total contribution to the revenue in one year of	£68,137	7	10

"I do not know of a more interesting scene than that which is to be seen in the office of a morning paper when all hands are at work. Notwithstanding the extent of the place, the variety of departments, and the number of persons employed, every thing not only proceeds with the regularity of clockwork, but the most perfect order prevails. Every one knows his own duty and cheerfully performs it, without interrupting or interfering with his neighbour in the discharge of his. There is no talking, nor any noise of any kind: every word that is spoken is in a suppressed whisper; and when any one has occasion to go from one part of the establishment to another, he treads the floor as softly as if he were afraid of the sound of his own feet. The profound stillness which prevails, is only broken by the gentle 'clicking' caused by the dropping of the types into the brass receptacles called composing-sticks, provided for them. I know of no other instance, that of a Quaker's meeting excepted, in which, where so great a number of persons are in the same place, so profound a silence reigns. I wish our legislators in the Lower House of Parliament would, in this respect, take an example from the compositors and other persons employed in getting up a morning paper. In that case their proceedings would be alike creditable to their own characters and beneficial to the country. As matters are at present managed in that assembly, it is a glaring and unpardonable perversion of language, to apply the term deliberative, either to themselves or their proceedings." — Vol. II. pp. 77 – 80.

Foremost among all newspapers both in London and else-

where, stands THE TIMES, — the Jupiter Tonans of the press, — the Thunderer. It was established as long ago as 1788, but did not begin to take the lead among the English papers, till after the peace of 1815. Dr. Stoddard, now Sir John Stoddard, Governor of Malta, was for some years previous to this period its principal editor; and so great was the virulence of this gentleman's attacks on Napoleon, that the emperor (*credat Judæus*) thought of prosecuting him for a libel! The successor of Dr. Stoddard was Mr. Barnes, the present editor. His salary is supposed to be twelve hundred guineas. The proprietorship of the paper is divided into sixteen shares; the whole is valued at 250,000*l.*; and the annual profits are said to be between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* Its circulation is estimated at 10,000 copies daily. The price of the paper is fivepence a number. Nearly one hundred individuals are directly and constantly employed upon it; and the number of compositors alone is between fifty and sixty. Including communications from correspondents, hardly a number appears, which does not contain a portion of the manual and intellectual labor of some hundred and fifty individuals. It was the first paper which employed a steam press;* it also set the example of giving occasionally a double sheet, which contains a quantity of matter equal to the contents of three octavo volumes; so that you get for fivepence as much printed matter as a publisher of novels gives you for a guinea and a half; — in quantity equal, in quality not inferior. The paper is in every one's hands. Not a club, that does not take it in; not a member of Parliament, who does not read it; it is found in every tap and ale-house, and under the sign of "Magnificent Gin, fit for Commodore or Lord High Admiral;" — so that wherever you go you hear a voice like that of the Fool in the Mad Lover, "O Tim, the Times! — the Times, Tim!" It was the bold champion of the late Queen Caroline, when the modern Henry the Eighth repudiated her. It is said that the question was regularly debated and decided by vote among the proprietors, whether their paper should support or oppose the Queen's

* "Before the introduction of steam power into the printing-offices of the daily papers, the proprietors were obliged to cause duplicates of each number to be 'set up,' in order to get the paper out in tolerable time; and even then, as the most active and powerful pressman could not throw off above 500 impressions in an hour, by means of his hand, the publication of part of the paper was always delayed to a late hour." — Vol. II. p. 26.

cause; but their decision once made, they pleaded that cause with energy, perseverance, and final success. "The Times" was formerly Liberal; it is now Tory. It changed its politics at the downfall of the Melbourne administration in 1834. Every department is in the hands of a person well qualified to manage it. Beside the principal editor, there are "the gentlemen occasionally employed to write leaders, the sub-editor, the selector of articles of intelligence, and the person employed to make up the paper, as it is technically called; and all work as harmoniously together as if the entire contents were the work of one hand."

The other morning papers are, The Morning Herald, The Morning Chronicle, The Morning Post, The Morning Advertiser, The Public Ledger. The evening papers, to which, also, our author devotes an entire chapter, are, The Globe, The Courier, The Sun, and The True Sun. Our limits will not allow us to notice them. Even with the weekly papers we must make short work. The best known and most highly valued of them all is THE EXAMINER, edited by Mr. Albany Fonblanque, a writer of great power and brilliancy. It is Radical in its politics; and its circulation is not over 3,400, though it has been as large as 7,000. The paper of the largest circulation in London, and probably in the world, is THE WEEKLY DISPATCH. Of this paper upwards of 30,000 copies are regularly circulated, and of some particular numbers, with portraits of the King and Queen, 130,000 copies were sold. Its politics are Radical. — And here we must stop. Those of our readers who are curious upon this topic, we refer to the book itself. There they will find the most minute detail.

The next chapter contains an interesting account of Parliamentary Reporting. The number of reporters for the London newspapers is about eighty. Of these more than sixty are engaged for the morning papers, and the rest for the evening papers. Many of them have received a University education, and some belong to the learned professions. There are among them clergymen, physicians, surgeons, and barristers. Many persons, also, well known in the literary world, are or have been reporters. Among these we may mention Sir James Mackintosh, Allan Cunningham, Mr. Dickens, author of the "Pickwick Papers," and, foremost in the ranks, the great lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, who, in his

reports, as he himself says, "took care that the Whig rascals should not have the best of the argument." And finally we would notice the name of Jack Finnarty, who deserves to be immortalized in Joe Miller for the following joke.

"About five-and-thirty years ago, when only one sentence of a speech was given, on an average, every five or six minutes, and when the reporters had to sit for many hours at a time, — they were often at a loss to know what to do with themselves. On one occasion, when laboring under an attack of *ennui*, and also under the effects of poteen, Jack Finnarty, a well-known reporter of that period, — yawned out, 'Mr. Speaker, will you favor us with a song?' A roar of laughter followed from all parts of the house. One of the officers immediately repaired to the gallery, and inquired who the offender was. Jack Finnarty, without opening his mouth, pointed to a Quaker, of very diminutive stature, who was sitting in the front seat. The officer immediately seized the unoffending little man by the breast of his collarless coat, and without condescending to give a why or wherefore, dragged him down stairs, and transferred him to the care of the sergeant-at-arms. The latter, after keeping him in safe custody during the night, and compelling him to pay nearly 30*l.* for his lodgings, set him at liberty on the following day." — Vol. II. p. 245.

The salaries of the reporters vary from three to five guineas a week. The majority of them are engaged by the year; though during the recess of Parliament their salaries are reduced. Some of them have followed this calling for many years. Three of the gentlemen, still employed, were reporters in the time of Fox, Sheridan, and Pitt; and one has attended every session of Parliament for more than thirty-four years. The business of reporting is carried on with great precision.

"Each reporter takes a turn of three quarters of an hour's duration. The moment his time has expired, he quits the gallery, his place being taken by another, walks down to the office of the paper for which he is engaged, where he extends his notes in a legible hand, and then transfers the manuscript, which is on small slips, written only on one side, — to the printer. The printer distributes the slips among the compositors. The writing only on one side facilitates the labor of the compositors, who, when five or six of them are employed on the same reporter's copy, always put his manuscript into types as fast as he can get

it ready. When the reporter who succeeded the first gentleman has been on duty his three quarters of an hour, he is relieved by some of his colleagues, and he also goes directly to the office to write out his copy in a perfect hand. In this way the thing goes on alphabetically the whole night, until all the reporters on the different establishments have severally had their 'turns,' — unless the House should chance to rise before the number is exhausted. It is but very seldom that any of the reporters have two turns on the same night. They only have so, either when two or three of them are absent from ill-health, or on other business, or when both Houses sit for some considerable time. In that case the reporters severally extend the duration of their terms, in either House, to an hour, — otherwise they would be required to take a second turn before they had written out the first. This sometimes happens even with the hour turns. It so happens, either when the speaker or the subject has been so important as to render a copious report desirable; or when the reporter's notes, which is pretty often the case, are so confused as to prevent his reading them with ease.

"When a reporter begins extending his notes for the compositor, he writes at the commencement of his first slip his own name and the name of the colleague whom he succeeds, in this way, — 'Hammond follows Richards,' or whatever else the names of the parties chance to be. When he finishes his turn, he writes in the same way at the end of his slip the name of the gentleman who follows him, together with his own. The object of this is to enable the printer to arrange the copy given him by the various reporters in its proper order. But for this regulation, the speeches of the different members would be thrown into confusion, and awkward transpositions of the several parts of the same member's speech would also occasionally occur.

"When a reporter takes copious notes of any speech, it usually requires five times the time to extend those notes in a readable hand, which it occupied in taking them. Supposing, for instance, that a reporter has a turn of an hour, it will take fully five hours, hard incessant labor, to extend his notes for the printer. The notes which a good reporter will take in three-quarters of an hour, usually fill, when extended, about two columns of 'The Times.' In the case of Lord Stanley, and some other honorable members, who speak with much rapidity, the notes so taken would, when written out at full length, occupy two columns and a half of 'The Times.'

"Many of the reporters write with much rapidity. It is considered a great effort to write a column of 'The Times' in two hours and a half; but instances have been known of its being

done in two hours. Mr. Serjeant Spankie was one of the most rapid writers ever known on the press. When a reporter on 'The Morning Chronicle,' in Mr. Perry's time, he, on one occasion, wrote a column in an hour. To be sure, the paper was then much smaller in size than it now is, and the type much larger than that now used; but the disproportion was not so great as not to entitle the effort of the learned gentleman to be regarded as the most successful one at rapid writing, with which I am acquainted. The next most successful, perhaps, was that of the late Mr. William Godwin, junior, who, when a reporter five or six years ago on 'The Morning Chronicle,' wrote a column of the then size of the paper, in an hour and three quarters. It is to be observed, that in the cases to which I refer, there was not only the mere manual exercise of writing, but also the reading of the notes." — Vol. II. pp. 221 – 224.

We now come to the Periodical Literature of London. And first, of the Quarterly Reviews, which are five in number. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW first appeared in 1809. The plan of this review originated with Mr. Gifford, who had brought himself into notice as a critic by his papers in "The Anti-Jacobin Review." In "The Quarterly" he proposed to raise up a rival and political opponent to "The Edinburgh Review," which was the organ of the Whig party. His first proposal was made to the publisher of "The Monthly Review," who thought so unfavorably of it, as to reject it at once. Mr. Gifford next applied to Mr. Murray, then a bookseller of no great note in Fleet Street. He undertook the work, and stipulated to pay Mr. Gifford as editor a salary of 200*l.* per annum. It was gradually increased to 900*l.* In a few years "The Quarterly" gained itself a distinguished name, and became in some measure the rival of "The Edinburgh," which then had a circulation of nearly twenty thousand copies. Among the earliest contributors to the pages of "The Quarterly" were Dr. Southey and Sir Walter Scott, who in one of the volumes of 1816 reviewed some of his own novels. Mr. Gifford continued as editor of the work till two years before his death, which took place in 1827. Its circulation was then about 7,000 copies. It is now 9,000. A few years afterwards Mr. Lockhart became editor. Who conducted the work in the interim, we know not. Our author says it was Dr. Southey. We believe it was Mr. Coleridge, junior. Mr. Lockhart's salary is stated at 1,400*l.* per annum. His prin-

cipal coadjutors are said to be Mr. Milman, author of "Fazio" and "The Fall of Jerusalem"; Mr. Taylor, author of "Philip van Artevelde"; and Mr. Hayward, translator of the "Faust" into English prose. The rate of remuneration varies with the character of the article, and the reputation of the writer. The average payment is about twenty guineas for a sheet of sixteen pages. Dr. Southey has, however, received fifty guineas for an article of less than thirty pages. Of Mr. Lockhart's ability it would be superfluous to speak. As a critic he is merciless, and commits at times "most unrighteous slaughter" among authors and *authorlings*. We can say of him, as is said of Perez the Pounder, in the old Spanish Ballad, we "have seen some flail-armed man belabor barley so."

The Westminster Review was started in 1824 by Jeremy Bentham and other Utilitarians; among whom was the late Mr. James Mill, author of the "History of British India." Its political views from the outset were Radical. In 1831, its circulation had risen to nearly 3,000, and in one of the numbers of that year, a powerful article on the Vote by Ballot, written by Mr. Mill, produced a great sensation, and added several hundred names to the list of subscribers. Dr. Bowring was at that time editor, and, Jeremy Bentham being gathered to his fathers, the principal proprietor also, having received from the father of the "greatest happiness" principle, his share of the work. At the beginning of last year the Westminster was united with the London Review, which had been started about a twelve-month before. The work is now conducted under the title of "The London and Westminster Review," and has a circulation of about 1,500 copies. Mr. Thomas Falconer, a solicitor, is said to be the editor.

The Foreign Quarterly began its career in 1827, with Mr. Gillies and Mr. Fraser as editors, and such contributors as Sir Walter Scott, Dr. Southey, and Thomas Carlyle. Under such auspices, before a year was passed, it reached a circulation of more than 1,500 copies. Unfortunately a misunderstanding arose between Mr. Fraser and Mr. Cochrane, who was manager in the house of the publishers. The result was that Mr. Cochrane became editor of "The Foreign Quarterly," and Mr. Fraser established a new periodical in opposition, under the title of "The Foreign Review." Ten numbers only of this new review were published. Peace was then declared between it and its rival, and they were united in one

under the old title, and the editorial department continued in the hands of Mr. Cochrane. In 1834, the publishers failed; and soon afterwards Mr. Cochrane, having a misunderstanding with the assignees of Richter & Co., threw up the editorship of the Review, and established another under the title of "Cochrane's Foreign Quarterly Review." It lived six months. Who is at present the editor of "The Foreign Quarterly," is not generally known. Its plan is excellent; and from the beginning it has been conducted with great ability. Its pages contain valuable papers on the literature of all nations, and much literary intelligence from the four corners of the earth. It takes little part in politics.

Two new Quarterly Reviews have recently been established in London. The first is, THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW. It was established in 1835 by Mr. Beaumont, a member of Parliament from Northumberland, whose main object is said to have been that of advocating the cause of Poland against its oppressors. The first editor was Mr. Young, a member of the bar. The present editor is Mr. John Kemble, the Anglo-Saxon scholar. Articles have been written by Lord Brougham, Mr. Talfourd, and Mr. Shiel. Its politics are Liberal. The second is THE DUBLIN REVIEW. It began its career in April, 1836, and was established mainly for the purpose of advocating Roman Catholic principles. O'Connel is one of its editors; therefore we need not say what its political principles are.

The Monthly Periodicals of London are thirteen in number. They are; The Gentleman's Magazine, The Monthly Review, The Monthly Magazine, The Eclectic Review, The New Monthly Magazine, Fraser's Magazine, The Metropolitan Magazine, The Monthly Repository, The Lady's Magazine, The Court Magazine, The Asiatic Journal, Alexander's East India Magazine, and The United Service Journal.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE is more than a hundred years old. It was established in 1733; and "Silvanus Urban" still flourishes in a green old age. His friends and supporters "are for the most part retired antiquarians and aged literary gentlemen, living in various parts of the country." The next in point of age is THE MONTHLY REVIEW. It was established in 1749. Most of the literary men who flourished during the last half of the last century, contributed to its pages; and prominent among them were Smollett, Goldsmith, Johnson,

Sterne, Hume, and Hawkesworth. In our own day, a part of Mr. Taylor's "Historic Survey of German Poetry" appeared originally in "The Monthly Review." In the same Review, in the year 1806, the reputation of Kirke White was waylaid and barbarously murdered. This is thought to have hastened the poet's death, although we think with Byron,

> "'T is strange the mind, that very fiery particle,
> Should let itself be snuff'd out by an article."

THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE was established in 1786, and among its contributors have been, and for aught we know still are, Fonblanque, the Smiths, Allan Cunningham, Sir Egerton Brydges, and Sheridan Knowles. THE ECLECTIC REVIEW is in part literary, and in part theological; and has been ably conducted for many years by Mr. Condor. Among its most distinguished writers have been Robert Hall, John Foster, and James Montgomery. THE NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE was started in 1814, by the present proprietor, Mr. Colburn, who engaged the services of Thomas Campbell as editor, at 600*l.* per annum. There was also a sub-editor with a salary of 250*l.* In 1831, Mr. Campbell gave up his editorial chair, and Bulwer the novelist slept in it until 1833. The present editor is Mr. S. C. Hall. Among the most distinguished contributors have been Lady Morgan, Thomas Moore, Theodore Hook, Leigh Hunt, Galt, Allan Cunningham, the Smiths, Mrs. Hemans, and Mr. Grattan. Mr. Colburn's liberality in the remuneration of his writers is proverbial. His usual price is from ten to sixteen guineas a sheet of sixteen pages. Sometimes he has paid as high as twenty. — FRASER'S MAGAZINE commenced its wild and lawless career in 1830. Its articles are written for the most part in a bold, dashing style, and, we are sorry to add, in a spirit of utter profligacy. There is hardly a number which does not make a most desperate onslaught upon some poor author, which may well be called, in the language of the Ettrick Shepherd, a "butchery." What adds not a little to the pungency of the work is its gallery of literary portraits, or outline engravings of distinguished men, generally in caricature. Mr. Forrester executes these. The principal writers in "Fraser" are Crofton Croker, Mahoney, author of the "Prout Papers," Mr. Bankes, Mr. Heraud, and Dr. Maginn. Its circulation is about fifteen hundred copies.

Of the other Monthlies we have not room to speak; nor can we say more of the weekly literary journals, than simply to enumerate them. They are five in number; The Literary Gazette, The Athenæum, The Mirror, The Penny Magazine, and The Saturday Magazine. The Penny Magazine was established by the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." At one period its circulation was immense, amounting to two hundred thousand copies. At present it does not exceed one hundred and forty thousand. Mr. Knight is editor and proprietor. He pays his contributors at the rate of 1*l.* 15*s.* a page. Three years ago the profits of the work were supposed to be 10,000*l.* per annum; and at present cannot fall far short of 7,000*l.*

The chapter and the book conclude with a few general observations, in the course of which the author commits the following most deliberate absurdity. He says, "The papers which raised the Spectators, and Tatlers, and Guardians, and Ramblers of the eighteenth century into circulation, would not find admission into our periodicals. Supposing that Addison, and Steele, and Johnson were all to rise from their graves, and offer themselves anonymously as contributors to the Magazines and Reviews of 1836, *not one of their articles would be accepted! The most worthless periodical in existence, grounding its claims to public patronage on its original matter, would unceremoniously consign their 'papers,' as articles in those days were called, to the flames!!*" Delicious! Nothing can surpass this. We make no comment. But, with these solemn sentences still sounding in our ears, we close "The Great Metropolis," and bid the author farewell in the words of the Archbishop of Granada to Gil Blas; "Say no more, my child; you are as yet too raw to make proper distinctions. Adieu. I wish you all manner of prosperity with a little more taste."

ART. VIII. — *Ion ; a Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By THOMAS NOON TALFOURD. New York ; George Dearborn & Co. 12mo. pp. 109.

THIS remarkable poem has justly called to itself more attention than any other work of the times. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, its author, is an eminent lawyer, and a member of the British House of Commons. He was, previously to the publication of this poem, well known among the members of his profession, as a gentleman of distinguished ability and literary taste ; but out of his profession, and particularly on this side of the water, he was unknown to fame, until his "Ion" set him at once on the very pinnacle. He was trained in classical studies by the celebrated Dr. Valpy, perhaps the ablest teacher of his day in England, and the first edition is dedicated, in terms of almost filial affection, to that excellent man. There are few things more gratifying in human life than such testimonies of respect from a pupil to the instructer of his youth. We can easily imagine the emotions of pride and delight with which the veteran scholar welcomed this beautiful memorial of the genius and taste which he had himself done so much to foster.

"Ion" is evidently the work of many years. It is constructed on the principles of the Grecian drama, and is, on the whole, the most successful reproduction of the antique spirit with which we are acquainted. The simplicity of the Attic drama, by which great and impressive results are wrought out with few means, is very hard to imitate. The heroic elevation of sentiment, which gives a solemn grandeur to the best pieces of Æschylus and Sophocles, belonged to the patriotic and mythical subjects, to which the national mind turned with fondness and enthusiasm ; but to create anew an interest in those venerable themes, is a work to task the mightiest and most comprehensive genius. Modern attempts have accordingly been for the most part unsuccessful. They have been either stiff and pedantic imitations, painfully elaborated from a learned brain, or, like the French drama, under the ancient order, have veiled, beneath a strict adherence to unessential forms, essential departures from the genuine aim and spirit of the classic theatre.

Mr. Talfourd has been remarkably successful in two respects. His tragedy is at once true to the antique models, and deeply interesting to the mere modern reader. The classical scholar, as he reads its exquisite pages, can hardly escape the delusive impression that he has found a long-lost work of Sophocles. Its harmonious lines, to his ear, sound like the old Greek iambics, into which they fall so readily that at times he hardly knows whether he is reading Greek or English. The reader, whose knowledge is bounded by the literature of his mother tongue, finds in it such clear conceptions of character, such a polished and melodious versification, such rich and enchanting imagery, that he yields his spirit to the master's spell, "he knows not why, and cares not wherefore." He rises from its perusal with a pervading sense of beauty, which no other late poem can give him. It is all high thought nobly expressed. It is heroic sentiment and sublime action, tempered and subdued with the softest and most delicate humanity.

"Ion," we have said, is an imitation of antique models; but in no sense that can derogate from its merits as a noble original. The author shows himself, not simply familiar with

> "what the lofty, grave tragedians taught
> In chorus or iambic, teachers best
> Of moral prudence, with delight received,
> In brief, sententious precepts, while they treat
> Of fate and chance, and change in human life;
> High actions and high passions best describing,"

but, what is far more uncommon, deeply imbued with their spirit. He has written as if he had lived in a classic land and grown up in the nurture of heroic traditions; as if he felt, like a countryman, the woes of the house of Pelops and Thyestes, and the doom of an inexorable fate. He is true to the antique, not only in spirit, but in the accessories. The circumstances with which he surrounds the personages in the play, are thoroughly Greek; and the natural scenery, in the midst of which we are placed, brings up in memory many an exquisite scene in Sophocles.

The leading idea of the hero's character, as Mr. Talfourd observes in the Preface to his first edition, is borrowed from the "Ion" of Euripides; but nothing more. Ion, in the Greek play, is a foundling educated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and proves to be the son of Apollo and Creusa, an

Athenian princess. The princess, after the birth of Ion, is married to Xuthus, by the command of her father Erectheus. Having remained long childless, they resolve to consult the oracle, and there Creusa discovers that Ion is her own son. It would be doing gross injustice to Mr. Talfourd to say, that the play of Euripides is equal in any respect to his. With the exception of the beautiful song of Ion, at the opening of the piece, the Grecian drama has but little to recommend it. The dialogues are slovenly and tedious. The characters are low, and the moral feeling is vulgar throughout. But it must be remembered that the play was written after the pure and simple taste of the Athenian stage had begun to decline; and that even Euripides *had* produced several tragedies of the loftiest tone. It must have been the impression made by a few pieces like the Alcestis, on the mind of Mr. Talfourd, that dictated the eulogy he has pronounced on the "Ion" of Euripides.

The plot of Mr. Talfourd's "Ion," though Greek in character, is entirely of his own invention. The birth of a prince of Argos is accompanied by a terrific announcement, that

> "Against the life which now begins shall life
> Lighted from thence be armed, and, both soon quenched,
> End this great line in sorrow."

Doomed thus from the moment of his birth, the unhappy prince is regarded with dread and suspicion by the courtiers, and even by his own parents. Meantime a second son is born, on whom the favor due the first is lavished. He is accidentally killed, and his elder brother is suspected of having murdered him. In despair at the harsh treatment and cruel suspicions of which he is the innocent object, Adrastus flies from the society of his companions, and roves the woods, or plunges into the deep. He meets by accident a lovely maiden, engaged in the pious duty of bestowing the rites of sepulture on her father,

> "And soon two lovely ones by holy rites
> Became one happy being."

His sylvan home is tracked by his father's spies, just as a son is given him, and the infant is seized by ruffians, to avert the foretold catastrophe of the royal house. He is borne to a rock that beetled over the deep; but one of the murderers, stepping upon a loosened crag, falls headlong, and perishes in

the waters. The other, in whose arms the child is carried, terrified at his companion's fate, lays the infant in the sacred grove, where he is found by attendants of the temple. He is brought up under the fostering care of the aged priest. These are the few circumstances in the history of the leading characters which the progress of the action brings to light.

At the opening of the play, Adrastus is already king of Argos, and the city is afflicted with the pestilence. The first scene is in the temple of Apollo, placed on a rocky height, above the city. The foundling has become a youth of gracious promise, a favorite inmate of the temple. Agenor, one of the sages of Argos, in the scene just referred to, thus describes Ion, who has been permitted by Medon,

'To visit the sad city at his will:
And freely does he use the dangerous boon,
Which, in my thought, the love that cherished him,
Since he was found within the sacred grove
Smiling amidst the storm, a most rare infant,
Should have had sternness to deny.

AGENOR.

What, Ion
The only inmate of this fane allowed
To seek the mournful walks where death is busy! —
Ion, our sometime darling, whom we prized
As a stray gift, by bounteous Heaven dismissed
From some bright sphere which sorrow may not cloud,
To make the happy happier! Is *he* sent
To grapple with the miseries of this time,
Whose nature such ethereal aspect wears
As it would perish at the touch of wrong?
By no internal contest is he trained
For such hard duty; no emotions rude
Have his clear spirit vanquished; — Love, the germ
Of his mild nature, hath spread graces forth,
Expanding with its progress, as the store
Of rainbow color which the seed conceals
Sheds out its tints from its dim treasury,
To flush and circle in the flower. No tear
Hath filled his eye, save that of thoughtful joy
When, in the evening stillness, lovely things
Pressed on his soul too busily; his voice,
If, in the earnestness of childish sports,
Raised to the tone of anger, checked its force,

As if it feared to break its being's law,
And faltered into music; when the forms
Of guilty passion have been made to live
In pictured speech, and others have waxed loud
In righteous indignation, he hath heard
With skeptic smile, or from some slender vein
Of goodness, which surrounding gloom concealed,
Struck sunlight o'er it. So his life hath flowed
From its mysterious urn a sacred stream,
In whose calm depth the beautiful and pure
Alone are mirrored; which, though shapes of ill
May hover round its surface, glides in light,
And takes no shadow from them." —pp. 5, 6.

Adrastus, urged by Medon the high priest, has sent Phocion to consult the Delphic oracle. Impatient at his long delay, and driven to desperation by the raging of the pestilence, the king has shut himself up in his palace, accompanied by a few courtiers, and surrounded by the soldiers of the royal guard, to drown in mad revelry all sense of present ill, and all foreboding of coming destruction. The Sages have already sent him an humble entreaty that he would meet them in council. The messenger has been driven back in disgrace, and the king has decreed that whoever next appears unbidden before his presence shall die. Ion already feels the great task of his life pressing supernaturally upon his spirit, and thus pleads to be sent on this dangerous mission.

"O Sages, do not think my prayer
Bespeaks unseeming forwardness, — send me!
The coarsest reed that trembles in the marsh,
If Heaven select it for its instrument,
May shed celestial music on the breeze
As clearly as the pipe whose virgin gold
Befits the lip of Phœbus; — ye are wise,
And needed by your country; ye are fathers;
I am a lone, stray thing, whose little life
By strangers' bounty cherished, like a wave
That from the summer sea a wanton breeze
Lifts for a moment's sparkle, will subside
Light as it rose, nor leave a sigh in breaking.

MEDON.

Ion, no sigh!

ION.

Forgive me if I seemed
To doubt that thou wilt mourn me if I fall;
Nor would I tax thy love with such a fear,
But that high promptings, which could never rise
Spontaneous in my nature, bid me plead
Thus boldly for the mission.

MEDON.

My brave boy!
It shall be as thou wilt. I see thou 'rt called
To this great peril, and I will not stay thee.
When wilt thou be prepared to seek it?

ION.

Now.
Only before I go, thus, on my knee,
Let me in one word thank thee for a life
Made by thy love a cloudless holyday;
And O, my more than father! let me look
Up to thy face as if indeed a father's,
And give me a son's blessing!

MEDON.

Bless thee, son!
I should be marble now; let 's part at once.

ION.

If I should not return, bless Phocion from me;
And, for Clemanthe, — may I speak one word,
One parting word with my fair playfellow?

MEDON.

If thou would'st have it so, thou shalt.

ION.

Farewell then!
Your prayers wait on my steps. The arm of Heaven
I feel in life or death will be around me. [*Exit.*

MEDON.

O grant it be in life! Let 's to the sacrifice. [*Exeunt.*"
— pp. 12 - 14.

Ion has unconsciously become attached to Clemanthe, the priest's daughter. The interview between them, which closes the first act, is one of the most beautiful passages of the poem.

In the second act, the king admits Ion to his presence, having forewarned him of the fatal consequence of his intrusion. Ion, with a sad constancy, persists in delivering his message. The king is overcome by the noble firmness of the youth, and the memory of past days is revived by tones and looks that remind him of her who has been long lost to him. He yields to the irresistible fascination, and relates to Ion the history of his life; then consents to meet the Sages. Meantime Phocion arrives with the response of the oracle, which he is sworn to deliver first to the king.

The following is a part of the scene between Adrastus and the councillors.

ADRASTUS.

"Upon your summons, Sages, I am here;
Your king attends to know your pleasure; speak it!

AGENOR.

And canst thou ask? If the heart dead within thee
Receives no impress of this awful time,
Art thou of sense forsaken? Are thine ears
So charmed by strains of slavish minstrelsy,
That the dull groan and frenzy-pointed shriek
Pass them unheard to Heaven? Or are thine eyes
So conversant with prodigies of grief,
They cease to dazzle at them? Art thou armed
'Gainst wonder, while, in all things, Nature turns
To dreadful contraries; — while Youth's full cheek
Is shrivelled into furrows of sad years,
And 'neath its glossy curls untinged by care
Looks out a keen anatomy; — while Age
Is stung by feverish torture for an hour
Into youth's strength; — while fragile Womanhood
Starts into frightful courage, all unlike
The gentle strength its gentle weakness feeds
To make affliction beautiful, and stalks
Abroad, a tearless, an unshuddering thing; —
While Childhood, in its orphaned freedom blithe,
Finds, in the shapes of wretchedness which seem
Grotesque to its unsaddened vision, cause
For dreadful mirth that shortly shall be hushed
In never-broken silence; — and while Love,
Immortal through all change, makes ghastly Death
Its idol, and with furious passion digs
Amid sepulchral images for gauds

To cheat its fancy with? — Do sights like these
Glare through the realm thou shouldst be parent to,
And canst thou find the voice to ask 'our pleasure'?

ADRASTUS.

Cease, babbler; — wherefore would ye stun my ears
With vain recital of the griefs I know,
And cannot heal? — will treason turn aside
The shafts of fate, or medicine Nature's ills?
I have no skill in pharmacy, nor power
To sway the elements.

AGENOR.

Thou hast the power
To cast thyself upon the earth with us
In penitential shame; or, if this power
Hath left a heart made weak by luxury
And hard by pride, thou hast at least the power
To cease the mockery of thy frantic revels.

ADRASTUS.

I have yet power to punish insult, — look
I use it not, Agenor! — Fate may dash
My sceptre from me, but shall not command
My will to hold it with a feebler grasp;
Nay, if few hours of empire yet are mine,
They shall be colored with a sterner pride,
And peopled with more lustrous joys than flushed
In the serene procession of its greatness,
Which looked perpetual, as the flowing course
Of human things. Have ye beheld a pine
That clasped the mountain-summit with a root
As firm as its rough marble, and, apart
From the huge shade of undistinguished trees,
Lifted its head as in delight to share
The evening glories of the sky, and taste
The wanton dalliance of the heavenly breeze
That no ignoble vapor from the vale
Could mingle with, — smit by the flaming marl,
And lighted for destruction? How it stood
One glorious moment, fringed and wreathed with fire
Which showed the inward graces of its shape,
Uncumbered now, and midst its topmost boughs,
That young Ambition's airy fancies made
Their giddy nest, leaped sportive; — never clad
By liberal summer in a pomp so rich
As waited on its downfall, while it took

The storm-cloud rolled behind it for a curtain
To gird its splendors round, and made the blast
Its minister to whirl its flashing shreds
Aloft towards heaven, or to the startled depths
Of forests that afar might share its doom!
So shall the royalty of Argos pass
In festal blaze to darkness! Have ye spoken?"
— pp. 43 – 46.

The assembly breaks up in confusion, and the king returns to the palace to resume the banquet. His doom is now sealed, and Ion is irresistibly impressed with the conviction that he is to be the avenger.

ION.

"O wretched man, thy words have sealed thy doom!
Why should I shiver at it, when no way,
Save this, remains to break the ponderous cloud
That hangs above my wretched country? — death, —
A single death, the common lot of all,
Which it will not be mine to look upon, —
And yet its ghastly shape dilates before me;
I cannot shut it out; my thoughts grow rigid,
And as that dim and prostrate figure haunts them,
My sinews stiffen like it. Courage, Ion!
No spectral form is here; all outward things
Wear their own old familiar looks; no dye
Pollutes them. Yet the air has scent of blood,
And now it eddies with a hurtling sound,
As if some weapon swiftly clove it. No, —
The falchion's course is silent as the grave
That yawns before its victim. Gracious powers!
If the great duty of my life be near,
Grant it may be to suffer, not to strike!" — pp. 50, 51.

The third act opens with a dialogue between Ion and Clemanthe.

CLEMANTHE.

"Nay, I must chide this sorrow from thy brow,
Or 't will rebuke my happiness; — I know
Too well the miseries that hem us round;
And yet the inward sunshine of my soul,
Unclouded by their melancholy shadows,
Bathes in its deep tranquillity one image, —
One only image, which no outward storm
Can ever ruffle. Let me wean thee, then,
From this vain pondering o'er the general woe,
Which makes my joy look ugly.

ION.

No, my fair one,
The gloom that wrongs thy love is unredeemed
By generous sense of others' woe; too sure
It rises from dark presages within,
And will not from me.

CLEMANTHE.

Then it is most groundless!
Hast thou not won the blessings of the perishing
By constancy, the fame of which shall live
While a heart beats in Argos? hast thou not
Upon one agitated bosom poured
The sweetest peace? and can thy generous nature,
While it thus sheds felicity around it,
Remain itself unblessed?

ION.

I strove awhile
To think the assured possession of thy love
With too divine a burden weighed my heart
And pressed my spirits down; — but 't is not so;
Nor will I with false tenderness beguile thee,
By feigning that my sadness has a cause
So exquisite. Clemanthe! thou wilt find me
A sad companion; — I, who knew not life,
Save as the sportive breath of happiness,
Now feel my minutes teeming, as they rise,
With grave experiences; I dream no more
Of azure realms, where restless beauty sports
In myriad shapes fantastic; but black vaults
In long succession open till the gloom
Afar is broken by a streak of fire
That shapes my name; the fearful wind, that moans
Before the storm, articulates its sound;
And as I passed but now the solemn range
Of Argive monarchs, that in sculptured mockery
Of present empire sit, their eyes of stone
Bent on me instinct with a frightful life
That drew me into fellowship with them,
As conscious marble; while their ponderous lips, —
Fit organs of eternity, — unclosed,
And, as I live to tell thee, murmured 'Hail!
Hail! Ion the Devoted!'" — pp. 52, 53.

A conspiracy is already formed by noble Argive youths to put the king to death. The place of meeting is a deep wood,

with an ancient altar. As Ion approaches the spot, he utters the following soliloquy.

"O winding pathways, o'er whose scanty blades
Of unaspiring grass mine eyes have bent
So often, when by musing fancy swayed,
That craved alliance with no wider scene
Than your fair thickets bordered, but was pleased
To deem the toilsome years of manhood flown,
And, on the pictured mellowness of age
Idly reflective, image my return
From careful wanderings, to find ye gleam
With unchanged aspect on a heart unchanged,
And melt the busy past to a sweet dream
As then the future was; — why should ye now
Echo my steps with melancholy sound
As ye were conscious of a guilty presence?
The lovely light of eve, that, as it waned,
Touched ye with softer, homelier look, now fades
In dismal blackness; and yon twisted roots
Of ancient trees, with whose fantastic forms
My thoughts grew humorous, look terrible,
As if about to start to serpent life,
And hiss around me; — whither shall I turn? —
Where fly? — I see the myrtle-cradled spot
Where human love instructed by divine
Found and embraced me first; I 'll cast me down
Upon that earth as on a mother's breast,
In hope to feel myself again a child." — p. 57.

He breaks upon the conspirators just as they have bound themselves to the fulfilment of their great purpose, and determined to decide by lot who shall do the deed. The lot falls upon Ion, who devotes himself to the will of destiny, in a speech of solemn grandeur, that breathes the very spirit of Æschylus. After another interview with Clemanthe, Ion departs on his terrible mission. Meantime Irus, the slave of Agenor, bears to Medon a scroll, from a kinsman lying on his death-bed. That kinsman is one of the ruffians to whom the infant Ion was intrusted, and the scroll reveals to Medon the true lineage of the foundling. He imparts the secret to Clemanthe, and learns from her the fatal deed about to be committed.

In the fourth act, Ion creeps stealthily to the chamber of

the king. Medon rushes in just as his arm is raised to plunge the dagger into his father's bosom, and arrests the deadly purpose. He shows to Adrastus the proofs of his son's birth. The other conspirators, impatient of the delay, hurry to the royal chamber, and one of them, Ctesiphon, whose father has been the object of royal insult, stabs the king. This is followed by a scene of exquisite tenderness between Adrastus and his long-lost son, at the end of which the king dies. Ion prepares to fulfil his yet remaining duty; for the oracle has declared that the royal race must perish. The other conspirators, thinking that Ion has forgotten the vow, determine to accomplish it themselves, and Phocion attempts to assassinate him, but is disarmed. In the succeeding dialogue Ion declares his purpose to fulfil the oracle.

The fifth act opens with a dialogue between the soldiers on guard. Preparations are making for the coronation of the new king. The interview between Ion and Clemanthe at the Temple breathes the purest spirit of tenderness and truth.

The last scene represents the great square of the city, surrounded by the pomp of coronation; a throne, an altar, and statues decked with garlands. Ion sits on the throne of his fathers, and calls out the old Sages, upon whom he devolves the councils of the state; he banishes Crythes, and the royal guards, and exacts from the assembled Argives an oath that when he is dead, the welfare of the state shall never be intrusted to a monarch's will. The scene and the play thus end.

ION.

"Hear and record the oath, immortal powers!
Now give me leave a moment to approach
That altar unattended. [*He goes to the altar.*
Gracious gods!
In whose mild service my glad youth was spent,
Look on me now; — and if there is a Power,
As at this solemn time I feel there is,
Beyond ye, that hath breathed through all your shapes
The spirit of the beautiful that lives
In earth and heaven; — to ye I offer up
This conscious being, full of life and love
For my dear country's welfare. Let this blow
End all her sorrows!

[*Stabs himself, and falls. Ctesiphon rushes to support him.*]

Ctesiphon, thou art
Avenged, and wilt forgive me.

CTESIPHON.

Thou hast plucked
The poor disguise of hatred from my soul,
And made me feel how shallow is the wish
Of vengeance. Could I die to save thee!

Clemanthe rushes forward.

CLEMANTHE.

Hold!
Let me support him — stand away — indeed
I have best right, although ye know it not,
To cling to him in death.

ION.

This is a joy
I did not hope for — this is sweet indeed. —
Bend thine eyes on me!

CLEMANTHE.

And for this it was
Thou wouldst have weaned me from thee? Couldst thou think
I would be so divorced?

ION.

Thou art right, Clemanthe, —
It was a shallow and an idle thought!
'T is past; no show of coldness frets us now;
No vain disguise, my love. Yet thou wilt think
On that which, when I feigned, I truly said —
Wilt thou not, sweet one?

CLEMANTHE.

I will treasure all.

Enter Irus.

IRUS.

I bring you glorious tidings — Ha! no joy
Can enter here.

ION.

Yes — is it as I hope?

IRUS.

The pestilence abates.

ION. [*springs upon his feet.*]

Do ye not hear?
Why shout ye not? — ye are strong — think not of me;

Hearken! the curse my ancestry had spread
O'er Argos, is dispelled — Agenor, give
This gentle youth his freedom, who hath brought
Sweet tidings that I shall not die in vain —
And Medon! cherish him as thou hast one
Who dying blesses thee; — my own Clemanthe!
Let this console thee also — Argos lives —
The offering is accepted — all is well! [*Dies.*"
— pp. 107 – 109.

This sketch will give those of our readers, who have not yet seen the tragedy, some notion of its character. The style of the whole piece is exquisitely refined; it combines perfect simplicity with richness and splendor of ornament. It is the transparent medium of bright and clear thought, accompanied by the most delightful and poetical imagery. Every idea is brought out in the full crystalline distinctness, with which it sprang up in the author's mind. This is the point in which the long-continued labor of the poet is most manifest; and it shows the wise and just taste, which guided him in its composition. In saying that Mr. Talfourd's language is elaborate, we must not be understood to say that it has any of the qualities which usually belong to what is called an elaborate style. It is wholly free from pomp and affected splendor. It is subdued down to the utmost precision. Labor has been expended upon it; but only to polish, simplify, and strengthen it; to unfold, in all their beauty and harmony and just proportion, the great ideas which it embodies. Language, in Mr. Talfourd's hands, is like marble in the sculptor's. He has smoothed its roughness, removed every superfluous particle, and worked it into a form of symmetrical beauty, and strong, but well-restrained passion, over which time will have as little power as over the Venus and the Apollo.

We have spoken of the merits of "Ion," considered as a reproduction of the spirit of the antique. On this point we must venture a few further observations. The plot has the simplicity and completeness of Sophocles. The characters are few, and actuated by few and obvious motives. The story is conducted in the antique manner. The destiny of a doomed house is brought about by the very measures taken to counteract it. Adrastus is driven forth by the harsh treatment of his father's courtiers, to seek in another's love the happiness forbidden him in his paternal halls. His infant son is

doomed to death, but is saved and trained up under all the influences that prepare him to be an instrument of asserting the will of the gods. Adrastus ascends the throne, after trials which have hardened his heart, like Pharaoh's, and made him a fit victim of the avengers. Thus in the general conduct of the plot, Mr. Talfourd has faithfully preserved the antique spirit. He has been equally faithful in minute particulars. The opening of the play presents us with a city filled with mourning and death by the pestilence. It is not an imitation, but it reminds us of the opening of the "Œdipus Tyrannus." Phocion is gone to inquire of the oracle, and the people are anxiously awaiting his return, — just as the Thebans are awaiting, around the altars and shrines of the gods, the return of Creon. He brings back a response, expressed in simple words, of epigrammatic brevity.

> "Argos ne'er shall find release
> Till her monarch's race shall cease."

So Creon, —

> "— The god commands
> That instant we drive forth the fatal cause
> Of this dire pestilence, nor nourish here
> The accursed monster." —

A writer in "The Edinburgh Review" has objected to the simplicity and apparent baldness of this response. But there is no ground for the objection. It is exactly in keeping with all that occur in Sophocles and Euripides, and a great many more scattered over the pages of Herodotus; exactly in keeping with the tone of ancient oracles, wherever and whenever uttered.

Those who are familiar with the Attic drama will be struck by the easy and graceful manner with which Mr. Talfourd imitates the turn of the Sophoclean dialogue. An example occurs in the interview between Ion and Adrastus.

ADRASTUS.

> "Ere I grew
> Of years to know myself a thing accursed,
> A second son was born, to steal the love
> Which fate had else scarce rifled: he became
> My parents' hope, the darling of the crew
> Who lived upon their smiles, and thought it flattery
> To trace in every foible of my youth —
> A prince's youth! — the workings of the curse;

My very mother — Jove! I cannot bear
To speak it now — look'd freezingly upon me!

ION.

But thy brother —

ADRASTUS.

Died. Thou hast heard the lie,
The common lie that every peasant tells
Of me his master, — that I slew the boy.
'T is false! One summer's eve, below a crag
Which, in his wilful mood, he strove to climb,
He lay a mangled corpse: the very slaves,
Whose cruelty had shut him from my heart,
Now coin'd their own injustice into proofs
To brand me as his murderer.

ION.

Did they dare
Accuse thee?

ADRASTUS.

Not in open speech: — they felt
I should have seized the miscreant by the throat,
And crush'd the lie half-spoken with the life
Of the base speaker; — but the tale look'd out
From the stolen gaze of coward eyes, which shrank
When mine have met them; murmur'd through the crowd
That at the sacrifice, or feast, or game
Stood distant from me; burnt into my soul
When I beheld it in my father's shudder!

ION.

Didst not declare thy innocence?" — pp. 30, 31.

This resembles, but in manner only, the following;

"*Œdipus.* Whence came the boy? Was he thy own, or who
Did give him to thee?
Shepherd. From another hand
I had received him.
Œd. Say, what hand? from whom?
Whence came he?
Shep. Do not, by the gods I beg thee,
Do not inquire.
Œd. Force me to ask again,
And thou shalt die.
Shep. In Laius' palace born.
Œd. Son of a slave or of the king?
Shep. Alas!
'T is death for me to speak," &c.

Other passages in the "Œdipus Coloneus" and "Antigone," would sustain the same comparison.

Another striking characteristic in the Attic dialogue is this. The victim of fate is often made to use expressions, which, unknown to himself, foreshadow his destiny, or describe his present condition. As the story was generally known to the assembled people, these passages must often have had a thrilling effect. In the play already referred to, Œdipus, in a speech to the Theban people, declares his purpose to avenge the murder of the fallen king, that king being his own father and slain by his own hand.

> "Wherefore I will avenge him as he were
> *My father.*"

A hundred other examples of the same thing might easily be adduced. This characteristic turn has not escaped the eye of Mr. Talfourd, but he has repeatedly introduced it, with great effect. Thus Ion, after dedicating himself to the destruction of the king, at the altar;

> "*And if he has a child*
> Whose blood is needful to the sacrifice
> My country asks, harden my soul to shed it!"

These are examples of small traits, that would not perhaps generally be observed. They serve to show the minuteness of Mr. Talfourd's classical knowledge, and the delicacy of his imitation. Many more might be cited, but it is unnecessary.

We have heard it objected to "Ion," that the characters are not distinctly drawn; that there is more declamation than dramatic effect, in the poem. We think this objection arises from a misconception. It will not do to compare a play, constructed upon the principles of the ancients, with one of Shakspeare's, either in character or plot. The modern master, no doubt, is a more correct delineator of life and the passions, as they have been actually displayed. The Shakspearean drama is the world in miniature. To his eye "all the world is a stage"; and the variety of his characters, the complexity of motives by which they are actuated, the blending of tragedy, comedy, and farce in the same piece, are copied from real life. But not so the ancients. Shakspeare resembles them, but it is in the expression of passions common to the whole race of man. They are alike true to nature, but only to the Universal Nature. In every thing else, they are at

an infinite distance apart. The ancients raised their characters to an ideal elevation above any actual form of human life. The heroes, demigods, and gods of a far off and fabulous age, blend with the mere human actors, just as the simple but majestic forms that have an ideal life in the memory of our childhood, mingle with the throng of beings that live and breathe around us in our manhood. The characters drawn and represented upon such a principle of art must of necessity be simple and grand. They must resemble the work of the sculptor; and it would be as absurd to try either the plot or characters of Sophocles by the dramatic standard of Shakspeare, as to compare the Medicean Venus with the portrait of Elizabeth, in the gorgeous costume of her age.

We do not see that Mr. Talfourd has failed in the point which the criticism above referred to would indicate. His characters, though simple, seem to us perfectly distinct. King Adrastus is finely and firmly drawn. Ion is a beautiful conception, and consistently carried out. His language is in the strictest keeping with the circumstances in which he is placed, and the traits unfolded by his actions. Clemanthe is a being, who, once known, becomes a part of our mind. Her delightful character appears at intervals in the mournful progress of the action, like a soft light gleaming through the broken clouds of a stormy day.

The appearance of this poem has convinced us of several things, which many people began to doubt. It has shown that however great may be the temporary admiration bestowed upon the hastily-written productions of the day, a true work of genius and art, carefully wrought out, and finished to the last degree, will at once outrank them. This single work of Mr. Talfourd has given more pleasure to the reader, and more fame to the writer, than all the red-hot productions of the intense school, which some are pleased to call poetry, put together. It has also shown that the theory, first propounded we believe by Mr. John Neal, and gravely repeated by Mr. Bulwer, that verse must give way to rhythmical prose in this enlightened age, has no real foundation. It is true that finished poetry has been almost frightened out of the literary world of late, by the abundance of prose run mad, let loose by Bulwer, D'Israeli, and others, just as sober gentlemen are driven from the streets by rabid dogs. But the "dogstar" has almost ceased to "rage," and "all Bedlam" will soon be shut up again.

Harmony and melody are natural expressions of the mind of man in its higher moods, and will remain so until he becomes another being. Rhythmical prose can no more take the place of verse, than rhythmical reading can supplant singing. Prose is no more poetry, than oratory is music. A discourse is not a song, any more than a talk on 'Change is an opera.

ART. IX. — 1. *Abstract of Massachusetts School Returns, for* 1836. *Prepared for the Use of the Legislature.* By JOHN P. BIGELOW, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Boston; Dutton & Wentworth, Printers to the State. 1837. pp. 47.

2. *History of Massachusetts, for two hundred years, from* 1620 *to* 1820. By ALDEN BRADFORD, an Original Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Honorary Member of the Historical Society of New York. Boston; Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1835. 8vo. pp. 480.

THE Abstract of Massachusetts School Returns for the last year, digested by the accurate and intelligent Secretary, agreeably to a resolve of the Legislature of the year 1826, embraces statements from 289 cities and towns, being the whole number of municipal corporations, with the exception of about twenty. They are divided into 2,517 School Districts, employing 2,154 male, and 2,816 female instructers. The schools were attended last year by 146,539 children, between four and sixteen years of age, (75,552 boys, and 70,987 girls,) and were supported by a tax levied by the towns and cities, respectively, amounting to $391,993·96, and by voluntary contributions amounting to $47,593·44; besides which, many towns (about 90,) have funds, the income of which is devoted to this object, all have their share of the $20,000 interest of the State School Fund, and in many, the teacher derives part of his compensation from board furnished by families of the district. The additional amount paid for tuition in *private* schools and academies, is estimated at $326,642·53, giving a total of $726,229·93 *raised* last year in the towns reported, for the support of Common Schools, and Private Schools and Acad-

emies. The number of scholars attending these latter institutions is rated at 28,752, making the whole number of children at the public and private schools to be 175,291. Other matters of valuable information are embraced in the Abstract; in particular, lists are affixed to the names of the towns, of books used in their schools respectively.

This common-school system, of which the government continues to take so much care, is known to most of our readers to be one of the most ancient institutions of Massachusetts. Indeed, it is only since the period of Independence, that any other schools have been known to our laws, the earliest incorporation of an establishment for instruction, below the rank of the University, being that of Phillips's Academy at Andover, in 1780. The first free school of the colony was that of Boston, where in 1635, five years from the settlement of that peninsula, the inhabitants voted in town meeting, "on the thirteenth of the second month," "that our brother Philemon Pormont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing of youth among us." Twelve years after, the General Court of the Commonwealth, having accomplished the very serious enterprise of founding the College, turned their attention to the sources whence its supplies of competent preparatory knowledge were to be drawn, and to the still wider exigency of competent instruction for the whole people. One of their first acts under the charter had been to order, that "forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent in that kind, the selectmen of every town in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbours, to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavour to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices, so much learning, as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws." In 1647, being now strong enough to do better, they proceeded to enact, as follows;

"It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scripture, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times, by persuading from

the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end *that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers* in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours; —

"Sec. I. It is therefore ordered, by this Court and the authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of *fifty householders*, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towns to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town, shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more, than they can have them taught for in other towns.

"Sec. II. And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of *one hundred families* or householders, they shall set up a *Grammar School*, the master thereof being able to instruct youth, so far as they may be fitted for the University; and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order."

Thus, before the Massachusetts Colony was twenty years old, the outline of its system of universal free instruction was complete. Wherever a space had been redeemed from the forest, large enough to let in the light upon two hundred settlers, there every child had a right to demand of the public for himself, and every parent for his child, an education qualifying him to make his own way in the world, and acquit himself intelligently of his obligations as a citizen. And wherever twice that number was collected, making the back broad enough for the burden, there every child of sufficient capacity was enabled and invited to prepare himself, at the common cost, for the highest places of usefulness and dignity, which the commonwealth had to fill, or for the retired pursuits of laborious scholarship, as his taste might dictate.

The sovereign head had teemed, and Minerva was born full grown. The scheme of keeping the people free, by seasonably giving to every one of them intelligence to understand his rights and duties, never afterwards received, it did not require, any essential improvement. We wish we could

but say as much, as that it had uniformly been cherished in all the enlightened and bountiful spirit of its original conception. But we fear it has shared, in some degree, the fate of most human things. It is true that the manifest and vast utility of the system, as the experience of successive generations has revealed it, has not only secured it against any danger of abandonment, but made it one of the most prominent objects of reverence and pride to the people of the Commonwealth. Still we cannot but think, that, if nothing of the comprehensiveness of view, and enthusiasm of purpose, which attended its origin, had been abated, improvements in the details would have been adopted, corresponding to the different wants of different times, such as would now have left us less to desire. Massachusetts has not been false to this best legacy of her founders. We would not so libel her fair fame as to hint it. But if her people in recent times, careful to keep up substantially the institutions of their fathers, have not been so careful to imitate their fathers' conscientiousness and zeal, it is certainly no new thing that the trustee should be found less busy and hearty than the giver.

At all events, we suppose that no one will dispute us, when we express our conviction, that in proportion to the increased resources of the time, we bear a vastly less pecuniary burden for this great public object, than our predecessors voluntarily assumed, when before them it was a thing unheard of. It is equally unquestionable, that the course of legislation has in some degree concurred with, instead of obstructing, or qualifying, the tendency of other events, to bring down the common schools from the high place which they held, relatively to the wants of society, at the time of their institution. A law, passed soon after that which we last quoted, and providing that "every town consisting of more than *five hundred* families or householders, shall set up and maintain *two* grammar schools, and two writing schools," we suppose was the last which increased the obligations of the towns in respect to common school instruction in the higher departments. An act of the first year after the government was changed by the Provincial Charter of William and Mary, confirms the previously existing legislation in respect to the two great features which have been above brought to notice, but apparently without continuing the obligation upon towns, however populous, to support more than one *grammar*, or *classical* school.

So things stood, down to the time of the Revolution. The Constitution of 1780 provided as follows :

"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the perpetuation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the University at Cambridge, *public schools, and grammar schools, in the towns.*"

The first legislative act respecting town schools under the Constitution, dates from the year 1789 ; and its character is partly to be explained, if not excused, on the ground of the heavy pecuniary embarrassments of the time. Towns of fifty families were now required to support a reading and writing-school half the year only, instead of constantly, as before, the latter duty being now imposed on towns of a hundred families ; and a population of two hundred families, instead of one hundred, as formerly, was made necessary to create an obligation for the support of a *grammar*, or classical school. The practice, however, by no means followed, with equal step, the laxness of the law. Such was the value generally attached to a good education, and such the sense of the importance of general information to the general well-being, that the towns continued to tax themselves to an amount much exceeding, in the aggregate, the exactions of the law ; in many instances making appropriations twice as great as were requisite to meet their legal liabilities. And, in fact, as to the liberality which has been shown in the support of the secondary class of schools, (as distinguished from the classical,) there has been all along much more reason for satisfaction than complaint.

The city of Boston, for instance, might satisfy the law by levying an annual tax of $3000 or $4000 for the support of schools. It however raised last year no less than $88,000 for the purpose ; and this, of course, in the spot of the Commonwealth, where the best and most numerously attended private institutions are collected.* With this money, it maintained eighty-eight schools, open to all children of the proper age. Seventy-

* The average number of pupils at private schools is 4000, and the estimated cost of their instruction $100,000. — *Secretary's Report*, p. 2.

four of them are what are called Primary Schools, attended each by an average of from thirty to fifty children, from four to seven years of age. The establishments of next highest rank are the English Grammar Schools, for boys from seven to fourteen, and girls from seven to sixteen years old. "In these schools," — we extract from "Regulations of the School Committee of Boston, adopted May, 1836," —

"are taught the common branches of an English education. In the several buildings where the arrangement is complete, there are two large halls occupied by two departments, one of which is for a grammar school, and the other for a writing school. The scholars are organized in two divisions. While one division attends to grammar, the other attends to writing; exchanging half daily. In the grammar department, the pupils are taught chiefly, spelling, reading, English grammar, and geography; in the writing department, they are taught writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping."

These schools are attended respectively by a number of pupils not varying far from two hundred and fifty of each sex. For the instruction of the boys, each department has a master and an usher; and for that of the girls, a master and three female assistants.

There are two public schools in Boston of a higher order, the English High School and the Latin Grammar School. Each of these institutions has a master, a sub-master, and so many assistants as to give one instructer to every thirty-five pupils. The English High School

"was instituted in 1821, with the design of furnishing the young men of this city, who are not intended for a collegiate course of study, and who have enjoyed the usual advantages of the other public schools, with the means of completing a good English education, to fit them for active life, or qualify them for eminence in private or public stations. Here is given instruction in the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy, with their application to the sciences and the arts, in grammar, rhetoric, and belles lettres, in moral philosophy, in history natural and civil, and in the French language. This institution is furnished with a valuable mathematical and philosophical apparatus, for the purpose of experiment and illustration." — *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Of the Latin Grammar School, we shall be sustained by those acquainted with the facts in saying, that, for a great part, at least, of the last quarter of a century, its pupils, offered for

admission at the University, were found, on the whole, better fitted, than an equal number from any other place of instruction, public or private. It has been, in short, the best school in the country. The richest man could not buy for his son a better preparatory education, than here the poorest man's son could have for nothing. This is as it should be. This fills out, for one instance, the magnificent idea of the founders of our system of *Universal Free Education.*

We have implied, however, that this, though not a single, is a rare instance, and that the grammar schools, as might have been anticipated, have not fared nearly so well at the hands of the public, as those where only the English branches are taught. In fact, whatever of law survives upon the subject, goes only to support them in a small number of the most populous towns, which do not need State legislation to enforce the provision; the act of February, 1824, having released from the obligation all towns of less than five thousand inhabitants.*

We always regret and wonder to hear it said, that the Academies, which have sprung up during the present century, in such numbers, have supplied the want thus created. Under the name of Academies, our readers understand us to speak of incorporated institutions, in county and other towns, governed by trustees, and generally aided, in part, — in no instance, that we know, maintained, — by public or private endowments. They do supply the want, after a manner, for the rich; though, for the most part, they compel the rich man to a measure, which if he is wise, he will often hesitate much to take, even with the prospect of such benefit as they offer; that is, to send his son away, at the most critical and impressible period of life, out of the safe and profitable circle of domestic influence. But how do they supply the want for the poor man, or the man in middling circumstances? If he can afford to spare his sons' labor, and provide them with clothes and books while they study, this is the most that he can do. He cannot afford to pay their board in another town. The privilege of having them educated on that condition is no available privilege to him.

We suppose that there is little hope of our ever getting back, in this respect, into the old path. It is obvious that the Academies, now instituted, actually stand in the way of what we would else not permit ourselves to despair of. But if

* The laws in force are digested in Revised Statutes, ch. xxiii.

we cannot express unqualified satisfaction with the present, we cannot refrain from unqualified admiration of the past. It was a scheme worthy of the founders of such a republic as this, — that of giving the poorest boy, first the means of becoming respectable and prosperous, an independent happy man and a useful citizen, and then the chance, (if he but lived where there was money enough to bear the charge,) of becoming a useful and a famous man in the highest walks of public service. Would that we had them back again, the days when the State kept the best schools, and kept them open to every one of its children; when all "the rich and the poor met together," under equal advantages, in fair competition, and in the knitting of ties of lasting friendship. The system gave, and what remains of it prolongs, — to use Mr. Webster's words in the Convention of 1820, — "the time, when in the villages and farm-houses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors." But what is gone of it, has carried along with itself a great excellence and beauty of the plan. And what was the community's safety, and blessing, and glory, and everybody's good, was especially the poor man's wealth. Nothing could possibly be more opposite to the truth, than was the feeling, (which had its influence in effecting the change,) that the institutions suffered to go into disuse were institutions for the advantage of the few. It was, on the contrary, the poor man who had the precious benefit for his children, — accessible to others in some other way, but not else accessible to him; and it was the rich who met almost all the cost.

But if such revolutions do not go backward, lamentation over them comes to nothing, while on the other hand there is the more reason for checking any tendency they may manifest to further progress, and laboring to "strengthen the things which remain." The English, or as they are commonly called in the country, the District Schools, have in recent years been the object of particular solicitude; and the attention of the Legislature has been repeatedly given to them, in consequence of the exertions of no one more than those of Mr. Carter of Lancaster, the present chairman of the House of Representatives' committee on education, the same gentleman whose very valuable publications on the subject we have noticed at different times.* Without having given the attention that

* Vol. XIX. p. 448. Vol. XXIV. p. 156.

we should have done to the operations of the American Institute of Instruction, we suppose also that the exertions of that association have effected much that is profitable, in the way both of stimulating and informing the public mind on this subject. In 1834, was established the Massachusetts School Fund, in which were invested, by the act, the proceeds of the Massachusetts claim upon the General Government for military services during the last war, to the amount of $280,000, and one half the net proceeds of the sale of Eastern lands, till the fund shall amount to $1,000,000. The income of the fund, at present nearly $20,000, is divided annually among the cities, towns, and districts, in proportion to the number of their children between four and sixteen years of age. As encouragement to the tax payers to make somewhat better provision than otherwise their expenditure would admit, this is useful; and will be more so, as the amount is increased. But, without undertaking to say that the fund might not advantageously be much larger than the present law contemplates, we cannot disguise our satisfaction at the existence of a principle of limitation of the fund, to an amount far below what the support of the schools requires. We hope never to see the time when, as in Connecticut, the towns shall be released from the obligation of self-taxation. The feeling on their part, that it is their own money, which maintains the schools, is, in various ways which might be specified, if they were not sufficiently apparent, altogether too valuable to be dispensed with.

The subject of a State institution for the better education of teachers of the common schools, has within the last ten years been repeatedly before the legislature; and last year the appointment of a Superintendent of Common Schools was urged upon it in a memorial from the Institute of Instruction. An act for the creation of this functionary was reported by the committee on education, but did not become a law. The Institute have again memorialized the legislature, at its present session, on "the expediency of instituting, for the special instruction of teachers, one or more seminaries, either standing independently, or in connexion with institutions already existing." But at the time when we are writing, no definitive action has been had upon the project.

For the present, we dismiss the subject of the actual condition of the common schools, with the expression of the great pleasure we have in knowing them to be as good as they

are, and of our earnest wish that they were much better, and especially that the now vanished feature of the institution were restored. Such as they are, they admirably teach some valuable lessons, which are not ostensibly comprised within their plan of instruction. It is calculated that they afford to nineteen twentieths of our population all the education which they receive. Of the other twentieth, we presume we should be within the truth, in reckoning that four fifths are indebted to them for some part of their school instruction, making ninety-nine in every hundred of our people to have been at some time their pupils. As far as habits of thought and character are concerned, the lessons which they teach may accordingly be viewed, for all practical purposes, as enforced on the whole population, since the small fraction on whom they do not directly operate, is incapable of any influence to resist that, exerted by so vast a preponderance of numbers. And thus we go on to say, that, whether these institutions teach more or less of geography, or grammar, or other things well worth the learning, there are some habits of mind and feeling of the first consequence, which they do effectually teach, and teach to all; to their own pupils directly, and to the small remnant of others through their example and influence; and among these things are *the sense of individual independence, and the sentiment of mutual respect.*

We are not sorry to have this topic brought in our way, connecting itself, as it does, with some points on which we were touching in our last number. We there had occasion to remark upon complaints, current in certain quarters respecting some supposed peculiarities of the New England character. There are others, which, from time to time, have come under our notice, and probably under that of most of our readers; and they happen to be of that kind, that if they could be substantiated, they would prove the population in question to be not only very blamable on other accounts, but to be capable of resisting, with a superhuman perversity, some of the most imperious influences under which character is formed. Till all signs fail, it may be pretty safely predicted, that, of a people circumstanced in childhood and youth like that of New England, few will be found manifesting, in later life, either the arrogance and narrowness of a caste on the one hand, or a servile deference to the opinions and wishes of associates on the other.

Aristocracy, for instance, in New England! In New England, of all places in the world, where, by the fast-coloring chemics of the common schools, the boys are all dyed in the wool with democracy; — with democracy, not in some conventional sense, which, in one or another part of the country, the word may have in this year or in that; but with the conviction and the feeling of a perfect equality among men, except so far as merit makes a difference. Aristocracy in New England! where, in the collisions and friendships and rivalries of childhood, collected in masses, not divided into ranks, the very last thing thought of is the distinction between more or less pocket-money, or a homelier or gayer dress, and the *squire's* son is no better than the day-laborer's, unless he happens to be able, which it is likely he will not, to get a longer lesson, or strike a harder blow. We are not arguing to clods, or we would take more pains to show, that, in such associations, it is the bright, and the bold, and the amiable, who will take the lead, and not the high-born, if such an element there were; and that the different experiences of later life will be incompetent to undo the discipline there applied, and quell the spirit there engendered, and make the one class craven, and the other domineering. Till we have men among us, who never were boys, or till our boys are brought up in a different manner from what now prevails, it might seem that we were tolerably safe against any discomfort arising from the overbearing spirit of an aristocracy.

But others, we from time to time are learning, are of a different mind. Thus speaks a correspondent of the New York "Knickerbocker" for last October. We give the statement from this source, both because it is the most recent, of the same description, which has happened to come in our way, and because it appears in a work of that class which undertakes and intends a true representation of current opinions of the time. The article is headed "New York and New England." Of the latter section it affirms;

"Because the emigrant from her soil is a fine character, it by no means follows that he is so at home. We hazard the assertion that New England is a land of petty aristocrats. Is any one so ignorant as to suppose the reverence for rank and title, which the Pilgrims brought from England, could be done away by the mere intervention of the Atlantic ocean? We refer not particularly to the Plymouth band, but to the early population of the East.

They had nursed, in their mother's milk, a love for show, a respect for birth; their being had been imbued with these feelings, and they insensibly taught them to their children."

Again,

"The widest distinctions in society were known at the time of our revolution, and served to hasten it on. Old habits have continued to this day; and there is throughout the States east of the Hudson, a family pride, — select circles, — upper and lower class doctrine, at war with the spirit of our institutions, and the general advancement of that section in intelligence, manners, and refinement. Consequently, we find there one class eminently distinguished for eloquence, learning, and taste, while the great body of the people are inferior, much inferior, to the general level of American character. This upper class are often too refined to attend to their political duty. They are too much immersed in letters and pleasure, too sublimated, to descend to the vulgar arena of elections. They may talk of public affairs, erect monuments to distinguished men, give of their abundance to all the showy, magnificent operations of the day, and yet do this with an exclusive spirit, and with a haughty patronage, that robs the thing of all republican odor."

Yet once more;

"That people should set themselves up as grandees, look down upon the working classes, instruct their children by example and precept to give themselves airs, and make them believe they are of a higher race than the rest of their countrymen, is shocking and disgusting in a country where merit is acknowledged to be the only path to respectability, and where poverty is felt to be no disgrace."

"Here 's a coil, my masters!" The author dates from a place which we suppose is somewhere in the interior of the Empire State; and the vagueness of his terms makes it necessary to presume, that he has not had opportunity for personal observations on the state of society which they rebuke. Accordingly, we mean not the smallest disrespect to him, be he who he may, when we say, that the sort of people with whom this *persiflage* originates, are simply those who have been piqued into giving it currency, in consequence of not finding in New England that standard of social rank, on which they rely to give themselves the consideration they demand. A visiter comes thither without any apparent claims of intelligence, virtue, or refinement, but with the reputation of being

eminently "good" on 'change. If he commits himself so far as to assume any thing on this ground, he finds reason perhaps to suspect that the cold shoulder is shown him; at all events, the New England world is not accustomed to stand aghast at any such apparition, and he goes away swelling with indignation at its impenetrable aristocracy. Or, a brother of Sir Plume,

> —— "Of amber snuff-box justly vain,
> And the nice conduct of a clouded cane,"

he looks for great effects to an exhibition of himself which really reflects credit on nobody but the tailor and hair-dresser who made him. He appears in the barbaro-puritan city of the East, and if he is nothing but well-dressed, not a fan nor a heart knows a single added flutter; and the view of an aristocracy which chills even maidenly enthusiasm, is wormwood to his more enlightened spirit. Or, having been lifted as high on the shoulders of a mob, as that stature of which "the mind" is not "the measure" can reach, he falls in with such as have little awe for official dignity, except as it has been attained by merit, or been made the means of conscientious public services; and the sight of their aristocratic phlegm moves his republicanism to boisterous lamentation.

A "reverence for rank and title," "respect for birth," "family pride," "grandees" who "look down upon the working classes," in New England! "Tell that to" — the part of the crew that does not sail the ship. "Rank and title"! Everybody knows, or may know, that with us the rural squire (and not a few of them are there) is company for the governor; and the priest or the schoolmaster for either; and the hard-handed, worthy man, who built the house they meet in, for them all. They are avowedly and actually fit companions, and (if need be, as it often is,) equal opponents for each other, in the cares of public life. They are avowedly and actually fit companions at the hospitable board. "Respect for birth"! Our blood is all one stream. It makes our union, not our division. It is that which in the olden day, in times when union was never closer nor more needful, stained full many a cavalier's sabre on the other side of the water, and full many a savage tomahawk, in these western wilds; the same red, warm, honest, Puritan fluid, which has always been so shy of any place in a villain's veins, and so quick to mount when battle was to be done for principle and freedom.

"Family pride"! If inequalities of condition among us as to property, — the only thing in which a distinction could exist, — were much greater than they are, the seven generations of New England have given time for some such ups and downs, as hardly admit of any loud assertion of such a feeling on the one hand, or any very cordial toleration of it on the other. They have given some opportunity for such repetition of the wise man's spectacle, as is apt to occur, where there are no laws of entail, to interfere with the levelling operations of nature, — "servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth." In New England, only with some checks arising from less volatile temperament, and more frugal prevailing habits, the progress and decline of family fortunes has been essentially the same as in other places, where a similar freedom for advancing and ruining one's self has been enjoyed. The first generation has stood behind the counter. The second, retaining the habits to which it was early formed, and possessing every advantage of education, has adorned with all elegances, as well as often with all virtues, the station in which it entered upon life; the third has been apt to drive, four in hand, to the bottom of the strong-box; and the fourth, educated without method or good example, and mortified by its "false position," has had much harder work to rise, if it were so disposed, than did the founder of the domestic dynasty. And however it may be in less permanent communities, where people "come like shadows, so depart," hereabouts we know each other too well, and have too good memories, to favor the purposes of any who should be inclined to fall out with the ladder they rose by, even if our habits of estimating character did not lead us to respect the fortunate heir, who should chance to have nothing else to recommend him, much less than we respect the memory of the honest and capable man, who gathered for him the means to make his coxcombry conspicuous.

There is hereditary wealth in New England. But, for the most part, the rich men of its cities are those who have come to them from the country, poor, and have made their way by industry and talent, and the qualities which make it honorable to rise. In many communities, this process, however desirable else, would bring vulgarity forward into the high places of society. Here it is not so. Poor these adventurers were, when they started in life, compared with what they have made

themselves. But they did not therefore rise from the kennel. The furthest possible from it. They came from their native villages, the sons of families, who were there as good as their neighbours, and as much trained to refinement of mind and manners. Accordingly, they brought with them no danger that they would shame the prosperity they might attain. They brought with them a liberality of sentiment, which adorns their prosperity, and makes it a public benefit. The *hunks*, (we have to be indebted to English dramatic literature for the term, because, in the richest part of this country, scarcely having the thing, we have found no occasion for the name,) the hunks is a specimen of our motley nature, of which we know little, except by hearsay. No doubt there may possibly be, now and then, a person just wise enough to make some money, yet foolish enough to think too much of it, and too much of himself on its account. But even such a person takes care to be incommunicatively "alone in his glory," unless he is very patient of the mortification which would be sure to follow on the expression of it. "Grandees" who "instruct their children to give themselves airs, and make them believe they are of a higher race than the rest of their countrymen"! For the curiosity of the thing, we would gladly travel to any part of New England, to see one of those children of a grandee practising upon his august parent's discipline, and mark the reception it would meet. Why, nothing is more notorious than that the richest and best-named father, with all the influence of his worth, not to say of his wealth, cannot so much as keep his son on a footing in good society, if the youth is known to be a profligate. Loss of caste is the inevitable penalty. And on the other hand, how vast must be the influence of blood and guineas, when any one, who has actually been in the good society of New England, knows that he has habitually met there the distinguished male and female teacher of youth, on a perfectly equal footing with the highest of the circle; we do not say merely their honored guest, — for hospitality may be but patronage, — but exchanging with them, on perfectly equal terms, the attentions that belong to an elegant social intercourse. This is nothing to boast of. It is no more than sensible and cultivated people find to belong to their own position, and their own pleasure, as well as that of others. But the fact furnishes an awkward text for such an expounder

of national character, as the writer from whom we have just been quoting.

We hope "The Monthly Magazine" is in no danger of cooling in its love of us, since its regretted emigration. But so it is, that it has taken to goading us in a tender part of our fame. In a notice of the Address of Mr. Sprague, which we commended in our last number, it quotes that gentleman's declaration that "enthusiasm was the characteristic of our fathers," and remarks;

"We do not think that he proves his proposition. 'Fanaticism' is the more appropriate term for a part of that feeling which impelled the Puritans to seek a home in the wilderness of the New World; and the bigoted despotism with which they domineered over all who departed from their stern creed, and who would not consent to stand, day and night, in the strait jacket, in which they enveloped alike the feeble and the strong, should not be dignified with the name of enthusiasm.

"It was wicked, impute it to what cause we may. The tyranny, with which they were oppressed in England, was light in comparison to the relentless and unsated animosity with which they pursued the Quakers, the most harmless and kindest sect the world ever saw. These dark traits in the character of our forefathers certainly deserve not the epithet enthusiastic."

We quote this form of the charge, because we like to quote something; and not because it is necessary, in order to show that we are not tilting against a man of straw. Anybody who was curious about this description of remarks, might find them in a great variety of publications, but particularly among those belonging to the classes in literature which have a kind of conventional liberty to use confidence, and eschew qualifications. When Lord Castlereagh had uttered himself in the House of Commons, the newspapers used to say that his Lordship had been "airing his vocabulary." It is the limited vocabulary, of which the periods quoted above are a specimen, that a certain class of writers are wont to air, when they undertake the demerits of New England. What we shall say upon the topic, will do them no good. New England bigotry is an easy phrase to remember and to write, and very many times will they yet compound it, while they "build the lofty line." The object of their disapprobation must endeavour that it may cause her as little grief as may be. We have hope of her that she will sustain no irremediable, at least no intolerable harm.

She has looked, sooner and later, on a good deal of such spilt ink, and "yet lives," as healthily as did Jeannie Deans, when she survived the seeing of the queen's majesty.

"Fanaticism is the more appropriate term for a part of that feeling, which impelled the Puritans to seek a home in the wilderness of the New World." That is partly as people think. The assertion is one of that indefiniteness, which renders it particularly difficult to confute; and at all events, it does not admit of being met, without entering into a course of discussion which does not comport with the habits of this journal. For ourselves, let us but know that we were animated by the feeling which impelled those glorious men to execute their glorious work, and anybody should be welcome to call it by any name, which might suit his notions of justice or of euphony.

"The tyranny with which they were oppressed in England, was light in comparison to the relentless and unsated animosity with which they pursued the Quakers, the most harmless and kindest sect the world ever saw." This comparison, we doubt, was instituted without a careful examination of the Star Chamber records. We incline to the opinion, that there is that in their testimony, which will not allow it to be maintained. As for the eminence of the sect of Quakers for harmlessness and kindness, among all which the world has seen, the world has seen Quakers of the beginning of the seventeenth century as well as of the beginning of the nineteenth; and they did not look alike; and if the essential guilt of persecution would be aggravated, when aimed against the quiet, patient philanthropist of the present day, it does not therefore follow that it would be attended with like aggravation, however wicked else, when the subject was the mischievous madman of two centuries ago, with whom the Massachusetts colonists had to deal. We suppose that the duty of toleration, comprehensive though it be, stops somewhere short of allowing men and women, for conscience' sake, to run, as naked as they were born, through the streets, and into the churches; or at all events, that it does not require the permitting of people to gain a name like Abraham's by sacrificing their own sons, as one of the Quakers, in 1658, was proceeding to do, when his neighbours, alarmed by the boy's cries, broke into the house in time to interfere. "The relentless and unsated animosity with which they pursued the Quakers"! We had always read, that it was the

Quakers who pursued them. It may be that the Quakers caught a Tartar in Puritan raiment, at last; and then so much the worse for both hunter and game; but that it was the Quaker bugle that cheered on the chase, no one can doubt who thinks that there is truth in history. Grant that it would have been better to imitate in New England the example of the Pope, or still better that of the Grand Turk, the former of whom put Fox's emissaries in one of his Hospitals of St. Luke, and the latter treated them with that ceremonious respect, which it is a Mohammedan superstition to pay to alienation of mind. Still, the course of the Massachusetts magistrates must be considered as a remarkable one, for such as were impelled to a pursuit by a relentless and unsated animosity. When the Quakers found them out, in their distant hiding-place from the storm, they contented themselves with merely sending them back by the vessels which had brought them, thinking that both might live more satisfactorily, if they lived apart. The Quakers persisted, and were sent away a second time. A third time they came. Severer penalties were then resorted to. They were such as did not affect life, but they were too harsh to carry the public opinion along with them, and recourse was again had to the experiment of removal of the offensive visitants out of the jurisdiction. It failed; and at length, by the majority of a single voice, the assembly passed that law denouncing the punishment of death against Quakers *returned from banishment*, which has had its chief life in history, for it was repealed almost as soon as enacted. The whole contest, from first to last, in its different degrees of hardship, continued about four years, when a more humane policy possessed itself of the public councils, and the Quakers, having carried the day, or rather finding more peaceable times than suited the manifestation of their gifts, gradually disappeared from the field.

We will not repeat what, in a different connexion, we found occasion to say, in a recent number, upon this popular subject of the persecuting spirit of the founders of New England.* Nor will we dwell on the facts, of recent occurrence on the other side of the water, when the Quakers first landed here, which caused them to find the colonists in a state of most sensitive apprehension respecting the spread of fanatical

* Vol. XLII. p. 128, seq.

doctrines, which seemed to threaten the overthrow of all decency of private morals, and the dissolution of civil society, and to be particularly perilous to themselves in their yet unformed state. But we wish we could make our countrymen of other portions of the Union look a little more closely, than they have done, at some large relations of that old policy of New England, which some of them appear to think a single severe paragraph or period quite sufficient to despatch. It is a great grief and offence to them, that church membership was made a qualification for the enjoyment of the franchises of a freeman of the colony. Let them chide, if they must. But we can tell them, that they would have had to wait somewhat longer for their independence, if it had not been for this intolerant spirit of New England legislation, which gives them so much disturbance. Lord Clarendon tells us, that the Royal Commissioners, sent out in 1664, found the northern colonies already "hardened into republics." They had been a short time hardening. What hardened them so fast? Nothing more than the jealous and rigid pertinacity, with which they adhered to their theory of exclusion from political power, of all who might have used it to strangle their embryo commonwealth. It will not do to look upon the Massachusetts fathers as a set of heady zealots, careful only to have their own way in religion without regard to consequences, and that way not a very wise one. There were cool and far-sighted statesmen at the helm. King or Protector to the contrary notwithstanding, they meant to have a republic; and they had it virtually from the first, exercising with the utmost freedom all attributes of sovereignty, though avoiding all ostentation of it with the utmost address. They were not so unfit for their delicate work, as to be willing to commit power to any who would have used it to obstruct their object, or even who would not sympathize with them in hearty zeal for its accomplishment. They meant that no man, attached to the monarchy of England through attachment to its Church, (whether that should turn out to be Papal or Episcopal,) should have a particle of power to annoy them in the prosecution of their great work; and therefore if such a man came to live among them, they would have it that he should come as the subject, not as the sharer, of *their* government. Dexterity as well as nerve had a place in playing so critical a game, and little fit would they have been to win it, if they had volunteered to show

their hands to his Majesty's Privy Council. To exclude churchmen from power, and admit to it other dissenters from their own communion, would have been to deprive their act of all color, even if otherwise it would have perfectly attained their end. Taking advantage of their reputation abroad for acting under impulses, which observers, less sagacious than themselves, supposed to be the only ones that had power over their minds, they cut off indiscriminately those who did not love their creeds from all participation in the government, and were quite willing that others should be stupid enough to ascribe to a stupid bigotry of theirs, a measure, which, had it been seen to be prompted, as it was, by the profoundest policy, would have brought down on them, too soon, the hard and heavy hand of England. So they had their own way, without any one in their own midst, to mar it. So they consolidated their institutions, till, by the time when the second generation came forward, they had "hardened into republics." So they kept up and bequeathed the intense and constant spirit they had brought with them. So they stood quietly by their arms, to watch the signs of the times, and do what, from one time to another, might be needful for the keeping of the treasure they had no mind to part with. So they were ready to depose and imprison a king's governor, as they actually did in Boston, in 1688; and if matters had then gone otherwise in England, they would perhaps have antedated the Revolution by nearly a century. So they built firm the foundations of the commonwealths, which at length did the part of New England, — were that little or much, — in the War of Independence. Blot the franchise laws of the Massachusetts colonists out of history, — for the sake of getting clear of the diatribes which small wits indite upon their bigotry, let in the emissaries of Strafford and Laud into the council chambers of the New England Puritans, and we do not like to say, — for we are modest Yankees, no less than well-affectioned, — we do not like to hint how differently, by this time, the history, not only of one continent, but of the other, would have read.

As to bigotry now-a-days, there is plenty of religious narrowness all the world over, and we do not mean to say that there is drawn around New England any spell to exclude the pest. But we do say, with confidence, and not without the opportunity of some observation upon other communities, that we know no part of this country, or of any other, where differ-

ences in religious opinion do less to check the friendliness of general intercourse, or disturb the intimacies of private life. We claim for our compatriots, whether of one way of belief or another, the credit of as intelligent perceptions of the reasons on which they found their faith, as are possessed by the average of any other people ; and undoubtedly it is not the well-informed, but the ignorant sectary, by whatsoever name he may call himself, that is most likely to be exclusive and bitter. He who has respected his own mind so much as to enlighten it, will be all the more likely to respect those of others ; and whoever has examined a question to the bottom, has found occasion to look at reasons, which he is no longer surprised should have weight with others, though they do not satisfy himself. The great variety of sects among us, making a universal toleration the interest of each, is a circumstance not a little favorable to the diffusion of a spirit of mutual candor. In the general interest felt in the subject, members of the same family are often members of different religious connexions ; and fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, will know how to believe us when we say, that the mutual exhibition of a spirit of piety, under different professions, in the domestic circle, hardly admits the indulgence of any furious passion against the mere attachment to such an abstraction, as is the creed which one disapproves. And perhaps, more than all, the universal mutual acquaintance and equality of our people in their childhood and youth, which has led us to these remarks, is absolutely and mightily hostile to any such result. You cannot pick a John Knox out of the mob of hearty, laughing boys, who sweep by you in their hot game of football, as you pass near the village school. There is not an urchin of them that has ever entertained the question,

> " Shall I give up the friend I have valued and tried,
> If he kneel not before the same altar with me? "

A very different thing from a Saint Dominic is that sweet little girl, who sits at her needle in all good understanding with her companions, though some of the group go with their parents to worship at the old meeting-house, some to the chancelled church, and some to the Methodist tabernacle. She herself goes perhaps to the Quaker conventicle. But when Sunday comes, there is very little scowling and pouting done, as they pass each other on the way. They learn to love each other before they have learned the definition of the word *creed*, to

say nothing of the definition of the matters which creeds contain. They learn these things too, in due time, but too late for them to be dispossessed of their childish experience, and made to believe, that to think otherwise than they think, is necessarily to be knave or fool; nor do they easily fall into that delusion, even when they come forward to be prominent members, in the same circle, of the sects to which inquiry or circumstances have severally attached them. At all events, while sects in New England pursue energetically their separate objects, they are for the most part content to do this, without manifestations of mutual ill-will or disrespect; nor are individuals, connected with them respectively, prevented from being each other's bosom friends, or cordial fellow-laborers in some common cause. There are instances, no doubt, of persons, unhappily constituted, or viciously trained, presenting exceptions to these remarks; but theirs is any thing but the characteristic spirit of the region. We have, on the contrary, sometimes had occasion to witness elsewhere an acerbity of feeling connected with sectarian distinctions, and interfering with the courtesies of social intercourse, of which we never saw a solitary example in these New England States.

We started upon this course of remark by saying, that from the equal footing upon which our children in New England are bred together at the schools, there is engendered among the people a feeling of personal independence, as well as that sense of mutual respect, which is hostile to aristocratic or sectarian assumptions. That under such circumstances, the natural tendency of a boy's education would be, to make him an independently thinking and acting man, no one would question. That such is actually the result to be witnessed in the character of the mature New England mind, is a point which we cannot give up, though it seems to be questioned in some remarks, proceeding from the midst of ourselves, which have lately had extensive circulation in the Western country. They come from a very high source, but it is only, on that account, the more our duty to take notice of them. Dr. Channing, in a letter to the Editor of "The Western Messenger," published in last October's number of that periodical, and reprinted in a separate form, writes as follows;

"Shall I say a word of evil of this good city of Boston? Among all its virtues it does not abound in a tolerant spirit. The yoke of opinion is a heavy one, often crushing individuality

of judgment and action. A censorship, unfriendly to free exertion, is exercised over the pulpit as well as over other concerns. No city in the world is governed so little by a police, and so much by mutual inspection, and what is called public sentiment. We stand more in awe of one another than most people. Opinion is less individual, or runs more into masses, and often rules with a rod of iron. Undoubtedly opinion, when enlightened, lofty, pure, is a useful sovereign; but, in the present imperfect state of society, it has its evils, as well as benefits. It suppresses the grosser vices, rather than favors the higher virtues. It favors public order, rather than originality of thought, moral energy, and spiritual life."

Expressly, this is said only of Boston. But all the world, (that part of the world, which thinks about the matter,) thinks, and thinks truly, that Boston represents New England, in respect to the leading points of character. And a reader of the remarks quoted will consider himself still further justified, in giving them this comprehensive application, by language which he finds further on. That such was the writer's intention, we neither affirm nor deny. It is no part of our object to fix a broader or narrower meaning on the words, but to protest against a prejudice which we are sure they will be so understood as to confirm.

"All our accounts of the West make me desire to visit it. I desire to see nature under new aspects; but still more to see a new form of society. I hear of the defects of the West; but I learn that a man there feels himself to be a man; that he has a self-respect, which is not always to be found in older communities; that he speaks his mind freely; that he acts more from generous impulses, and less from selfish calculations. These are good tidings; I rejoice that the intercourse between the East and West is increasing. Both will profit. The West may learn from us the love of order, the arts which adorn and cheer life, the institutions of education and religion, which lie at the foundation of our greatness, and may give us in return the energies and virtues which belong to and distinguish a fresher state of society."

We wish, as much as those who wish it most, for a freer intercourse between different parts of these United States; and in the prodigious apparatus for rapid and easy mutual communication, which makes the subject of an earlier paper in this number of our journal, we are even fain to recognise a seasonable arrangement of that Providence, which has great

things to accomplish for the world by the continued union of this nation, — to obstruct what else would be the natural tendencies of the rapid extension of our territory, to say nothing of some other elements of mutual repulsion. And to the frank and generous character of the people of the West, we lately,* as at other times, had the satisfaction of bearing our full and cordial tribute. But as to travelling to the West, or to any other quarter of the horizon, for the sake of taking lessons in self-respect, freedom of thought or speech, or the habit of acting "more from generous impulses, and less from selfish calculations," we are slow to believe that the descendants of the Pilgrims are yet reduced to any such necessity.

We partly agree with Dr. Channing in regretting that habit of a severe criticism of the services of the pulpit, which he specifies in connexion with what we have quoted, and by the mention of which he was led to those more comprehensive remarks. But to regard it as an indication of a prevailing intolerance of public opinion, we think would be generalizing, altogether too far, what belongs to the relations sustained by one profession. Mainly, we suppose, the fact complained of is to be viewed as a traditionary consequence of the position which the clergy occupied in our primitive times. They exerted an influence greater than that of any other class in society. The doctrine they taught was the leading subject of solicitude and inquiry ; how could it be otherwise, than that what they said should be narrowly watched, and thoroughly canvassed ? Moreover, their opinions had direct practical bearings upon the community's movements. The annunciation of their opinions had immediate practical results. How could it be, but that, when important interests of their hearers were to be affected by views which they should take, those views should become the subject of scrutiny and discussion ?

So much for the matter of their preaching. With respect to its being made the subject of criticism in a different point of view, — that of a rhetorical exhibition, — it is to be remembered that the clergy have been the scholars of New England, through a great portion of its history. The people, for a long time, looked to them for their standard of taste in composition, and each congregation had a pride in the literary name of its pastor. Habits of this sort do not cease at once,

* Review of Butler's History in No. XCII.

when, by a change of circumstances, the original cause becomes less operative. They are of a kind extremely likely to be transmitted, by force of the mere example of elders. If the literary merits of preaching are now discussed in New England to a degree greater than these considerations will satisfactorily explain, it is natural to refer to the fact, that, up to the present time, some of the most eminent ornaments of our literature are found among the clergy. As to any intolerance of a free expression of opinion from the pulpit, we are not aware that opinions there expressed are more exposed to sifting and comment than in other places, where the subjects of pulpit discourse command an equal interest on the hearer's part. We have thought, indeed, that a somewhat peculiar latitude was allowed in this respect. We are old enough to remember that many of the clergy, in the high political excitements of twenty and thirty years ago, gave expressions of their views, which were most offensive to a large portion of their hearers, and that few were made to suffer any inconvenience on that account. Dr. Channing alludes, in this connexion, to a prevailing distaste for extemporaneous preaching. We shall not undertake to say, that it is not carried too far, though in some cases, where that method of address has been successfully attempted, the distaste has not been found insurmountable. But we are inclined to trace it, not so much to an intolerance of rhetorical inaccuracy, — for then it would affect equally the extemporaneous efforts of the deliberative assembly and the bar, — but to an impatience of those exaggerations, into which an extemporaneous speaker on an abstract subject, is very likely to fall, in the warmth of his excitement or the exigencies of his invention. For the rest, sermon-making is a favorite form of literature among the New England people; what wonder then, that, having a taste formed on good models, they should be somewhat fastidious about it? The populace of Athens were strict critics of a play; were they subject, therefore, to a general charge of want of a tolerant spirit? did they therefore exercise "a censorship unfriendly to free exertion?"

Further; wherever great subjects are thoroughly and freely canvassed, there some conclusions are likely to be reached; that is to say, there will be eventually some strong and definite bias of public opinion. So, no doubt, it is in New England; and, for ourselves, we are fond of regarding the

phenomenon in question, as a gratifying fruit and proof of free discussion, rather than as a hurtful hindrance to it. Such a bias of public opinion is not itself intolerance; for a community, which has opinions, and understands their grounds, like an individual in the same condition, is not only not dispossessed of its candor by its intelligence, but is all the more likely to be candid, on that account.

Let us see, however, whether intolerance is actually superinduced upon it, with its supposed result of "crushing individuality of judgment and action." The question, thus, becomes twofold. We do not know better how to try it, than by taking the case of politicians. No case can be fairer; for, in the movements of politicians, every man feels himself to be interested, and a politician every man can reach by his vote.

Do the New England people, then, keep a Procrustes' bed for their public servants, or are they rather fond of allowing them considerable latitude, when convinced of their intelligence and honesty? Two or three facts, by way of reply, must serve for a specimen of a variety of such, which we have not room to set down. — The war of 1812 has been the great party question of these times. One of the old parties was broken down, by taking the unlucky side in relation to it. Except by popular election, not a man can, at this day, set his foot in the federal councils, who is known to have disapproved that measure, unless he is also known to have since eaten his words. Though the voice of New England was against it, there can be no doubt that an overwhelming majority of the generation which has since come up, is, — rightly or otherwise, — of a different mind; nor is there any more doubt, that, on that most exciting point, a politician among us may adopt the exploded doctrine, without prejudice to his prospects of advancement. The case may be the same, elsewhere; it is enough for us, that it is so here. — The practice of Instructions to Representatives is hardly known among us as a mode of political action; nor with all the citizen's natural jealousy of his agent, is the doctrine, sustaining that practice, by any means acquiesced in, as part of the true constitutional theory. The legislature of one of our States, a short time ago, adopting an exotic fashion, invited its Senator in Congress to obey its mandate or resign; and it got a lesson for its pains, which it will not speedily forget. — Elsewhere there is a

habit of writing letters to candidates for public office, to exact from them pledges respecting the manner, in which they will use their possible discretion in some supposed emergency of the future. The thing has not been much more than heard of, in these eastern ends of the earth. — As to Boston particularly, let one fact have a hearing. The last incumbent of the mayoralty but one, was a gentleman of excellent qualifications for that office, and he sustained it admirably well. He was chosen to it, at a period of strong party excitement, when he was known to belong to one side on the absorbing question of national politics, and a large majority of the electors belonged to the other. We defy any one to infer the want of a tolerant spirit, from a fact like this. It is to no purpose to say, that police duties have small connexion with questions of general politics. In feverish times, it is not in this way, that partisans reason, where intolerance prevails. Intolerant party leaders are equal to harder feats than that of persuading intolerant followers, that the mere elevation of an opponent to a post of dignity and personal influence, is a desertion of the common cause.

On the other hand, supposing the intolerance of the mass to be greater, is there a disposition on the part of those on whom it would operate, to let it break them down to a pusillanimous abandonment of liberty of thought and action? This is the other part of the question. And respecting this we insist, that there are, in this same matter of political life, the most unequivocal proofs of the absence of any general disposition of the kind. Candid, tolerant, trusting, large-minded as a community may be, still a degree of *surveillance* by the citizen over the course and character of the public officer, is the proper and the necessary incident of republican administrations. For the public good, the thing ought to be; but however generously interpreted on the part whence it proceeds, such supervision involves a degree of discomfort to a man of a sensitively independent mind. As far as the conditions of humanity permit, he would prefer to be responsible only to his sense of duty and his God; at least, not to be responsible to such, as can but imperfectly understand, however respectfully they may confide in him. Accordingly, such a man will not be inordinately covetous of public office. Considerations of public duty, when they can be made apparent, will of course move him to undertake it. But as a

matter of personal ambition, he will not desire it much. And especially, all his tastes will render him averse to complying with conditions of popularity, which appear to him to be mortifications of one's self-respect. With all charity for everybody, he will be indisposed to the attentions, which the low-minded may think themselves entitled to exact from him, by their power of giving or withholding a vote. He will be impatient of being questioned, as to whether, in a given state of things, he will humor one or another prejudice, or so much as take one or another part. He has no relish even for that canvassing, by friend and foe, of his modes of thought and action, which is necessary to show the voters that he is the best man they could possibly elect.

Now it is impossible, in our view, not to trace to this jealousy of personal independence, which (with the fairest constituency,) is somewhat threatened in the relations of public life, the fact that, in all quiet times, a large portion of the best spirits of New England have preferred to devote themselves to other toils. The fact is so notorious, that one of the writers whom we have quoted above, has tortured it into a support of his charge of aristocratic pride. "The upper class," he says, (p. 514, above,) "are often too refined to attend to their political duty. They are too much immersed in letters and pleasure, too sublimated, to descend to the vulgar arena of elections." This is not so. As to voting merely, it is, to a striking degree, the habit of all conditions in New England, to repair to the elections, and give their ballots, as the lists of voters in the towns, at any election, compared with the census of the towns respectively, would show. And as to public service, among all times of moment and peril, when the best men New England possessed were wanted for that employment, we should like to see one era pointed out, when plenty of her best men were not furnished. We own it, on the other hand, to be a New England notion, (—and we dare say, it may be that of other places equally,—) that good men are intended for other uses, besides those of politics; — for politics, doubtless, but for other uses too. And we own, further, that there are New England habits and instincts, as well as principles and sentiments, adverse to the business of office-seeking. They are such as would hardly admit the introduction among us, of machinery which exists elsewhere. We find no fault with methods elsewhere

approved. Let every community choose its own. For most established and unquestioned customs, there is some good local foundation; and the custom of speaking at elections, in furtherance of one's own claims, is observed and upheld by good and honorable men, who are better judges of its effect, where it prevails, than we could pretend to be. But it has, and has had, no existence among us. Except a *soi-disant* "Orator," we could not name the person, who has ever, on New England soil, taken that step for his own elevation. And in this, and other like facts, indicating a reserve and shyness in respect to public office, we find any thing rather than a weak willingness to bow to a community's dictation, or conciliate its goodwill and good offices by any unbecoming sacrifice.

Let us tell those who will believe us, once for all, that the New England people, while they are tolerant of the various ways of acting and thinking, are rather characteristically chary of their own. They are not inclined to bear hard upon others, and they are unmanageably restive, when borne hard upon. So far from being blamably easy and compliant, they have rather, from the time of the Puritan fathers down, been marked by qualities exposing them to be charged with the opposite faults of a very "fierce democratie." To be sure of keeping straight, they have been not unapt to lean backwards. It has been extremely true of them, that the more one tried to drive them, the more they would not go.* And we commend this well-ascertained trait of their character to the

* "The people began to fear, lest, by reëlecting Winthrop, they should make way for a governor for life. They accordingly gave some indications of a design to elect another person. Upon which John Cotton, their great ecclesiastical head, then at the height of his popularity, preached a discourse to the General Court, and delivered this doctrine; 'that a magistrate ought not to be turned out, without just cause, no more than a magistrate might turn out a private man from his freehold without trial.' To show their dislike of the doctrine by the most practical of evidences, our ancestors turned out Winthrop at the very same election, and put in Dudley. The year after, they turned out Dudley, and put in Haynes. The year after, they turned out Haynes, and put in Vane." — Quincy's *Centennial Address*. p. 33.

"In 1639, there being vacancies in the board of assistants, the Governor and magistrates met, and nominated three persons 'not with intent,' as they said, 'to lead the people's choice of these, nor to divert them from any other, but only to propound for consideration, (which any freeman may do,) and so leave the people to use their liberties according to their consciences.' The result was, that the people did use their liberties according to their consciences. They chose not a man of them. So much for the first legislative caucus in our history." — *Ibid.*, p. 35.

attention of some belligerents of the newspaper press, whose course it would improve.

Upon the matter which we have been treating, Mr. Fennimore Cooper deserves to be heard. He has no partiality for New England, to bring suspicion on his evidence. On the contrary, the politics, which most characterize her modern history, he hates as heartily as if they deserved to be hated. But his impressions respecting the self-respect and individuality of her people are strikingly at variance with the view presented in the last quotation which we made.

"The effect of this diffusion of common instruction is pre-eminently apparent throughout New England, in the *self-respect*, decency, order, and *individuality* of its inhabitants. I say individuality, because, by giving ideas to a man, you impart the principles of a new existence, which supply additional motives of concern to his respectability and well-being. You are not to suppose that men become selfish by arriving nearer to a right understanding of their own natures and true interests, since all experience proves that we become humane and charitable precisely as we become conscious of our own defects, and obtain a knowledge of the means necessary to repair them. A remarkable example of this truth is to be found in New England itself. Beyond a doubt, nowhere is to be found a population so well instructed, in elementary knowledge, as the people of these six States. It is equally true, that *I have nowhere witnessed such a universality of that self-respect* which preserves men from moral degradation." — *Notions of a Travelling Bachelor*, p. 94.

"If a union of the utmost scope to individual enterprise with the most sacred regard to the rights and feelings of the less fortunate of our species, be any evidence of an approximation to this desired condition of society, I think the inhabitant of New England has a better right to claim an elevated state of being than any other people I have ever visited. The activity of personal efforts is everywhere visible on the face of the land, in their comforts, abundance, improvements, and progressive wealth, while the effect of a humanity that approaches almost to refinement, was felt at every house I entered. Let me not be misunderstood: I can readily conceive that a European gentleman, who had not been, like myself, put on his guard, would have found numberless grounds of complaint, because he was not treated as belonging to a superior class of beings by those with whom he was compelled to hold communication. Servility forms no part of the civilization of New England, though civility be its essence. I can say with truth, that after traversing the coun-

try for near a thousand miles, in no instance did I hear or witness a rude act. Not the slightest imposition was practised, or attempted, on my purse. All my inquiries were heard with patience, and answered with extraordinary intelligence. Not a farthing was asked for divers extra services that were performed in my behalf; but, on the contrary, money offered in the way of *douceurs* was repeatedly declined, and that too with perfect modesty, as if it were unusual to receive rewards for trifles. My comforts and tastes, too, were uniformly consulted; and, although I often travelled in a portion of the country that was but little frequented, at every inn I met with neatness, abundance, and a manner in which a desire to oblige me was blended with a *singular respect for themselves.* Nor was this rare combination of advantages at all the effect of that simplicity which is the attendant of a half-civilized condition; on the contrary, I found an intelligence that surprised me at every turn, and which, in itself, gave the true character to the humanity of which I was the subject." — *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97.

We had something further to say on this last point; but we must hasten to reward our readers' patience, by releasing it. We have not volunteered this course of remark. Self-vindication, for a general rule, is not the most dignified office. But it is forced upon us by the existence and expression of sentiments, on the part of some of our fellow-citizens of other sections of the country, which it is not good for them nor for us that they should entertain. What we have been submitting to their consideration, has been said quite as much in justice to them, as to ourselves; for we ought not be willing to have their minds abused by prejudices, which we can do any thing to dispel. For the rest, it is not they who are the objects of a groundless unfavorable opinion, that have the worst, but they who have unjustly taken it up; and though we like, as well as other people, the good opinion of our neighbours, it is a thing, which, in the last resort, we can afford to do without. Character is a better thing than reputation. If we take care enough to deserve the latter, it is likely that, in the long run, we shall have it, in all quarters where we shall think it of much account. But even if that result should fail, it would be a disappointment not absolutely beyond the power of endurance.

We have heard with sorrow and surprise, that some persons, understood to be emigrants from New England, have been known to give their countenance to calumnies circulated against her character; — surprise, we say, but it is a surprise which

a little consideration tends largely to abate. That the number of such cases is small, we feel the strongest assurance. Of the crowds, who, in obedience to their native spirit of enterprise, pour from this *officina gentium* year by year, the mass have the good sense and the good feeling, to cherish, wherever they go, among the most sacred sentiments of their souls, the reverence and gratitude which they owe to the home they have relinquished. As often as occasion presents itself, they are true enough to themselves, to be ready with a manly vindication of its character; and they vindicate that character best by an honorable exhibition of it, in their own persons. But it would be extravagant to presume, that this will be the case with all. Among such numbers, it is to be supposed that there will be here and there one without character, — at least, without reflection, or without heart; and that there will be others,— honest and sensible men, too, in the main, — who are yet laboring under unfortunate biases. An individual, for instance, — it is not an uncommon case, — has left his New England home in early manhood, with his fortune all to seek. His nativity was cast in a comparatively mean condition, which he did not remain long enough here to reverse. In his new sphere he rises to wealth, consequence, popularity; what wonder, that, looking back thence on his birthplace, as the place only of his obscurity and indigence, he should have some feeling as if it had been unjust to him, unless he be discriminating enough to observe, that had he remained by his home to exercise the industry and intelligence which have elevated him, they would have yielded him there a like harvest to what he has elsewhere been gathering. That such a person should allow himself in unkind, disparaging comparisons between the scene of his brighter fortunes, and that which gave him the power to advance himself, is certainly in some degree excusable, if it is in no degree wise. — Some emigrants, it is to be apprehended there will be, of an entirely opposite character. There will be single instances of such as have gone abroad, simply on account of the bad odor they were in, at home.

> "True patriots they; for, be it understood,
> They left their country, for their country's good."

Their representations of the society which would not tolerate them, are not likely to be of the most favorable kind; but their representations are of less account, by reason of the less

credit they will command. — And between these two classes is yet another, of which, on manifest principles of human nature, we presume there are some few specimens, but which it is harder to reduce to any precise description. There are young persons, more or less well inclined and well principled, who are yet impressible and movable, to almost any extent, by the power of sympathy. It is not merely calculation, — it may be, much more, a mere foolish facility, — which disposes them to adopt, wherever they go, the habits of thought as well as of speech and behaviour, which they find to prevail around them. This is not characteristically a New England frailty ; the contrary, rather ; it is but one of the endlessly diversified phases of the common human nature. But among the hosts of New England emigrants, it is to be supposed that some will be found affected by it. In such cases, there will be sometimes an extraordinarily sudden and marked transformation. The Yankee youth, whom one meets in some remote city, or plantation, or wild, will be found as outrageously anti-New England, as the proselyte is warm against the principles he has forsaken, or the *nouveau riche* is inveterate against every thing which pertains to the shop. In certain visible symptoms, pertaining to the same disease, you have tolerably sure prognostics how such a person will speak of his home, before the subject has been introduced. If you remark, that whatever is peculiar in the forms of language of his new residence has been sedulously adopted, you may confidently augur that he has meant to make himself over again, merging all his Yankee identity in the process. If a dirk-hilt, or pistol handle, peeps from beneath his vest, (things which a decent man in New England would no sooner think of wearing, than he would of taking his walk with a four-pounder trailed behind him,) you may be sure that New England parsimony, aristocracy, bigotry, and the rest, will find no quarter at his hands. It will be of no use to tell him, that, whatever his new associates may think of his country, they will think none the better of him for so ready an adoption of their views concerning it. It will be all in vain, at present, to commend to his attention the universal concurrence in the truth of the homely maxim, that "it is an ill bird that defiles its own nest." You must wait. He is not to be despaired of. He may come to his wisdom, and his sense of character, yet ; and then he will come, at the same time, to bitter humiliation and regret for the recreant nonsense

he has vented. If, in the mean while, the mother that bore him must be prejudiced by his abuse, her greatest grief, and wrong, and shame, are in the dismal spectacle of his folly.

We designed to speak further than we now can do, of Mr. Bradford's "History of Massachusetts for Two Hundred Years"; particularly with reference to its introduction, as a text-book, into our common schools. Besides being in form extremely convenient for that purpose, it is the work of a gentleman with whom our New England history has been the study of a life, and who, from the official relation which he long sustained, as Secretary of the Commonwealth, enjoyed peculiar advantages for its prosecution. Without saying that, in all respects, the work is all that could be desired for the purpose, we are sure, that, under the direction of competent instructers, it would render excellent service to our youth. At any rate, if this volume is not all that might be wished, let one be produced which would be. If need be, let the Commonwealth offer a prize, suitable to obtain a history for the schools, from the best mind which it can enlist in that important service. We find, in the Secretary's Abstract of School Returns for 1836, that in the schools of several towns, some history of the United States is studied, and in some Irving's "Life of Columbus"; while in only one, that of Scituate, have we remarked any mention of a history of Massachusetts as a text-book.* These things should be done, but the other should not be left undone. As far as public provision can effect it, Massachusetts should not suffer one of her children to leave her borders, or grow up within them, without knowing well the history, to the end of being the more imbued with the spirit, of his excellent birthplace.

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* The existing laws, which we perceive we have not fully described in the beginning of this article, are as follows. Towns consisting of 50, 100, 150, or 500 families, must support one or more common schools, for terms, in every year, the aggregate of which shall be 6, 12, 18, and 24 months respectively. Towns of 500 families, in addition to their Common Schools, must support, 10 months annually, a school where instruction shall be given in the History of the United States, book-keeping, surveying, geometry, and algebra. Towns of 4000 inhabitants must have their school of this latter class under the care of a master, able to teach Latin and Greek, general history, rhetoric, and logic.

Art. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.— *The Compact, with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth; together with the Charter of the Council at Plymouth, and an Appendix, containing the Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England, and other valuable Documents. Published agreeably to a Resolve passed April* 5, 1836. Under the Supervision of William Brigham, Counsellor at Law. pp. 357. 8vo. Boston; Dutton & Wentworth, Printers to the State. 1836.

The Legislature of Massachusetts has at various times manifested a very commendable desire to preserve the records and muniments of our forefathers, and to diffuse the knowledge of our colonial and provincial history. In the year 1814, they subscribed for six hundred copies of "Hubbard's History of New England from the Discovery to 1680," which, after lying in manuscript for upwards of a hundred and thirty years, was then for the first time published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and furnished a copy of it to every town in the Commonwealth, including the District of Maine. In 1824 they purchased three hundred and fifty copies of Mr. Savage's invaluable edition of Governor Winthrop's History of New-England, to be distributed in like manner among the several towns of Massachusetts. Without this liberal and efficient aid, it may be questioned whether either of those important works would have appeared even to this day.

Again, in the year 1812, Hon. Nathan Dane, William Prescott, and Joseph Story were appointed a committee to collect the charters, and the public and general laws, of the colony and province of Massachusetts Bay. The result of their labors appeared in 1814, in a royal octavo volume of 868 pages, of which one thousand copies were printed. In 1818, the Rev. Dr. Freeman, of Boston, Samuel Davis, Esq., of Plymouth, and Benjamin R. Nichols, Esq., of Salem, were appointed by the legislature to examine the records of the Old Colony of Plymouth, which, notwithstanding the union of that colony with Massachusetts in 1691, had been retained, and remained deposited in the office of the register of deeds of Plymouth county. These commissioners were subsequently authorized to cause the most important parts of the records to be transcribed, and the copies to be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State. This duty was intrusted by them to B. R. Nichols, Esq., who performed it with

great fidelity and accuracy. The copies fill eleven folio volumes, which are provided with copious indexes, and can be readily consulted by the historian, the legislator, or the antiquarian.

At the last session of the legislature, by the recommendation of his Excellency the Governor, an appropriation of a thousand dollars was made to defray the expense of arranging and classifying the numerous files of papers and documents deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, which had lain there for ages in a chaotic mass, and consequently had, in the course of time, been not a little reduced in quantity by the abstraction of such loose papers as suited the convenience or taste of inquisitive collectors. The Governor appointed to this office the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, a gentleman whose habits of antiquarian research and familiar acquaintance with our early history eminently qualified him for the place. Ever since his appointment, he has been diligently engaged in examining and arranging this mass of documents, and has succeeded in bringing a portion of them at least into some kind of order. As fast as they were arranged, they have been bound up in large folio volumes, of which twenty are already completed, and provided with indexes. A cursory inspection of these volumes will satisfy any one of the wisdom of the legislative resolve authorizing this arrangement, and of the singular qualifications of the gentleman to whom the work has been intrusted.

It was likewise at the last session of the legislature that a resolve passed, that 1,500 copies of the Laws of the Old Colony of Plymouth should be published for the use of the Commonwealth; and the Governor was authorized to appoint a commissioner to superintend the printing. William Brigham, Esq., received the appointment, and the fruits of his labors we have now before us in the beautifully executed volume, the title of which stands at the head of this notice. In this age of procrastination, particularly in regard to all public works, we feel bound to commend the promptitude as well as the accuracy with which this work has been prepared. The resolve passed on the 5th of April; and within seven months a royal octavo volume of 357 pages has been compiled and carried through the press. As a large portion of it is now first printed from the manuscript records, and as the original spelling is strictly followed, the preparing the copy and correcting the proofs must have been a work of great care and minute attention. We deem it a subject of congratulation, that the editorship of this volume devolved upon one, who was not only so well qualified for the task, but was likewise willing to give to it that personal attention which is essential to secure accuracy in publications of this sort.

The volume is chiefly valuable as illustrating the spirit of our

Pilgrim fathers, and exhibiting the manners, wants, and sentiments of those early times. The laws of a people are one of the best indexes of its character and condition; and this is particularly true of a simple and primitive people like the Plymouth colonists, living together in a small community in a new-found world, and resembling a family or a patriarchal tribe rather than a state or nation. The code before us carries us back to the very infancy of the settlement, shows us the misdemeanors and vices prevalent in the new community, and the penalties that were deemed most proper and efficient to check them. We see the moral as well as the physical difficulties with which the first settlers had to contend, and the remedies which they provided for their relief.

Some of the laws in the Plymouth code give us a very graphic and amusing picture of the simplicity of manners that prevailed in these primitive times, and we cannot refrain from citing one or two of them. The first relates to a custom which we presume will continue to prevail, despite of all laws, so long as the world shall stand. "It is enacted by the Court, that whosoever shall inveigle or endeavour to steal the affections of any man's daughter or maid-servant, or shall make any motion of marriage, not having first obtained leave and consent of the parents or master so to do, shall be punished either by fine or corporal punishment, or both, at the discretion of the bench, and according to the nature of the offence." The next relates to a practice which we fear is nearly as deep-seated as the former in the affections and habits of the community. "It is enacted by the Court, that if any shall be found or seen taking tobacco in the streets of any town within the colonies of this government, or in any barn or out-house, or by the highways, and not above a mile from a dwelling-house, or at his work in the fields, every such person so offending shall forthwith pay twelve pence for every such offence. And for boys and servants that shall offend herein, and have nothing to pay, to be set in the stocks for the first default, and for the second to be whipped. And any person that shall be found smoking of tobacco on the Lord's day, going to or coming from the meeting, within two miles of the meeting-house, shall pay twelve pence for every such default to the colony's use." The last relates to a new species of tythe, if we may not rather call it a new form of the voluntary system. "The Court proposeth it as a thing they judge would be very commendable and beneficial to the towns where God's providence should cast any whales, if they should agree to set apart some part of every such fish or oil for the encouragement of an able, godly minister among them." We seek however in vain among the Plymouth laws for any thing corresponding to the following law passed by the colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1651. "It is ordered by

this Court, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way upon any such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending shall pay for every such offence five shillings as a fine to the county."

The publication of this volume is but fulfilling, in part, the recommendation of the commissioners who, in 1818, as we have before mentioned, examined all the records of the Old Colony, and stated it as their opinion that it would be of benefit to the present age, and still more to posterity, to print the most interesting articles, and that it was particularly desirable that the whole of the *laws* should be printed in chronological order. As this has now been so well done in the volume under consideration, we hope that the Legislature will proceed in the good work, and cause other portions of these important records to be printed. We are particularly desirous that the Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, which fill two folio volumes in manuscript, should be published by the authority of the State. These records, it is well known, were transcribed by Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. and compose nearly the whole of his second quarto volume of Historical Collections, published in 1794. That work is now exceedingly scarce, and is not free from errors. This scarcity we have heard accounted for in a way which, for the honor of the country, we hope is not true. It has been stated that, on the death of Mr. Hazard, these volumes of State Papers were put up at auction among his other effects, and were purchased and used as wrapping-paper. This is paralleled only by what John Bale, the antiquary, tells us was done with the libraries of the monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII. "A great number," he says, "of them which purchased these superstitious mansions, reserved of these library books some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots. Some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of the foreign nations. I know a merchant man, which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings' price; a shame it is to be spoken! This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of gray paper by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and a most horrible infamy among the grave seniors of other nations!"

Mr. Nichols, whilst examining and transcribing the records of the Old Colony, went through the laborious process of collating Hazard's printed volume with the original manuscript; and the corrected volume is now deposited in the office of the

Secretary of the Commonwealth. A great part of the labor is thus already performed, and we have hoped that the Legislature, during the present session, would pass a resolve authorizing the reprinting of this corrected volume. Should this be determined upon, we hope that the services of Mr. Brigham will again be put in requisition. The experience and tact that he has acquired ought not to be lost to the community. We trust, likewise, that a selection will be made from the curious and valuable papers which Mr. Felt is arranging, and that the fruits of his labors also will come before the public in a tangible form. Massachusetts is bound, by gratitude to the founders of her institutions, to perpetuate their memory and disseminate the story of their deeds.

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2. — *The Song of the Bell, translated from the German of Schiller, for the Boston Academy of Music,* by S. A. Eliot. The Music by Andreas Romberg. Boston; Kidder & Wright, printers. 1837.

Among other curious particulars on the subject of bells contained in that oddest of books, the "Doctor," it is stated that it was not uncommon for bells to be cast within the precincts of monasteries, and that, as soon as the casting was finished, the bell was baptized, and immediately raised to its place in the belfry, in order that no profane hands might touch it after its consecration. It is probably a scene of this kind, which Schiller intended to represent in his "Song of the Bell." Whether Schiller originally designed it for music, we do not know, though there are some circumstances which lead us to suppose that such was not his intention. However this may have been, it has been made the subject of a musical composition by Andreas Romberg; and it is of the whole, considered as a musical work, that we design to give an account. The German of Schiller has been translated into English for the use of the Boston Academy of Music, by Mr. Eliot. To preserve exactly the mechanical structure of the verse, line for line, syllable for syllable, accent for accent, preserving the rhymes precisely in the same position in which they were placed in the original, was a task which might well have been deemed an impossibility. But in order to give full effect to the music, this was necessary, and, notwithstanding its great difficulty, the translator has succeeded in performing it. Nor only this. We do not hesitate to say, that under all this accumulation of adventitious difficulties, incident to the use which

the translation was to serve, it is a work marked with the ease and force of an original composition.

The "Song of the Bell" is in its form dramatic, the interlocutors being the master and the chorus of workmen, who are engaged in casting the bell. From time to time the master gives directions with regard to the different processes, while the workmen describe the uses of the bell, moralizing upon the various events of human life with which they are connected. There is something in the form of the composition which reminds us of the chorus in the ancient drama, and one almost expects to find that the master is Vulcan, and that his workmen are the Cyclops, laboring at their furnaces in the bowels of Etna. But these workmen are no Cyclops forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter, or the armour of classic heroes, and discoursing of the immovable laws of Fate and Destiny. Neither are they the warlike artisans of the middle ages, like Harry Smith of the Wynd, ready alike to forge or to wear in battle their strong armour. These bell-founders are good German artisans, full of enthusiasm and love of all things in the world or in life, prone to speculations somewhat mystic, and withal possessing a certain quiet and unobtrusive humor.

The various subjects which are suggested by the different uses of the bell, naturally divide the song into several distinct portions. But the directions of the master are so introduced as to fix the attention upon the work which is going on, and to give unity to the whole. A similar effect has also been beautifully produced by the composer, who by introducing the same melody with slight variations whenever the master speaks, has given the same unity of character to the musical composition.

Notwithstanding that the general unity is so well preserved, still the poetry and the music being naturally divided as we have remarked, into several distinct portions, it will be more easy to convey an idea of the whole by describing each portion separately. To the direction of the master to commence their work, the workmen answer in chorus,

> "To the work we now prepare,
> A serious thought is surely due,
> And cheerfully the toil we 'll share
> If cheerful words be mingled too," &c.

The music of this chorus is simple, unpretending, and graceful. The master then directs them to feed the fire and add to the "melting copper" the "boiling tin."

> "That the thick metallic mass
> Rightly to the mould may pass."

Chorus.—"What with fire's dread power,
We in the dark deep pit now hide,
Shall on some lofty sacred tower
Tell of our skill and form our pride," &c.

The music of this chorus is a spirited and majestic movement, full of dignity, and well expressing the idea of the poetry.

The first use of the bell is at the baptism of the infant. The days of infancy, childhood, and the first delicious hours of youthful love, make the subject of some beautiful music. A sweet and expressive air describes with much beauty the earliest hours of infancy, which "are passed in sleep's dominion mild." The impetuous days of early manhood, when the youth "rushes to the world without," his return home, his first emotions of love and the progress of the passion, make the subject of a solo and a duet. These three airs make, as it were, one scene in the piece, and in them the composer has shown great power of appreciating and expressing the sentiments of the poet.

The mixture of the different materials naturally leads to the idea of the union of the stronger and the gentler sex. The marriage festivities are described in a lively and pleasing melody. Next comes one of the most remarkable portions of the whole work. The bustle and hurry of active life, the labor and enterprise of the husband to amass wealth, and the busy household virtues of his wife, are described by the poet with exquisite but delicate and subdued humor. The composer has seized exactly the idea of the poet, and given a song containing just as much quiet, comic expression as the poetry requires. The hurry and bustle of a money-getting life are, we should think, as little adapted as any thing could be to the purposes of art. It is not a little remarkable that the composer should, in this instance, so exactly sympathize with, and realize the idea of the poet.

The toils and labors of life are not without their reward.

"The father cheerful from the door,
His wide-extended homestead eyes,
Tells all his smiling fortunes o'er;
The future columns in his trees,
His barn's well-furnished stock he sees.
* * * * *
He boasts with swelling pride,
Firm as the mountain side,
Against the shock of fate
Is now my happy state."

These words make the subject of a quartette. The calm and soothing effect of a beautiful landscape, composed of richly cultivated grounds, is well expressed by soft music gradually increasing in force with the swelling feelings of the fortunate

owner. At this moment three other voices are added with the words,

> " Who can discern futurity?
> Who can insure prosperity?
> Quick, misfortune's arrow flies,"

the music contrasting beautifully with the loud voices in which the preceding boast was expressed.

The master now directs the casting to begin.

* * * *

> " Strike the copper clear,
> God preserve us here;
> Sparkling to the rounded mould
> It rushes hot, like liquid gold."

Here the chorus describes the destructive effects of fire;

> " When bursting from her bonds, she 's seen
> To quit the safe and quiet hearth,
> And wander lawless over the earth."

The treatment of this subject by the composer deserves particular notice and commendation, inasmuch as musical authors are apt to mistake the true objects and capacities of their art, and to describe such scenes by attempting directly to imitate the noises, rather than by giving a musical expression of the emotions excited by them. The full examination of this chorus, which is somewhat long, would occupy too much space, but there is one point which we think deserves to be mentioned particularly. When the conflagration has spread desolation over the whole city, and there is no longer hope of checking its progress,

> " Hope now dies!
> Man must yield to Heaven's decrees,
> Submissive, yet appalled, he sees
> His fairest works in ashes sleep."

The two first lines here quoted are given by the composer as a loud burst of despair, which is gradually softened down to an expression of humble resignation.

The casting is now completed, —

> " To the dark lap of mother earth
> We now confide what we have made."

The chorus composed for these and the immediately succeeding words, is perhaps the finest chorus in the whole piece. It brings out with great delicacy, the idea of the poet, conveyed by the words,

> " And yet more precious seed we sow,
> With sorrow in the world's wide field,
> And hope, though in the grave laid low,
> A flower of heavenly hue 't will yield,"

The music expresses with much beauty the blending of the emotions of sorrow and hope. This is followed by a short dirge, succeeded by a beautiful recitative and air to the words,

> " Alas! the wife, — it is the dear one —
> Ah! it is the faithful mother,
> Whom the shadowy king of fear
> Tears from all that life holds dear," &c.

The whole of this *scene*, if so it may be called, is full of pathos and tenderness. The metal is then suffered to cool, the mould is broken up, the bell is christened, and immediately swung aloft, to be "a neighbour to the stars." We have not space to speak particularly of the fine music which abounds in this last part. The concluding chant,

> " All together! heave!
> Its birthplace see it leave.
> Joy to all within its bound!
> Peace its first, its latest sound!"

is full of grace and beauty.

In the construction of the music of this piece, it seems to us that the composer has had one very great difficulty to contend with. We think that there is too *much* poetry, to admit of an adequate musical expression in a single composition. This is merely an opinion, and as such we offer it with due deference to better judges. A song, in order to admit of proper musical expression, should, as it seems to us, be confined to the bringing out of one single leading idea, and so of a chorus, or any other portion of a musical work. In order to give *unity* to a musical composition, there must be one leading musical idea, pervading the whole, and carefully brought out and set before us in all its aspects. Now if the composer is compelled to pass rapidly from one thought to another, he will almost of necessity abandon the musical unity of his composition. Handel's famous song, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," which we have always considered to be the finest vocal composition extant, is a good exemplification of what we have been saying,— it being wholly confined to the musical expression of a single thought. It appears to us that the music of the "Song of the Bell" also illustrates the correctness of our opinion, though the composer has certainly succeeded remarkably well in overcoming the difficulty.

We wish to call attention to another point. It is remarkable that the composer has in no single instance, that we can recollect, attempted a direct *imitation* by means of music, of any object which he wished to describe, but in every case has made his music descriptive, by endeavouring to express and to excite in others the same emotions and feelings as are expressed by the

poetry. It may safely be said that there is hardly a sound in nature which is a musical sound, and that just in the same degree as we succeed in imitating natural sounds, we depart from music. We think any person may be convinced of this by examining either the "Creation" or "Seasons" of Haydn. In both those immortal works there are some, though not a great many instances, of direct imitation of natural sounds, and we think it may be confidently asserted, that even the genius of Haydn has not succeeded in making those passages musical. The author of the music of the Bell has shown that in this matter he thoroughly understands the powers and objects of his art.

We cannot conclude without recommending this composition to the serious study of the lovers of music. It is published for the use of the Academy, in a form very convenient for study, and with the orchestral accompaniments compressed into a very practicable arrangement for the piano forte. It deserves to hold a place in every collection of piano forte music.

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3. — *The Columbian Bard; a Selection of American Poetry, with Biographical Notices of the most popular Authors.* By the Editor of "The Bard," &c. London; Hamilton, Adams, & Co. York; J. Shillito. 1835.

This is a very pleasing little volume, neatly and even elegantly printed. It contains a great variety of poetical specimens, taken from our best poets. The introduction is written in a very friendly tone towards this country. The following remarks show a candid spirit, and are an honorable testimony to the pure morality of our youthful literature.

"After a careful examination of a very large proportion of American Poetry, the Editor is happy to be able to state, that it possesses one characteristic which, he believes, is peculiar to the poetical literature of the New World, and which will prove a powerful recommendation to a very large and increasing number of his fellow countrymen; namely, — that it is of the *purest moral character*, and, for the most part, contains a distinct recognition of the leading truths of divine revelation. A fact like this, is a most convincing proof of the high state of moral feeling that distinguishes the inhabitants of America, notwithstanding all that bigoted and hired political partisans have asserted to the contrary."— pp. xv. xvi.

The biographical notices are confined to the statement of a few leading facts in the lives of the respective authors, and very brief views of their poetical character. They are marked by a

truly catholic spirit, and a delicate taste. The only thing to be regretted is their brevity. The longest articles are those upon Lucretia Maria Davidson, (of whose life and works we hope to give some account, in a future number,) Mr. Percival, and Mr. Willis. In the notice of the last-named gentleman the author is mistaken in calling him a native of Boston. He was born in Portland. The appearance of this volume, is one among many proofs of a more amicable spirit on the part of our English brethren. We hope the time is coming when perfectly friendly relations will be established between us, and Englishmen will cease to judge our authors on purely political grounds.

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4. — *Mogg Megone. A Poem,* by John Greenleaf Whittier. Boston ; Light & Stearns. 1836. 24mo. pp. 69.

We fear that the diminutiveness of this volume will occasion it to be overlooked and lost in the crowd of larger works, few of which deserve so favorable regard. It is said that nature never puts a giant's mind into a dwarf's body ; and it is a sort of injustice to the spirit of this poem to have thrust it into so insignificant an embodiment. It is a work of real and distinguished power, with some considerable defects both of plan and execution, but with so much strength and vividness of conception, truth of description, and beauty of verse, that we are ashamed to have allowed ourselves to defer the notice of it until we are obliged to compress it into a few lines.

It is a tale of Indian life, the scene of which is laid at Norridgewock, in Maine. Its catastrophe is connected with the destruction of the Catholic Missionary establishment there, and the death of Father Ralle. The story is not a pleasing one ; it is too savage, and it is not so constructed as to excite a single and sustained interest. But its separate scenes are of great and sometimes terrible power, and they are intermingled with softer passages of a descriptive and reflective character. No one can read the scene in the outlaw's hut, when the sleeping Sachem is killed by Bonython's daughter, without a thrill of terror.

> " Ruth starts erect — with bloodshot eye,
> And lips drawn tight across her teeth,
> Showing their locked embrace beneath,
> In the red fire-light : — " Mogg must die !
> Give me the knife ! " — The outlaw turns,
> Shuddering in heart and limb, away —
> But, fitfully there, the hearth-fire burns,
> And he sees on the wall strange shadows play.

A lifted arm, a tremulous blade,
Are dimly pictured, in light and shade,
Plunging down in the darkness. Hark, that cry!
Again — and again — he sees it fall —
That shadowy arm down the lighted wall!
He hears quick footsteps — a shape flits by! —
The door on its rusted hinges creaks: —
'Ruth — daughter Ruth!' the outlaw shrieks;
But no sound comes back — he is standing alone
By the mangled corse of Mogg Megone!"

Contrast with this the sweet and graceful description which follows of an autumnal landscape;

"'T is morning over Norridgewock —
On tree and wigwam, wave and rock.
Bathed in the autumnal sunshine, stirred
At intervals by breeze and bird,
And wearing all the hues which glow
In heaven's own pure and perfect bow,
That glorious picture of the air,
Which summer's light-robed angel forms
On the dark ground of fading storms,
With pencil dipped in sunbeams there —
And, stretching out, on either hand,
O'er all that wide and unshorn land,
Till, weary of its gorgeousness,
The aching and the dazzled eye
Rests gladdened, on the calm blue sky —
Slumbers the mighty wilderness!
The oak, upon the windy hill,
Its dark green burthen upward heaves —
The hemlock broods above its rill,
Its cone-like foliage darker still,
While the white birch's graceful stem
And the rough walnut bough receives
The sun upon their crowded leaves,
Each colored like a topaz gem;
And the tall maple wears with them
The coronal which autumn gives,
The brief, bright sign of ruin near,
The hectic of a dying year!

Beneath the westward turning eye
A thousand wooded islands lie —
Gems of the waters! — with each hue
Of brightness set in ocean's blue.
Each bears aloft its tuft of trees
Touched by the pencil of the frost,
And, with the motion of each breeze,
A moment seen — a moment lost —

Changing and blent, confused and tossed,
The brighter with the darker crossed,
Their thousand tints of beauty glow
Down in the restless waves below,
And tremble in the sunny skies,
As if, from waving bough to bough,
Flitted the birds of paradise." — pp. 25–28.

The poem has many pictures so distinctly formed, that a painter could put them on the canvass at once; for example, the description of Mogg at the opening of the poem, of Ruth Bonython at the cottage door, of the Indian boy and the fisherman, and of Father Ralle and Ruth at the confessional. We quote the lines describing the Missionary settlement.

"On the brow of a hill, which slopes to meet
The flowing river, and bathe its feet —
The bare-washed rock, and the drooping grass,
And the creeping vine as the waters pass —
A rude and unshapely chapel stands,
Built up in that wild by unskilled hands;
Yet the traveller knows it a place of prayer,
For the holy sign of the cross is there:
And should he chance at that place to be,
Of a Sabbath morn, or some hallowed day,
When prayers are made and masses are said,
Some for the living and some for the dead,
Well might that traveller start to see
The tall dark forms, that take their way
From the birch canoe, on the river-shore,
And the forest paths, to that chapel door;
And marvel to mark the naked knees
And the dusky foreheads bending there,
And, stretching his long thin arms over these,
In blessing and in prayer,
Like a shrouded spectre, pale and tall,
In his coarse white vesture, Father Ralle!" — p. 31.

A minute criticism of this little book would bring to light many modest beauties, as well as suggest various emendations. But it is enough for our present purpose that we recommend it to the attention of readers of poetry. Mr. Whittier must write again. He has in various forms displayed his power, and if he will choose a less revolting theme and construct his fable skilfully, and give to the execution all the finish of which he is capable, he will make a poem that shall live.

5. — *An Elementary Treatise on Sound; being the Second Volume of a Course of Natural Philosophy, designed for the Use of High Schools and Colleges.* Compiled by Benjamin Peirce, A. M., University Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University. Boston; James Munroe & Co. 1836. 8vo. pp. 220.

It is seldom that a book comes from the press, which is designed to meet a more urgent want of the community, than this second volume of a course of Natural Philosophy. At a time when so many books, good and bad, are written, on every variety of subjects, and with particular adaptation to the widely different classes of readers, — and especially when the overflowing supply of manuals used seems to leave nothing to be wanted in the work of instruction, — it is a little singular that there is occasion for the remark that this volume fills a gap which no one before appears to have noticed, or at any rate to have endeavoured to close. In elementary treatises prepared exclusively for the use of common schools, acoustics have been considered in a simple manner among the other branches of Natural Philosophy. But no work whatever has appeared, designed for the higher places of instruction, and presenting a full and accurate analysis of the principles of sound. We know it to be true of several of our colleges, — we believe it to be the case with all of them, — that while optics, electricity, magnetism, and astronomy have received their proper share of the student's time, this portion of science, with no reason for the exclusion, has been confined entirely to the lecture room. There is some occasion, then, for congratulation that we have a really new book, and one which cannot be laid aside; and since it is probably destined to be introduced into all our colleges, as it has already been into one, we are glad to know that it has been executed in such a manner as will leave little demand for another.

Professor Peirce lays no claim to originality in this work. He tells us that he made Sir John Herschell's Treatise on Sound, written for the Encyclopedia Metropolitana, the basis of his own book. In remodelling that work, he has consulted all the works on sound of any consequence, as well as embodied the very important discoveries recently made by Faraday; in a word, he has wrought a pleasing and symmetrical whole out of all the loose and scattered materials which relate to the subject. The labor of such a task is immense, and it is no small praise to say that it has been done accurately, and leaves nothing more to be desired. This department of science is yet in its infancy. Many of the

experiments have never been repeated. It would not be strange, therefore, if future research should show that some alterations were necessary in this treatise. But this does not affect the present character of the work. Such changes can easily be made as soon as they are required.

There is one subject connected with acoustics which is extremely difficult, and in which we think Professor Peirce has been remarkably successful; the organs of the human voice. There have been very contradictory theories in regard to the peculiar service of each part of this complex structure. In Mr. Peirce's book it is shown how they may be reconciled, and that the difficulty with every one of them does not lie in any false statement, but in a partial apprehension of the whole truth. He sees no reason why two independent parts of the organ of voice may not serve the same purpose, and strengthen one another; and if so, then there is nothing strange in the different experiments and theories, but only an insufficiency.

We close this brief notice with a single remark. An unusual degree of attention has been given of late years to music. We have almost come to admit it among the branches of popular education. In order that our colleges should keep at a suitable advance, means ought to be furnished for making an acquaintance with the principles of sound, and every well-educated man should consider it as a necessary accomplishment.

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6. — *An Address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Rhode Island. Delivered September* 7, 1836. By William G. Goddard, Professor of Belles Lettres in Brown University. Boston. 1837. 8vo. pp. 30.

This is a grave, polished, and scholarlike discourse. It is alike worthy of the occasion, and its accomplished author. The subject is the Value of Liberal Studies, with reference to the structure and tendencies of American society; and it is handled with ability and elegance. After a few introductory remarks on the prevailing tastes of the age and country, Mr. Goddard proceeds to a more particular examination of the causes which have impressed upon the American mind and manner their most decided characteristics. His observations on the influence of wealth and the general desire to attain its advantages, are sound and seasonable. In a fine passage, the author then pictures an "exile from intellectual Germany" landing upon our shores, and visiting the different parts of our wide-spread country. This gives him an opportunity of sketching the leading characteristics of the great divisions of the West, the South, and the North;

and of showing how an extended taste for liberal studies would exalt and ennoble them all. We were particularly pleased with Mr. Goddard's remarks upon the importance of having a better taste to guide the expenditures of our wealthy men; of having their attention more generally called to the fine arts, to music, painting, and sculpture. It is unquestionably true that more money, in proportion to the whole amount expended in our large cities, is lavished annually upon the gratification of vulgar vanity, or of the sensual appetites, than in any other part of the civilized world. This is deeply to be lamented; and the opinion of such men as Mr. Goddard, conveyed with his tasteful and urbane style, will have a good effect in correcting the evil. It is a pity that while we follow eagerly the shifting fashions of Europe, we should not be inspired with an equal zeal to share with our kinsmen abroad the intellectual blessings of their advanced civilization. It is a high duty of our men of letters to speak plainly to their countrymen on this point.

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7. — *Études sur la Richesse des Nations, et Réfutation des principales Erreurs en Économie Politique.* Par Louis Say. Paris, 1836. 8vo. pp. 172.

The time is not, we think, far distant, when "The Wealth of Nations" and other works on political economy, making up the eighty volumes which M. Louis Say says he has critically read, will be regarded in the same light on this subject, as the books of the alchemists in relation to chemistry, that is, as being full of wrong theories, but at the same time having brought to light many important truths; and we think that this little work of M. Say will hasten this period. It is devoted to the exposition and refutation of some of the erroneous doctrines of former writers, not excepting his brother J. B. Say, whom he mentions with fraternal regard; and he considers the present publication as a tribute, in some sort, to his brother's memory, and not the less so, as it is devoted, in part, to the correction of erroneous views entertained by him in common with other political economists.

The author considers it a radical error in the works in greatest repute and most read on this subject, that they represent national wealth to consist in the quantity of precious metals, or in the exchangeable value of things, or in net rents; whereas he considers it to consist of the *gross* annual income, *gross* as distinguished from *net*. This, however, is only giving a peculiar signification to national wealth, preferable, it is true, to the other definitions, because it leads to more just views, but still partial

and inadequate, it seems to us; for, to take an instance, jewelry, the precious metals, pictures, statuary, books, &c., yield no annual income to the possessor, and yet, of two nations, one wholly without them, and the other abundantly supplied with them, we should hardly hesitate to pronounce the latter the more wealthy, other things being equal.

We cannot, therefore, agree with M. Say in his definition of national wealth. We think it ought to be broader; but still it is fortunate in one respect that he has adopted this, since it has led him to give the subject of the *gross* annual income its due importance in the scale of economical science. If we go into the inquiry, what augments and what diminishes the annual income, including wages of labor, products, &c. of every kind, we shall touch upon every subject belonging to the science of political economy, and we shall not be led into any error in speculation, since the gross annual income, considered from year to year, in the aggregate, so far surpasses all other considerations, that we shall not be led far astray if we consider it the exclusive subject in political economy.

M. Say remarks, what has often been objected to Adam Smith, that he gives no definition of national wealth, or, as others say, of political economy. But it seems to us that Adam Smith is not so open to exception in this respect, as has been supposed. The title of his book is a definition of political economy, which is the science of national wealth; and he explains what he means by national wealth. In this explanation, it is true, we fully agree with M. Say in thinking he commits gross mistakes, but still it is not the want of the definition, so much as its inaccuracy, that is to be complained of. Smith says that the wealth of a nation is the aggregate of the inventories of the individuals, who compose the nation, upon which M. Say justly remarks that there is a great difference between a nation and an individual as to the mode of estimating wealth, and he demonstrates very clearly the error of Smith in this particular. And this question is pregnant with important consequences, since it is from this very definition that Smith deduces some of his most material doctrines.

The use of the term *value* in various senses by different authors, and in different places by the same authors, has, as M. Say remarks, contributed to involve the study of political economy in great obscurity, and even exposed it to ridicule. He discusses this subject at some length, and exposes very successfully the flimsy and sterile disputes of authors upon this branch of the inquiry. M. Say's theory is, that value results from utility. A thing has value because it has utility for use, consumption, or exchange. But this renders it necessary to define

utility, a matter attended with no less difficulty than that of defining value. Why not say that the value of a thing depends upon its being the subject of exclusive possession as property, and upon the fact that men desire to possess it, without going further to say that the exclusive possession is desired on account of its utility? Whatever be the cause of this desire, its effect as to value is the same.

He points out very clearly the defects of Smith's classification of capital into fixed, circulating, and that destined to consumption. He proposes one in its stead, namely, capital fixed, movable, capacity, and faculties for industry, and pecuniary capital, productive in itself, and stimulating production.

He dwells very much upon the great truth that the skill and muscular strength of the industrious poor is *their* capital, and the great foundation of the national wealth; and he repudiates the notion that labor is so much pain and suffering, maintaining, on the contrary, that it is exhilarating and conduces to happiness, and that what the laborer acquires by his industry is as much clear gain to him as the net rent of a farm or house is such to its proprietor.

He entirely disapproves of Smith's phrase and doctrine of the *Division of Labor*, and gives some very just and striking views of the courses and phenomena of the separation of trades and employments.

He overthrows Ricardo's notion, as a general theory, that value is invariably determined by the cost of the production, a doctrine which Ricardo takes from Adam Smith. According to this doctrine, he says, the mining and refining of a pound of gold costs nineteen thousand times as much labor as the mining and refining of a pound of iron, a proportion wonderfully wide of the fact.

He concludes that the existence of the *science of political economy* is denied with good reason, if such a science is only to be learned in the authors he has quoted and criticized, being those of most authority upon the subject.

He treats at some length of the paramount importance of home production and consumption, respecting which he differs materially from the authors he examines. This part of his book will be read with much interest both in Europe and the United States.

We are particularly gratified with his remarks upon the wicked doctrine of Malthus on population. He exposes its shallowness as well as its atrocity.

On the whole, the work is very able. It shows a thorough knowledge of the works on the subject. The views are striking, generally just, and always clear, and, what is of great importance,

the course of inquiry is everywhere of a practical character. All the topics we have mentioned, it will be observed, do not give frequent occasion for the expression of the author's views as to the causes of national wealth or poverty. The present work is mostly devoted to clearing the way. The last chapter on revenue lays the foundation for his views on taxation. He proposes to publish treatises on particular branches of political economy hereafter, in which he will very naturally come to the investigation of the causes of national wealth and poverty. All who devote themselves to the study of this subject will look with great interest for M. Say's future publications.

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8. — 1. *The Prometheus of Æschylus, with Notes, for the Use of Colleges in the United States,* by T. D. Woolsey, Professor of Greek in Yale College. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1837. 12mo. pp. 90.
2. *The Electra of Sophocles,* &c. &c. 12mo. pp. 134.

Professor Woolsey has now completed his proposed course of Greek Tragedies. He has given specimens from among the best works of the three masters, in an agreeable form, and accompanied by a body of notes, which deserve all praise. Of his Antigone and Alcestis, we gave some account in a former number of this journal. The Prometheus and Electra are edited on the same general principles. Mr. Woolsey's labors will be highly appreciated by all who are engaged in classical instruction, and by those who continue their acquaintance with the great authors of Greece after leaving the walls of a college. The Prefaces, Notes, and metrical Tables, which accompany these Tragedies, form a body of critical learning, tasteful exposition, and metrical science, which would do honor to a much older professor than Mr. Woolsey. We hope the reception of these admirable works, among the teachers and scholars of our country, will induce Mr. Woolsey to follow up the career he has so brilliantly entered upon. It is an uncommon thing in any country, for a mind of nice poetical sensibilities, to be engaged in critical labors, or to have the necessary patience in the acquisition of exact knowledge, to qualify it for such a task; but so fortunate a conjunction between profound and accurate learning, and delicate taste, when it does take place, brings out something which men will not willingly let die. With such a beginning as Mr. Woolsey has made in classical scholarship, what may we not expect from the rich studies and ripened experience of future years?

9.—1. *An Address, delivered before the Association of Teachers, and Friends of Popular Education, at Exeter, December 28th,* 1836: By S. H. Blake. 8vo. pp. 24.
2. *A Lecture, delivered before the Young Men's Association for Mutual Improvement, in the City of Albany, January 24th,* 1837. By Hon. Samuel Young. 8vo. pp. 36.
3. *Address delivered before the Alumni Society of the Nashville University, at Nashville, Tennessee, October 4th,* 1836, by the Hon. E. J. Shields. 8vo. pp. 31.

The number of addresses on the subject of education, annually produced in the United States, would be incredible to any one who had not seen with his own eyes. If they prove nothing else, they prove that our countrymen regard the subject as one of paramount importance; and this feeling is by no means confined to any portion of the country. The first of the above discourses was pronounced at Exeter; the second at Albany, and the third before the Alumni of Nashville University, in Tennesee. Mr. Blake thinks soundly, and writes well in the main. We like the earnest tone of his Address. His sentiments on the necessity of popular education to the support of the institutions of freedom, are truly American. His suggestions for the improvement of common schools, and for strengthening the influence of accomplished teachers, are very good. The style of Mr. Blake's Address would be improved by compression. Here and there a flower might be plucked off, without injury to the stock.

Mr. Young leaves the masculine gender to take care of itself. He addresses the ladies; and the interest of his subject kindles him to a high strain of enthusiasm. He is eloquent, apparently because he cannot help it. Who could? We sympathize with his fervor. We think his tribute to the ladies for what they have done, well merited; and for what they may, and probably will do, still more so. "Not their deserts," only, "but what they will deserve." We have no doubt that the synonyme on his title-page, which we ought not to have abridged, "the best method of promoting civilization and improvement, or the influence of woman on the social state," is a great deal better than any of Crabbe's.

Mr. Shields's Address is a curious pendant to Mr. Goddard's, which has been already noticed in this number. The one is a picture of American society, as it appears to the retired scholar; the other, as it meets the eye of the busy politician, seeing around him the proofs of unexampled prosperity. Both pictures

are true, considered in reference to their respective points of view. Mr. Goddard looks to the intellectual wants of the country mainly. Mr. Shields delights in contemplating its inexhaustible resources of wealth, and the cheering prospect of unequalled political liberty. Mr. Shields interweaves in his discourse many interesting facts in the history of popular education. The West cannot fail to profit by the publication of such enlightened views, as those with which this address abounds.

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10. — *Guida dell' Educatore, e Letture per i Fanciulli. Foglio Mensuale.* No. 1. Firenze. G. P. Vieusseux. 1836. 8vo. pp. 56.

This is the first number of a journal of education, published in Florence. It is edited by a gentleman of experience and talent, and bids fair to be a useful work. The introduction is an exceedingly well-written essay on the object of education, and the best method of attaining it. The old systems are described, their faults pointed out, and their merits acknowledged; and the new modes, in which ancient severity has been made to give place to gentle treatment, are well illustrated. But, in his zeal for improvement, the editor is by no means blind to the bad effects of excessive leniency, which he describes with force and humor. Indeed many passages in this introduction read more like the delineations of human life, drawn by a master in the walks of elegant literature, than the lucubrations of a writer on "pedagogics." One of the articles contains a handsome tribute to Miss Edgeworth, whom the editor promises to make better known to his countrymen. The "Letture per i Fanciulli," with which the number closes, are excellent, particularly the simple story so pleasantly told by the *nonna* (grandmother) of little Carlo Lidoni. We wish the sprightly editor, who seems to be equally at home in deep philosophy and playful humor, a hearty Godspeed in his mission of benevolence.

The following sketch, furnished us by a friend, will make our readers better acquainted with the accomplished publisher. They may remember that Signor Vieusseux is mentioned in Maroncelli's work, as formerly conductor of the *Antologia*, at Florence.

"Vieusseux was born, of Swiss parents, at Oneglia in the Genoese territory. He has travelled and resided in all parts of Europe, and some parts of Asia and Africa. He knows everybody, and everybody's connexions and business; is full of enthusiasm for every thing good, and of projects for effecting it; a lover of literature; *omnifariam doc-*

tus; always alert and busy, and a whetstone to the minds of others; a theologian, a philanthropist, and a citizen of the world; a bachelor, simple in his habits, and officious (in a good sense); *emuncti naris;* fastidious, yet extracting pleasure from every thing; facetious and satirical, but without one drop of gall; a great pedestrian and lover of nature; a connoisseur in the arts, but without pedantry; with quick, piercing, gray eyes, and a certain hilarity of countenance.

"I first met him in Africa. The plague of Florence and of Athens was paralleled before our eyes; but nothing could restrain Vieusseux from going abroad. He must walk around the walls of the city (Tunis) to compare it with others, and conjecture the population (of which the government know only that it is as great as it pleases Allah), but brickbats drove him in. He must visit the plague hospitals as an amateur, to compare them with those of Constantinople, evading all human touch, (without observation,) as Cicero did Cataline's dagger. In the evening, he read to us Mad. de Staël's French Revolution, then a novelty, and Grimm's Memoirs, whose anecdotes he rivalled with others from his own store. At Florence he would rouse me at break of day, and lead me off for leagues, 'brushing the dew away' from the hills of Fiesole, and back again before the city was astir. This was just after the *Antologia* was set up.

"I cannot help fancying him reading Maroncelli's poetizing account of his journal. 'Cassandra,' indeed! Her image has little congruity with Vieusseux, or any of his undertakings. With him, in every thing,

'Hope enchanting smiles, and waves her golden hair.'

"The vivid recollection of him is enough to dispel melancholy, and make one 'put a cheerful courage on.'"

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11. — *Reasons for Thankfulness, a Discourse delivered in the First Presbyterian Church in Rochester, N. Y., on the Day of Annual Thanksgiving, December 15th,* 1836. By Tryon Edwards, Pastor of said Church. Rochester. 1837. 8vo. pp. 40.

Instead of giving an analysis of this very striking and eloquent discourse, we prefer to fill the little space which remains to us with an extract, illustrating the wonderfully rapid growth of some of our Western cities.

"Forty-eight years ago, the ground on which our city now stands was only known as a part of the hunting-ground of the remnant of the 'Six nations.' The person who first left Massachusetts to explore it, took public leave of his family, his neighbours, and the minister of the parish, who had assembled, *all in tears*, to bid him, as it were, a final adieu! At that time, a tract of 24 miles in length, by 12 in breadth, was *given* by the Indians *for a mill yard!*

"Rochester, now the capital of this county, 25 years since, had no existence. The first log house, on the east side of the river, was erected in 1808; the first on the west side, in 1811: — and the first white person born in the village, (in 1810,) is now a member of this congregation. At this time the mail was carried eastward, once a week, on horseback, and part of the time by a woman! In 1812, part of the ground on which the city now stands, was first laid out in lots, and offered for sale. In this year, also, a post-office was established in the village, and its first quarterly income was $3.42 cents! In 1814, the settlement was threatened with an attack from the British fleet, which came to anchor at the mouth of the river; and all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms, (being only 33!) turned out with the militia of the adjoining towns, to prevent the landing of the enemy, leaving but two men to take care of the women and children. In 1815, the first religious society, that of this church, was organized with 16 members; and it will give you some idea of the condition of the country, when I tell you that it was the only congregation in at least 400 square miles.

"Twenty-one years have since passed away, and now we behold ROCHESTER the *fourth*, if not the *third* city in the 'Empire State.' Its limits include about 4200 square acres; its population, according to the census just taken, is over 17,000; and the estimated value of its property, is $17,500,000. The annual income of its post-office, which is a good test, both of its literary taste, and commercial prosperity, is over $14,000. Its Custom-House income is $60,000 per annum; and its canal revenue $192,000, — larger than that of any place west of the Hudson. We have 2 daily, 5 weekly, 1 semi-monthly, and 2 monthly papers; an Athenæum, with a library and reading room attached to it; a Library Association; an Academy of Sacred Music, with a professor and 150 pupils; 12 Agencies for Insurance Companies; 11 miles of broad and well flagged side-walks; 3 Banks with an aggregate capital of $950,000, and allowed to issue between two and three millions; and 1 Savings Bank, the annual deposites in which amount to $100,000. The known annual sales of merchandize, of various kinds, amount to more than $5,500,000. In addition to 9 lines of daily stages, there is constant communication with the city, by rail-roads, and steam and canal boats. Our water power is of immense magnitude and value. The two great falls and several rapids of the river *within the city limits*, make an aggregate descent of *two hundred and sixty feet*, or about one hundred feet more than the perpendicular descent of Niagara! The value of this water power, as computed by the standard of steam power in England, is almost incredible, exceeding $10,000,000 *for its mere annual use!* This is the moving power to most of the great manufactories, and to our *mills*. These immense establishments, — our FLOUR MILLS, — sustained by the enterprise and skill of our MILLERS, have already rendered Rochester celebrated as *the greatest flour manufactory in the world.** They are 20 in number, having 94 runs of stones, and

"* The Allan Mill was erected in 1789, for the sake of gaining a title to the adjoining land. A person, now living in the city, returning from

are capable of manufacturing 25,000 bushels of wheat daily! They actually *do* make on an average from 500,000 to 600,000 barrels of flour per year, worth, at present prices, nearly $6,000,000."

NOTE.

The sixth article of our last number embodied such a variety of statements respecting the condition of Insane Hospitals, at home and abroad, as scarcely to admit the possibility of avoiding all inaccuracy. A distinguished gentleman, holding an official relation to the State Lunatic Hospital of South Carolina, has been so good as to furnish us with the following memorandum, which we give in his own words; —

"At page 112 of the Review, it is stated that 'Kentucky has the honor of being the first State in the Union to establish, at the expense and under the control of the State, an Asylum for pauper lunatics. In the year 1824, a spacious and commodious building was erected at Lexington for their accommodation, at an expense of 40,000 dollars,' &c. And below, I read, 'At Columbia, South Carolina, is a well-conducted hospital for lunatics. It was built by the State in 1829,' &c.

"I presume the statement relative to the Kentucky hospital is correct; at least I know nothing to the contrary. That relative to South Carolina contains an error as to the date, 1829. The appropriation for the Asylum was made by the Legislature in December, 1821. In 1822, the board of commissioners selected the spot and made arrangements for the erection of the buildings, and its foundation dates from that year. The expense of putting up the suitable buildings exceeding much the amount appropriated by the legislature, caused considerable delays in its completion; and it was not ready for the reception of patients till 1827. The cost at that time was about 80,000 dollars, and the subsequent expenses have raised it to about 100,000 dollars. An additional wing is now about being constructed, and is nearly finished, for the accommodation of more patients, at the expense of 8,000 dollars more. There is a farm of about seventy acres of land attached to the Asylum, which is found very beneficial to the patients who are able to work occasionally; and the profit resulting from this has enabled the establishment to defray its expenses the last year for the first time, yearly appropriations by the legislature having hitherto made up the deficiency. Every district pays 100 dollars a year for each of its paupers.

"You may, Sir, in the next number of your Review, correct this error, if you think proper."

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that mill, *has been followed to his own door by wolves!* And so late as 1800, the mill not supporting itself, was left vacant; and any of the settlers, as they had occasion, went to it, ground their own grain, closed the mill, and returned at their leisure. *And this in a place which is now the largest flour manufactory in the world!*"

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

Youth's Keepsake. A New Year's Gift for young people. Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo. pp. 192.

The Boston Book. Being specimens of Metropolitan Literature. Edited by B. B. Thacher. Boston. Light & Stearns. 12mo. pp. 360.

The Boston Almanac, for 1837. Boston. S. N. Dickinson. 18mo.

The Religious Souvenir, for 1837. Edited by Chauncy Colton, D. D., President of Bristol College, Pennsylvania. New York. Hall & Voorhies. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Magnolia, for 1837. Edited by Henry William Herbert. New York. Bancroft & Holley. Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 352.

The Massachusetts Register, and United States Calendar, for 1837. Also, City Officers in Boston, and other useful information. Boston. James Loring. 18mo. pp. 250.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoirs of Aaron Burr; with miscellaneous Selections from his Correspondence. By Matthew L. Davis. Vol. 1. New York. Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 436.

The Life of Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States, with parts of his Correspondence never before published, and Notices of his Opinions on Questions of Civil Government, National Policy, and Constitutional Law. By George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia. In 2 vols. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo.

Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A. M. By Timothy Mather Cooley, D. D., with Introductory Remarks by William B. Sprague, D. D. New York. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 345.

Memoir of the Rev. Bernard Whitman. By Jason Whitman. Boston. B. H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 215.

The Young Disciple; or a Memoir of Anzonetta R. Peters. By Rev. John A. Clark, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. Author of "The Pastor's Testimony," &c. Philadelphia. William Marshall & Co. 12mo. pp. 328.

EDUCATION.

A Practical System of Arithmetic, for the use of Schools, in which the Learner is led by easy gradations through the various Rules necessary to qualify him for the Transaction of Business. By J. Olney, A. M., author of a Geography and Atlas, National Preceptor,

History of the United States, &c. &c. Hartford. Canfield & Robins. 18mo. pp. 252.

A new and copious Lexicon of the Latin Language; compiled chiefly from the Magnum Totius Latinitatis Lexicon of Facciolati and Forcellini, and the German works of Scheller and Luenemann. Edited by F. P. Leverett. Boston. J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter. 8vo. pp. 1004.

The Class Book of Nature; comprising Lessons on the Universe, the Three Kingdoms of Nature, and the Form and Structure of the Human Body. With Quotations and numerous Engravings. Edited by John Frost. Second Edition. Hartford. Belknap & Hammersley. 18mo. pp. 283.

An Analytical Grammar of the English Language, embracing the Inductive and Productive Methods of Teaching, with familiar Explanations in the Lecture style; appropriate parsing Examples, both in Etymology and Syntax; Questions subjoined for Recitations; Exercises in false Syntax, Orthography, Punctuation, Enunciation, Figures, and an Appendix. In five Parts. Being a complete System of Grammar, containing much new matter not found in other Grammars. Designed for the use of all who wish to obtain a thorough and practical knowledge of the English Language. By Dyer H. Sanborn, Principal of Gilford Academy. Boston. Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 12mo. p. 299.

An Elementary Treatise on Astronomy, in two Parts. By John Gunmore, A. M. Philadelphia. Kimber & Sharpless. 8vo.

Colloquial Phrases and Dialogues. in French and English. Compiled chiefly from the eighteenth and last edition of Bellenger's Colloquial Phrases, with many additions and corrections. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 121.

From the cursory examination we have been able to give this book, we are satisfied that it will be found to be a useful aid in acquiring the idioms of the French language. Bellenger's work, which is the basis of the present, is said, in the preface, to have gone through eighteen editions in Paris; a most substantial proof of its real utility. The American work has been printed with great care, and many errors, which had crept into preceding editions of Bellenger, have been corrected. Those who wish a book to assist them in acquiring the art of conversing in French, may go further and fare worse.

Practical French Translator. By B. F. Bugard.

A second edition of this work is before the public. We think it will be found a useful addition to the elementary works in a language, now attracting such general attention. To the teacher it will be a valuable aid; and by help of its full and accurate rules and observations, the learner will be able, by himself, to attain a considerable proficiency. The rules for pronunciation, in particular, are remarkably copious, and will give as good a knowledge, perhaps, as can be obtained from written rules, of a part of the language, which can be learned perfectly from oral instruction alone. The Tables of Verbs are convenient for reference. The grammatical portion of the work is followed by exercises in translation, arranged to suit the progress of the student, and concluding with an abridgement of Molière's "Bourgeois Gentilhomme." The constant reference, in the exercises, to the grammatical rules, strikes us as exceedingly well adapted to show their practical application, and to render them familiar to the learner.

M. T. Cicero de Senectute et de Amicitia, ex editionibus Oliveri et Ernesti. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ, Juventuti accommodatæ. Cura C. K. Dillaway, A. M. Bostoniæ. Perkins et Marvin. 12mo. pp. 158.

A Comprehensive Grammar, presenting some New Views of the Structure of Language, designed to explain all the relations of words in English Syntax, and make the Study of Grammar and Composition one and the same Process. Abridged from a work preparing for publication. By Walton Felch. Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo.

The Reader's Guide, containing a Notice of the Elementary Sounds of the English Language, Instructions for Reading both Prose and Verse, with numerous Examples for Illustration, and Lessons for Practice. By John Hall, Principal of the Ellington School. Hartford. Canfield & Robbins. 1836. 12mo. pp. 360.

Conversations with Children on the Gospels, conducted and edited by A. Bronson Alcott. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 2 vols. 18mo.

The Doctrine and Discipline of Human Culture. By A. Bronson Alcott. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1836. 12mo. pp. 27.

Peter Parley's Method of telling about the Geography of the Bible. With many Engravings. Boston. American Stationers' Company.

HISTORY.

History of Worcester, Mass. From its earliest settlement to Sept. 1836. With various Notices relating to the History of Worcester County. By Wm. Lincoln. Worcester. Moses D. Phillips & Co. 8vo. pp. 383.

The History and present Condition of St. Domingo. By J. Brown, M. D. Philadelphia. Wm. Marshall & Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

LAW.

The Inventor's Guide, Comprising the Rules, Forms, and Proceedings, for securing Patent Rights. By Willard Phillips. Boston. Samuel Colman. New York. Collins, Keese, & Co. 12mo. pp. 368.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

A Manual of the Diseases of the Eye. By S. Littell, Jr., M. D., one of the Surgeons of the Wills Hospital for the Blind and Lame; Fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, &c. John S. Littell. 12mo. pp. 255.

An Elementary Treatise on Anatomy. By A. L. J. Bayle, M. D. Translated from the fourth edition of the French, by A. Sidney Doane, A. M., M. D. New York. Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 470.

A Treatise on the Functional and Organic Diseases of the Uterus. From the French of F. Dupancgue. Translated with Notes, by Joseph Warrington, M. D., of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. Desilver, Thomas, & Co.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Essay on the Influence of Tobacco upon Life and Health, by R. D. Mussey, M. D. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 18mo. pp. 48.

The Young Man's Friend. By A. B. Muzzey. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 178.

Three Experiments of Living; Living within the Means, Living up to the Means, Living beyond the Means. Boston. W. S. Damrell. 18mo. pp. 143.

Extracts from the Note-Book of Mr. Percival Pug, illustrated by sketches from his Portfolio. Boston. Torrey & Blair. 18mo. pp. 180.

A letter from Dr. Brigham to David M. Reese, M. D., Author of "Phrenology known by its Fruits." pp. 24.

The Religious Opinions and Character of Washington. By E. C. McGuire. New York. Harper & Brothers. 12mo.

Protestant Jesuitism. By a Protestant. New York. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 295.

The Printer's Guide; or an Introduction to the Art of Printing; including an Essay on Punctuation and Remarks on Orthography. By C. S. Van Winkle. Third Edition. New York. White & Hagar.

Nancy Le Baron. Founded on Fact. Boston. Wm. S. Damrell. 18mo. pp. 89.

Recreations of a Merchant, or the Christian Sketch-Book. By W. A. Brewer. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 12mo. pp. 192.

Phrenology exemplified and illustrated. with upwards of Forty Etchings. Being Scraps No. 7, for the year 1837. By D. C. Johnston. Boston. Published by D. C Johnston.

A Select Catalogue of Books, chiefly published or imported by Hilliard, Gray, & Co. Published Annually. 16mo. pp. 96.

Sea Life; or what may or may not be done, and what ought to be done, by Ship Owners, Ship Masters, Mates, and Seamen. By William Sullivan, Counsellor at Law. Boston. James B. Dow.

The House I Live in, or the Human Body. For the use of Families and Schools. By W. A. Alcott. Second Edition, enlarged. Boston. Light & Stearns. 18mo. pp. 246.

The Hellenic Kingdom and the Greek Nation. By Geo. Findlay, Esq., of Lyosha, Philhellene, Honorary Major in the Greek Service, and Member of the Society of Natural History at Athens. With an introduction by S. G. Howe. Boston. Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 12mo. pp. 110.

Scenes in Spain. New York. Geo. Dearborn. 12mo. pp. 334.

Ways of Living on Small Means. By the Author of "The Young Man's Guide." Boston. Light & Stearns. 18mo.

The Fourth Experiment of Living *without* Means. Boston. Otis Broaders, & Co. 18mo. pp. 68.

Letters and other Papers relating to Cherokee Affairs; being in reply to sundry publications authorized by John Ross. By E. Boudinot, formerly Editor of the Cherokee Phœnix. Athens. Printed at the office of the Southern Banner. 12mo. pp. 66.

MUSIC.

The Odeon; a Collection of Secular Melodies, arranged and harmonized for four voices, designed for Adult Singing Schools, and for Social Music Parties. By G. J. Webb and Lowell Mason, Professors in the Boston Academy of Music. Boston. J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter, and American Stationers' Company. pp. 304.

Kingsley's Social Choir. Vol. 2d. Consisting of Selections from the most distinguished authors, with several original Pieces of Music by the Editor.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Remarks on the Geology and Mineralogy of Nova Scotia. By Abraham Gesner, Esq., Surgeon. Halifax. Printed by Gossip & Coade. 8vo. pp. 272.

NEW PERIODICALS.

The Select Medical Library and Eclectic Journal of Medicine. Edited by John Bell, M. D., Lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence; Member of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, and of the American Philosophical Society, &c. &c. Philadelphia. Haswell, Barrington, & Haswell. Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. Monthly. — 8vo. pp. 252.

ORATIONS, &c.

A Discourse, pronounced at the Capitol of the United States, before the American Historical Society, Jan. 20th, 1837. By the Hon. Levi Woodbury, a Member of the Society. Washington. Gales & Seaton. 8vo. pp. 67.

POETRY.

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invest it with the charm of imagination. No one ought to be cheated by the appearance of these lines, into the notion of their being verse. Cut off the capitals at the left hand side of the page, omit the third-rate Byronism, and the volume would be just such a common-place journal as any merchant's clerk would keep, while "pleasuring" away a month's furlough in the summer.

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